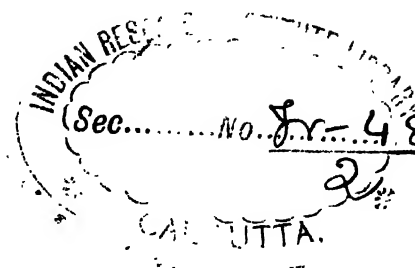


THE NEW REVIEW



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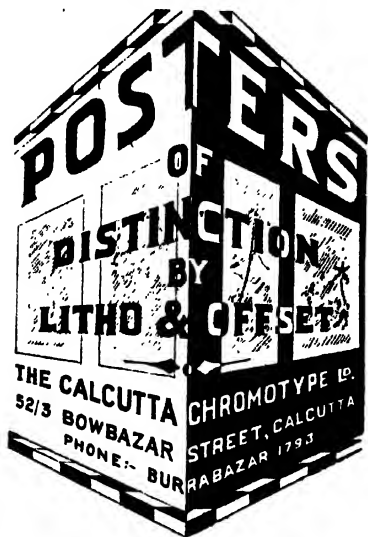
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CULTURE AND COMMON SENSE

By CYRIL BERNARD, T. O. C. D.

WE Easterns take a peculiar pride in pointing to the sunrise in the east as symbolic of the fact that all light and culture arose in the East. There is some truth in this, though to designate one portion as east and another as west on a rotating globe is much like finding the first link of an endless chain. It could all be the other way about. It is to our advantage, however, and we hug that pleasing comparison. Is it not flattering to think that even Christianity, the main source of civilization, was born in the East ?

That is a story of nearly two thousand years ago. But just now the East is following the West, and it is well it does so, since the West has advanced more than any other part of the world. For Christianity, though its origin was in the East, first took root in the West, probably because, as Chesterton observes, the East was much too eastern to be fully Christian.

But, unluckily for the world, the West has in recent times developed a new and altogether unchristian thing which is paraded as civilization and progress, and is closely associated with quantity and speed. The East, in its enthusiasm for western culture, is in danger of mistaking this modern growth for true European civilization. The danger is all the greater because this new 'progress' dazzles the eye like a rocket, while true civilization is quiet like the advancing dawn. Happily for India,

materialism is against her very nature. Still, the danger is there, and she would do well to pause and consider what kind of civilization she is going to accept from the West.

A study of modern civilization has to begin with the mechanical revolution ; for if anything substantial has been achieved in our age, it is mainly in the line of machines. We are in the machine age. It is symbolic of the inverse ratio in which culture and common sense proceed in modern progress. We are, in the literal sense of the term, in an iron age, not the old iron age of history books, but the new iron age, which better deserves this name, for in the former man was master of iron, while now iron has become master of man. In the first, man made iron useful, while in the second iron has made man useless.

We all say that machines have become a problem. In fact, they have made man a problem. It is not the multiplication of machines, but the multiplication of men that our modern philanthropist has come to deplore. The point that these moderns miss is that aeroplanes and radio and mass-production are not progress unless they make man a little better and happier. We are progressing, indeed, in the sense of hoarding a host of things ; but we doubt if we are getting happier or better. For one want that we satisfy, we create a thousand new ones. We build and equip fine cities, and make armaments to destroy those very cities. This 'progress', which did not know when and where to apply its brakes, has rolled down the precipice into the Depression. Some serious-minded economists are even planning to let the army of the unemployed loose on the dangerous machines. To scrap them has come to be considered better worth our while than to make them. We have achieved a feat

which the 'medievals' could never have imagined : we starve for too much wheat and too much coffee.

This is the material side of modern civilization, and the only side worth speaking about. For in this direction alone have we produced something substantial, if only in the sense of something enormous. With the intellectual side of civilization, which till lately was known as culture, our age has had little to do. It is true we have worked much with mathematics and its allied arts, for of all rational things mathematics lies closest to matter. But even mathematics was perfect long before materialism took it up. In other branches of rational culture ours has been a wild-goose chase. All culture must rest on philosophy, which gives a meaning to life and logic to every other science ; but it was the original sin of materialism to have parted company with metaphysics. Metaphysics certainly is not a material thing ; but it is not therefore immaterial to us. Induction is good, but it cannot always take the place of deduction. Experimental sciences are all very good, but there happen to be things we cannot experiment with, and ought not to, even if we could, but which we must know in order to be men. Now the drift of modern philosophy is responsible for the shaping of the modern world. Those who made the machines allowed the machines to govern them.

This inversion of order needed a peculiar type of genius to effect it, and the eighteenth century had it. France took the lead in this philosophical 'reformation', as they called it, and she has ever since taken the lead in the fashionable *deformation* of the world. Both this philosophy and this fashion express the same modern mood—a disgust for what is old and a craze for what is new, even if it be new to us because it is ridiculously old.

The movement set on foot by the Encyclopaedists of the eighteenth century was the first great systematic effort to give a new turn to European culture. It was called the 'Illumination' movement, because it promised to dispel the darkness of the 'Dark Ages'. The work of these fathers of modern philosophy was mainly destructive. They stood for a total abandonment of the old traditional method of thought,—which, unluckily enough, meant an abandonment of thought itself. The famous 'dispute between the Ancients and the Moderns' was the main centre of interest during the last two decades of the seventeenth century. It resulted in victory for the moderns. This victory had far reaching results. Everything traditional and old came to be associated with ignorance and superstition. All nature, including man, was evolving into something better, and consequently every change was a forward motion. Progress became a mere emancipation from the past. Hence the contempt for the medieval and the cult of the modern. Education in all its stages has since become more and more a derision of the past.

But these were only the surface ripples of a strong under-current which was gaining strength since the days of the Protestant Reformation. The real cause lay deep down. What really mattered was not the overthrow of the old philosophy, but the overthrow of the old faith, and of religion itself. The Reformation was, in the main, a revolt against religion. Rationalism was a revolt against religion and reason at once. The old culture had to be relinquished because of the old creed with which it was so closely knit. The abandonment of it was the beginning of the end of Europe's glorious civilization.

By the close of the eighteenth century the philosophers of 'Illumination' had had their day. Disguised

at first, but soon more openly, their destructive work proceeded. Descartes had bequeathed to them a two-edged sword with which to strike the old culture and wound themselves. Intrinsic evidence, said Descartes, is the only criterion of truth. The new philosophers took it for gospel-truth, for it was the surest weapon against the truth of the Gospels. They did not know they were undermining philosophy itself. It was a breaking away, not only from Christianity, but from the traditional truths of all mankind.

Religion, philosophy, tradition, were weighed in the balance of intrinsic evidence and valued in terms of sense-perception. They were naturally found wanting and duly cast aside. Voltaire and Rousseau, Diderot and Helvetius, came forward as prophets destined to change the old order of things. No change in the history of mankind has ever been more radically destructive. For the history of mankind, from the cave man, if there was any, to the eighteenth century man, had been the story of a continual struggle of reason to get the better of matter. Now for the first time reason was chained to matter for ever and forbidden to wander away from it. Materialism, with a total denial of everything beyond the senses, and of God Himself, was called wisdom. This was not the first revolt of man against God. Man has always revolted against God in varying degrees, and as long as he is flesh he will continue to do so. But the world had always considered it a revolt. The materialists for the first time announced that it was an honourable thing. It was the first great emancipation they effected for mankind !

Once the senses and feelings were admitted to be the only criteria of truth, the speculative sciences, and metaphysics above all, were cast aside as old-fashioned things, and all enthusiasm was directed towards experimental

science. Thus industry, commerce, economics, engineering, medicine, have all attained great perfection without, however, making man any happier. Speed has increased from ten miles an hour to two hundred and eighty miles an hour on land and four hundred in the air ! The two-hundred-ton concave mirror lately made at the Corning Glass Works for the Mount Wilson Observatory of Pasadena is expected to enable astronomers to photograph star-clouds twelve thousand million light-years away—what an increase to our field of vision !

But from an intellectual point of view, telescopes cannot increase our field of vision. What gives us a wider outlook on things are the speculative sciences which deal with the Whence, the Why and the Whither of the individual, of society and of the world. But, though we have been continually hearing the last word in science, we have yet to hear the first word of truth about it. It generally became a fashion to accept anything as true for the only reason that it was novel. Rationalism was meant to mean free-thinking. In practice, it amounted to blindly accepting as true whatever was said last. If an astronomer says that he has received a message from Mars, all the world is sure to believe it ; it would be old-fashioned to question it. If Sir Arthur Conan Doyle tells you seriously that he saw scores of spirits and 'snapped' a few of them, you have to believe him because he has denied all belief in religion.

As a great thinker once said, the behaviour of our scholars is very much like the conduct of a traveller who was once sleeping in an inn and wanted to know if it was yet dawn. He opened a shutter and believing he was putting his head out through a window put it into a cupboard, and quite satisfied that it was very dark returned to bed. Our moderns are even more sure of the darkness of the Middle Ages.

Happily, however, we are beginning to discover what a dark concept we have had about the Dark Ages. The world is already looking back and discovering that after all it has not progressed much in any rational sense. Fortunately for the world, common sense and the sense of religion are not easy to stifle. At unwary moments they assert themselves. And that impenitent old thing which they call the Catholic Church continues to din into the ears of the world, in time and out of time, those old truths that are ever new. It is encouraging to see symptoms of a healthy retrogression in the sense of a return to sense. The experience of a hundred years has driven home to most thinkers the truth of the old saying that if there were no God we ought to invent one ; and post-War experience has taught us, besides, that for the civilization and peace of the world the Catholic Church, and the Papacy, too, are indispensable.

India has the great advantage of being able to study the whole process from without ; and may we not trust that her oriental slowness and coolness will lead her to the truth ?

Ernakulam.



THE RULE OF LAW IN INDIA

By WILLIAM COELHO

IN its recent report, the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform remark with pardonable pride that the British rule in India has 'established the rule of law, and by the creation of a just administration and an upright judiciary, it has secured to every subject of His Majesty in British India the right to go in peace about his daily work and to retain for his own use the fruit of his labours.' Coming as it does in the wake of the rapid counter-strokes with which the Imperial Government, sought to check political agitation in India, this proud assertion must have been received with a silent sneer by a large section of our people. But if a dispassionate inquiry is made into the work of the British Government in India, it must be admitted that of all its achievements the one that calls for the highest praise is the establishment of law and order. Out of the chaos which followed the decay of the Mogul Empire, they brought forth order. Out of the customs, manners and religious practices that had prevailed in India for over two thousand years, they produced a distinct law. In place of arbitrary methods, they established a definite judicial procedure, encouraged the development of an efficient Judiciary, and began the 'separation of powers'. But do these elements constitute a perfect Rule of Law in India? Or is there any glaring defect which still undermines it? To arrive at a just conclusion, it will be necessary

to review its growth, examine the circumstances that have come in the way of its development, appreciate the difficulties which our administrators in the past had to encounter, and see if the present state of affairs has any justification.

When the British acquired territorial sovereignty in Bengal and undertook the responsibility of administration, the greatest difficulty in their path was the absence of any system of law or judicial administration. Warren Hastings had decided that the law of the conquerors should not be enforced on their subjects ; but there was no adequate substitute which Government could usefully adopt. India, unlike other nations, was notoriously lacking in territorial law. The Hindus had a law which was inseparable from their religion and which they applied only to themselves. But this they were denied by the Mohammedan jurists of the orthodox type, who held that upon the acquisition of any country by a Mohammedan Prince, Mohammedan law became the *lex loci* and superseded all existing laws, and that the future conquerors had no right to change it, since the law of Islam was synonymous with the law of God. Yet there have been many among the liberal-minded Mohammedan administrators who have tolerated the personal law of the non-Mohammedans within their jurisdiction. Whatever the legal implications of his policy might be, Warren Hastings was able to govern the two great communities of India according to their personal laws and retain Mohammedan law, administered by Mohammedan officers, as the criminal law of the State.

At this stage, however, Warren Hastings was beset with two great obstacles : one was the inadequacy of the Hindu and Mohammedan laws for a just administration of the country, and the other, the establishment of the

Supreme Court under the Regulating Act of 1773. Hindu and Mohammedan laws were translated into the English language, but even then they were not always understood by the European judges. Ancient codes of law did not suit modern circumstances. When the judges found a *lacuna* in the laws on which they were asked to base their decisions, they had either to rely on the information given by Indian scholars or to decide according to their own conscience. Warren Hastings had begun to supplement the existing laws with regulations passed in Council, to establish the Western system of judicial procedure, supervise the work of Mohammedan officers in the criminal courts, and thus effect a happy combination of Eastern and Western jurisprudence. But the law was still far from being clear, and the courts established by Warren Hastings were essentially courts of conscience.

The authority of these courts was questioned by the judges of the Supreme Court, who were full of pride in the benignity of the English common law and contempt for the laws prevailing in India. True, there was much in the laws of India which was repugnant to their ideas of morality and justice ; but to attempt to raze to the ground all the institutions which Warren Hastings had established, and to enforce the common law of England of which the Indian subjects were supremely ignorant, was a rash step. The vague provisions of the Regulating Act were interpreted by the judges of the Supreme Court to their own advantage, but Warren Hastings could impose his authority on them on the ground that the rights which he exercised had been delegated to the Company by the Mogul Emperor, and that no assertion was made in the Regulating Act about the sovereignty of the British Crown in India. In 1781, however, Parliament decided, in favour of Warren Hastings, that

the Supreme Court should recognize the personal laws of the people and the regulations passed by the Governor-General in Council.

It was not till Cornwallis became Governor-General that these regulations were published. Hitherto they had remained incomprehensible to the public. Cornwallis had them published and codified ; and though codification led to complication of form and procedure, its advantage was that the law became positive. Cornwallis further deprived the Mogul officers of criminal jurisdiction and modified Mohammedan criminal law by infusing into it English ideas of justice.

Regulations multiplied in Bengal, in Madras and in Bombay, but they soon proved unsuitable. They had been passed as amendments to Hindu and Mohammedan laws, but very soon they came to be recognized as territorial law : and the question arose whether the personal laws of Hindus and Mohammedans should become the basis of future legislation. The judges found themselves in a welter of conflicting laws : parliamentary enactments, Royal Charters, English common law, Treaties, Orders and Regulations, Hindu and Mohammedan laws, and local customs and practices. It was now evident that of all countries India needed a code most. Accordingly, the Charter Act of 1833 deprived the Madras and Bombay Governments of legislative power and established an Imperial legislature consisting of the Governor-General's Council and a Law Member. Provision was also made for the appointment of Indian Law Commissions to help the Government in codifying the law of India.

The first Indian Law Commission, which was appointed soon after under the distinguished chairmanship of Lord Macaulay, was hardly able to do the work of codification, but it laid down an important principle for the guidance of future legislators. It definitively rejected the idea of

accepting the Hindu and Mohammedan laws as the basis of future legislation, and decided to adopt the English law as the *lex loci*. The Commissioners believed that 'in introducing it as the *lex loci* of this country the legislature would be doing no more than giving an express sanction to that which ought to have taken place tacitly according to the analogy of the general principles of international jurisprudence.' The two next Law Commissions worked on this principle and introduced a large share of English jurisprudence into the new legislation which now constitutes the Statute Book of India. Later legislatures have discovered the unsuitability, and occasionally the iniquity, of some of these statutes, but the work of the Indian Law Commissions is a lasting proof of the scrupulous vigilance of the British and their desire to establish a just law for India.

The contribution of this Statute Book to the development of the Rule of Law may be examined for two qualities,—that the law must be known, and that it must be impartial. The impartiality of our law will hardly be disputed. The main reason why the early administrators endeavoured to introduce the English system of judicial procedure was to do away with the arbitrary justice of the Mogul officers and improve the courts of conscience set up by Warren Hastings. The attempts made by the early legislators were certainly successful, for the important principle was applied also in India 'that not only is no man above the law, but that here every man, whatever be his rank or condition, is subject to the ordinary law of the realm and amenable to the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals.' It may be objected, however, that high Government officials and European British subjects have been given special privileges in the matter of trial. But though this is certainly a defect, it only relates to the incompetence of certain judicial tribunals

to try these two classes of people ; they have always been subject to the ordinary law.

But ordinary law should not be ambiguous. The law should be known and understood. This was one of the objects with which the Law Commissions were appointed, but it cannot be said to have been fully realized. The policy of the Commissioners was, as has been explained, to base future legislation on the principles of English jurisprudence, a policy which was diametrically opposed to that of Warren Hastings. Under the influence of the law courts, mostly presided over by Englishmen in the last century, our law tended to approach the law of England both in principle and in application. As Joseph Chailley remarked, 'the laws made have been awkwardly borrowed from Europe and badly constructed, while India had no need for them at all.' Law and legal procedure, if they are beyond the comprehension of the ordinary citizen, are bound to increase litigation among the people.

No less important for the security of the Rule of Law is the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive. The history of this subject shows the anxiety of the Englishmen who were sent to administer our country in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to obtain impartial justice. The 'separation of powers' was unknown in India before the establishment of the British Government. However prosperous the Hindu and Mohammedan kingdoms may have been, and however generous and benevolent their rulers, they gave no liberty to the subject. The people never realized that if their kings and governors divested themselves of judicial powers and set up independent tribunals, they would win security for life and property.

The early judicial system of the Company was not very different from that of its Hindu and Mohammedan

neighbours. The England of their time was groaning under the despotic rule of the Stuarts. No wonder, then, that Stuart despotism was reflected in the English settlements in India. The presidents and their councils in the factories were invested with judicial powers, and, as contemporary records show, they did great injustice to their dependants by combining judicial and executive and even legislative functions. These defects were remedied to a slight extent by the Charter of 1726 by which mayors' courts were established in the Presidency towns, but the right of hearing appeals was retained by the Governor and Council.

Then Warren Hastings came with his great ideas of judicial reform, but he had no desire to separate the Judiciary from the Executive. He and his council formed the Court of Appeal, and his revenue collectors presided over the District Civil Courts. Then Parliament thought of purifying the Government by establishing a Supreme Court which was made independent of the Executive. The result of this arrangement was disastrous. Very soon Parliament had to restrict the powers of the Supreme Court and restore the ascendancy of the Governor-General-in-Council. Parliament realized that it was too early to adopt the theory of separation of powers in India.

Further improvements were left to the discretion of the Governors-General. Lord Cornwallis after removing criminal magistracy from the hands of the Mogul officers set up Provincial Courts whose judges were also to preside over Criminal Courts of Circuit. Revenue collectors were divested of their judicial powers. But this system did not work well. Under-trial prisoners had to wait for months before they could be tried by Circuit Judges. Therefore Bentinck closed down the Provincial Courts and Courts of Circuit, gave magisterial powers to

the Collectors, and the right of hearing sessions cases to the judges of the District Civil Courts. Prior to Bentinck, Wellesley also had reformed the Judiciary. The Civil and Criminal Appellate Courts of the Company, which till then had been presided over by the Governor-General-in-Council, were in future to consist of judges selected from the covenanted Civil Service.

Since the time of Bentinck the history of judicial reforms was uneventful till the Indian High Courts Act of 1861. The old Supreme Courts and the Company's Appellate Courts were abolished, and the Crown was authorized to establish High Courts in their place. But the structure of the subordinate judiciary has not been remodelled.

One has to admit that from generation to generation the English administrators have endeavoured to improve our judicial system. But it cannot be said to have reached the standard prevailing in England. In recent years the Local Governments have assumed greater administrative control over the High Courts. The judges, though their tenure is permanent, hold office during the pleasure of the Crown. Many of the judges belong to the Indian Civil Service. The inferior magistracy is controlled by the Executive, and revenue and magisterial functions are very often combined. Hence, though litigants are satisfied with the existing state of affairs in ordinary circumstances, they distrust the judiciary whenever Government interests are involved.

The hands of the Executive have been further strengthened by certain modifications in the criminal law. The Indian Penal Code of 1860 contained no specific repeal of the penal laws then in force. This has the disadvantage that actions which were made penal for special temporary reasons in the old Regulations and which are not known to the public at present may at any

time be made use of by Government. It certainly defeats one of the main objects of the Indian Penal Code, namely, to codify criminal law. The old law contains such things as the Bengal Regulation III of 1818, the Madras Regulation II of 1819, and the Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827, under which arbitrary confinement of State prisoners, and sometimes even of political prisoners, has been made possible in recent years. Undoubtedly these Regulations undermine the Rule of Law and restrict the liberty of the subject, though they have been sparingly used and only for grave political reasons. But they cannot be enforced if they have been virtually superseded by the Penal Code, for the Commissioners, in the course of their Second Report on the Indian Penal Code, dated 24th June, 1848, had clearly said : 'We think it will be more expedient to provide only that no man shall be tried or punished (except by a Court Martial) for any facts which constitute any offence defined in the Code, otherwise, than according to its provisions.'

Since the passing of the Code in 1860, penal legislation has increased considerably according to circumstances ; but there are certain provisions and acts, such as section 141 A of the Indian Penal Code, the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act of 1911, the Indian Press Act of 1931, and the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1932, which were at first temporarily enforced in the form of Ordinances to repress certain political movements and subsequently included in the Statute Book as permanent law, thus considerably curtailing the liberty of the subject.

A close connection between the liberty of the subject and the Rule of Law can be found in the Indian Constitution. Ordinarily the Rule of Law means the predominance of that law which has received the sanction of the nation through its representative body, the legislature. But

rules and regulations which are enforced by the Executive in opposition to the decision of the legislature and against the liberty of the subject are derogatory to the Rule of Law. Some of the measures cited above were passed under such circumstances that they are orders of the Executive rather than voluntary acts of the legislature. If that is so, the Rule of Law in India can be said to have been deteriorating.

In practice, however, an ordinary citizen, in time of peace, has very little to complain of against British law and justice. Very rarely have Government suspended the ordinary law or deprived the subjects of their liberty. In the history of Administration one comes across very few instances of that kind : for instance, the cruel punishment and arbitrary justice introduced by Warren Hastings to suppress dacoity ; the special criminal procedure enforced by William Bentinck to try the Thugs ; the semi-military rule in the newly conquered territories which were known as the 'non-regulation provinces' ; martial law declared in various places during riots ; and, in recent years, special laws passed to check political agitation. It is an admitted principle that the Executive should be armed with special powers in cases of emergency when the ordinary machinery of the law is not enough. But in such cases a just proportion will have to be observed between the nature of the emergency and the nature of the special powers.

Emergencies which arise in India may be due to troubles which are purely local—communal riots, dacoities, labour strikes, &c.,—or which are of all-India importance, like the recent political agitation for the severance of India from the British Empire. It is but natural that Parliament should be more concerned when Imperial interests are at stake in India than in purely internal affairs, and that Government should have passed more

stringent laws when there were anarchical troubles in Bengal recently than when there were ordinary riots.

Imperial relations have greatly affected the Rule of Law and the liberty of the subject in India. In the beginning, Parliament was jealous of the powers which the East India Company enjoyed in India, and it thought it its duty to see that Indians were not exploited by a selfish commercial corporation. The Regulating Act, Pitt's India Act, and the Charter Act of 1833, show with what eagerness Parliament sought to improve the administrative system and secure the liberty of the subject. It claimed an active control over Indian affairs until the time of the Mutiny. There seemed to be a secret understanding between Parliament and the administrators in India, to restrict the powers of the Company. Yet Parliament did not nurse the idea of extinguishing the Company. Parliamentary discussions on Fox's India Bill and the Charter Act of 1833 reveal the fact that the Company was to remain in order to prevent Indian affairs from being dragged into British party politics. But after the Mutiny, Parliament changed its mind and assumed direct control over India. When once the object of its attacks was removed, it became indifferent and practically left Indian affairs in the hands of the bureaucracy. Circumstances changed again after the Great War. India was agitating for Responsible Government. Parliament decided to give it by bits, but at the same time it found ways and means to revive its interest in India. To-day the motive of its interest has changed. Before 1858, Parliament acted as a check to the Company's unjust method of ruling India ; at present, it is determined that India should get no more than it deems fit to give her. India is dragged too much into British party politics. The bureaucracy in India, which is profoundly influenced

by party prejudice in England, is bound to exercise its extraordinary power when political opinion in England and in India is at variance. If, therefore, Imperial relations are finally settled and Parliament restricts its power of interference by statute, one great obstacle to the Rule of Law and the liberty of the subject will be removed.

Responsible Government is supposed to be a solution of this problem. Then the attitude of India towards the Imperial Government may be as friendly as that of any other British Dominion. But what will the attitude of the ordinary British subject towards the new ministers be under the Responsible Government which will inherit the judicial and legal structure from the present bureaucracy? Will the subordination of the Judiciary to the Executive and the continuation of the repressive laws in the Statute Book be conducive to the development of a benevolent Government? There are two elements in the Indian political atmosphere which will vitiate Responsible Government. Party groups in the Indian legislatures have mainly run on communal lines; and, besides, the ignorant electorates have come under the sway of a selfish aristocracy of wealth. Under such circumstances the ministry will not have the same impartial attitude on purely internal affairs which the British bureaucracy has. It is necessary, therefore, that there should be a perfect Rule of Law and that the Judiciary should be independent of the Executive.

Parliament has not been blind to this fact. It is proposed that at the next stage of reforms the judges are to hold office during good behaviour, i. e., they should not be removed from office except on a report by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The High Courts will be saved from the administrative interference of the Executive by their expenditure being non-votable. The Civil Judiciary and Criminal Magistracy will be

aloof from possible ministerial influence because their appointments will be made by the High Courts and the Public Services Commissions.

But this is not enough. A responsible Executive has to be stripped of its extraordinary powers, which are justifiable only in cases of emergency. Repressive laws should not find a permanent place in the Statute Book, for they are a serious menace to the fundamental rights of the people. It has been shown that fundamental rights cannot take concrete form in our Constitution, and that it is safe to leave them undefined ; but some of the most important factors of our fundamental rights, such as the Rule of Law and the liberty of the subject, can be secured, if not guaranteed, by repealing those measures which go against them.

And this will be the work of our legislatures. A close correspondence between the electorates and the legislatures, and sympathy between India and the Imperial Government, are necessary for the attainment of the Rule of Law. The Rule of Law cannot be merely a gift of the British Government ; it must be acquired by us.

Bombay.

WARFARE

Said soul o' me to flesh o' me,—

'Thou swinish, good-for-nothing beast !

The worms will have a filthy feast

On thee !'

Then flesh o' me to soul replied,—

'Thou forward sprite, I fear thee well !

What will at last drag me to hell ?

Thy pride !'

DAYA KISHOR

AFTER THE ROOSEVELT HONEYMOON

By JOSEPH F. THORNING

AS the Democratic majorities mounted up in the Congress elections of 1934, very few observers of the American political scene imagined that President Roosevelt would have the slightest difficulty in maintaining his legend of invincibility in the forthcoming sessions of the Senate and the House.

Early in January, 1935, however, it became apparent that large majorities on paper do not ensure an easy passage to Administration legislation, especially in the U. S. Senate. The President was unsuccessful in securing adherence to the protocols of the World Court, while the \$4,880,000,000 Work Relief Bill was delayed for more than two months in the legislative mills and then only approved with numerous amendments. At the same time, serious opposition developed to the extension of the N. R. A. (National Recovery Act) for two years, and the support of the veterans' bonus in the teeth of Administration disapproval developed in the Congress.

The most striking change was recorded in the psychology and temper of the people at large. For two years the citizens of the Republic had trusted President Roosevelt with a kind of blind faith ; they applauded his every utterance ; they demanded full support for his every suggestion. At critical moments his cheerful voice,

broadcast over the radio, rallied the doubters and the cynics. It was the honeymoon of the New Deal.

What has undermined the confidence of the electorate and brought this season of rapturous devotion to an abrupt conclusion ? What occurred between November, 1934 and February, 1935 ?

The answer is not far to seek. The Administration was compelled, for the first time, to show its whole hand. Two years of experiment, of trial and error, of high resolve and spirited adventure, in the economic and social world had brought a modicum of concrete results. To be sure, public confidence had been restored, the banks had been rehabilitated, the dollar had been devalued, and a host of agencies for farm and industrial relief had been organized. But with the opening of the regular session of the Congress in 1935 it was necessary to produce a definite, well-rounded, long-range policy of reform and recovery.

To the chagrin and amazement of all, it was disclosed that the sum and substance of the recovery programme was to be sought in the huge \$4,880,000,000 work-relief appropriation. In other words, four billion dollars were to be expended on public works and the balance on routine relief in the various States. Administration spokesmen had to admit that this was nothing more than another stop-gap, not a carefully elaborated scheme for pulling the nation out of the Depression. The experts, the 'brain-trusters', the college professors and social workers, had been granted two years in which to prepare the architectural drawings for the new social order, and they emerged from their monumental offices with nothing more original than a variation on the 'prime-the-pump' theory of John Maynard Keynes. The audience was as much disappointed as if it had come to the theatre to see

Elizabeth Bergner in *Escape Me Never* and been treated to Maude Adams in *Peter Pan*. It was enough to shatter their faith in the Roosevelt fairyland for ever.

The twin pillars of the original Roosevelt temple had been economy and reform. The first delighted the taxpayer and the second enchanted the millions on the relief rolls. Is it surprising that a mere refurbishment of the 'made-work' policy did not offer much balm in Gilead for the unemployed, while the spectacle of mounting budgetary deficits and a \$32,000,000,000 national debt began to be a nightmare for the over-burdened taxpayer? Under this dispensation only three million five hundred thousand men would be put back to work, but the threat of inflation and bankruptcy remained to haunt those who still possessed invested capital. Moreover, the Federal Government was committed to the task of providing jobs, whereas heretofore it had merely contented itself with preventing starvation.

Theoretically, of course, the major share of responsibility for caring for the 'unemployables' was turned back on to the individual States. And Federal relief was still to be conditioned by similar co-operation in the local communities. But in many localities the machinery of relief taxation had broken down. As these lines are written, the great State of Illinois is deadlocked on the source of taxation to be utilized in order to match the appropriations of Washington. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is unwilling to tax corporations in order to carry on the task of feeding the hungry. In other words, the local situation becomes more desperate every day, and the States are turning in greater numbers to the Federal Government. Even public education is slipping from the hands of local authorities because 'he who pays the piper calls the tune'. When the individual

States are reluctant to shoulder the financial responsibility for keeping the public or parochial schools open for ten months in the year, it is clearly illusory to expect these same States to impose heavy taxation in order to maintain the relief offices complete in personnel and funds. And it follows that a Federal programme that leans heavily upon a sense of State responsibility for the fulfilment of these important obligations is leaning on a frail reed.

The same difficulty arises as soon as one analyses the Administration programme for social security. This programme is, indeed, long overdue. Old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, maternity and sickness benefits, have for years been found in the legislative enactments of Germany, Great Britain and Austria. These measures to no small extent cushioned the shock of the impact of economic forces, especially in Great Britain. In the States, owing largely to the spirit of independent initiative and to the dislocation wrought by the World War, there had been little or no corresponding effort to build up social reserves against an evil day. Consequently, the Americans, who had boasted of the 'biggest and best' material civilization, the 'biggest and best' boom era, the 'biggest and best' orgy of speculation (culminating in the market crash of 1929), were also able to add to their list of incomparable trophies the 'biggest and best' Depression. Now in their ambitious efforts to enact the 'biggest and best' recovery from the slough of despair they are embarking upon 'a programme of social security which calls for perfectly co-ordinated activity on the part of both Federal and State Governments.

Fundamental in this co-operative endeavour is the matter of money. The States are to match every dollar of Federal appropriations for old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, and child welfare and maternity benefits.

Reform is excellent, provided you can get the funds and set up the machinery without excessive bureaucracy and prodigal waste. But so far it is not apparent that the one or the other is feasible. The only theoretical advantage this programme of reform enjoys is that it is part of the scheme of recovery ; wholesale expenditure of public money will in some way stimulate private business and enable us to *spend* our way out of the Depression.

Reduced to its simplest terms, therefore, the Roosevelt policy is an attempt to re-distribute wealth by the method of taxation. Reform is to go hand in hand with business recovery and not to be postponed to the happy day of national prosperity. To this policy is committed the whole credit of the Federal Treasury and to it will be rallied every resource of the nation. The race is no longer between Reform and Revolution, a development that might easily have become tragic under a president like Hoover ; but it is a race between the forces of natural recovery and the credit of the United States of America. As long as the money holds out, as long as the dollar does not suffer wholesale devaluation, as long as panic refuses to seize the citizens of the Republic, the titanic struggle of the Administration will be engaged with some hope of final success.

One of the leaders in the fight recently expressed his opinion in these words : 'If some morning I wake up and find that the granaries of America have been swept clean of grain and corn, if I read that the live stock and hogs have perished in pestilence, if I hear that the cotton crop has completely failed, or that our mines of copper, iron, coal and silver have become exhausted, I will begin to be worried and anxious for the future. But until the oil refuses to gush from the wells of Texas and Oklahoma, and the orchards of Virginia and Florida fail to bear their

apples, oranges, peaches and pears, I will maintain my confidence in the destiny of America and her people.' It would be no rash guess to infer from this statement that the tap-root of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's fundamental optimism reaches deep down into the fertile earth, the ore-bearing veins, and the sun-warmed watersheds of the Western Hemisphere. Contrasting the Hoover policy of drift in the midst of depression and the Roosevelt determination to 'do everything about it', we cannot fail to cast our vote of approval for a programme of action. And in appraising the results of what may at times appear ill-considered, poorly co-ordinated, and inconsistent activity, we must also weigh the difficulties and obstacles that have not disappeared but rather multiplied themselves since 1932.

Why did the N. R. A., heralded as the dawn of a new day in industrial production and re-employment, fail to achieve the substantial measure of success predicted for it by General Hugh Johnson? Was this relative failure due to ineffective administration and enforcement, to lack of courage in prosecuting violations of the collective bargaining provision, or to the fundamental insecurity of the whole legislation?

Each of these defects hindered the happy results expected from the National Recovery Administration. More important, however, was the fact that the N. R. A. had to keep up a losing battle with the machine. As more men were being put back to work by the codes, more workers were being displaced by the power age. It is true that industrial production slumped badly in 1929, but no moratorium was declared (nor was it feasible) on the technical advances achieved in mechanical engineering, mass-production, automatic control, and the application of electrical power to labour-saving machinery.

Almost as fast as the N. R. A. created new jobs, the power age was destroying the demand for men to fill the old jobs. In the race between recovery and the machine, the N. R. A. was a very poor second.

Nowhere has this been so apparent as in the motor car industry. How many realize that in the great centres of automobile production, like Detroit, Toledo, Flint, and Cleveland (where many accessories and tools are manufactured), the indices of production not only equal, but actually surpass the levels of the boom period of 1928-29? More automobiles and more trucks are pouring from the factories than ever before in this country's history. Costs have been reduced, prices are reasonable, and the quality of the product has perceptibly improved. The electrical and steam power used in these factories for the manufacture of automobiles or automotive parts is greater than in 1929. But how many men are working in the industry compared with the number employed in 1928-29? Slightly more than half the number who were required for a slightly lower level of production in that era.

To some this will appear as an over-simplification, but it is the really important key to the enigma of modern times. Production is no longer the index by which to judge business recovery; the index must be sought in the number of men actually put back to work balanced against those discharged. Does this not explain, at least in part, the mysterious fact that, while some measure of improvement has been noted on the national scene, there has been no appreciable decrease in the number of those on the relief rolls? In other words, some people have found jobs, but concomitantly with this development there has been the displacement of those hitherto in employment by the new application of power-machinery to the needs of industry and agriculture.

The French have a very pithy proverb to describe this situation : *Les solutions sont encore à résoudre*—the solutions attempted are themselves new problems. The problem which faced Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 is not only intact, but it has become intensified owing to influences quite beyond his control and in spite of the truly Herculean efforts he has made to avert disaster.

This, then, must be the explanation of the widespread mass-emotion that has been aroused by the plausible prophets of prosperity whose rise to power has been one of the most puzzling phenomena to the foreign observer. The latter is completely at a loss to understand how purveyors of panaceas, like Huey P. Long and Dr. Townsend, can possibly receive a hearing from reasonable men and women. These two leaders have developed a considerable following simply because the Roosevelt 'Recovery', fell short of the Earthly Paradise they had been led to expect. For the first time in the history of the American nation, social and economic security has become the leading passion of the populace. The spectre of a dismal and destitute old age has risen before the eyes of every citizen. Millions who lost the capital they had diligently husbanded over thirty or forty years, now look for leisure and comfort from a Governmental *fiat*. Glowing promises and simple plans of re-distribution of wealth have an almost irresistible charm and appeal to the dispossessed and the under-privileged. The radio can carry these promises to millions, not once, but often within a single month. The influence of Father Coughlin, who was the first in the field and who has for some time outlined a more detailed and more coherent programme than Long's or Townsend's, is for the moment paramount. The danger will become acute when the different prophets

begin to compete with each other in making the most extravagant and fantastic promises.

For the next eighteen months, however, President Roosevelt will enjoy one notable advantage. He can provide on a lavish scale, not mere promises, but cold cash of the type coveted by politicians. The five-billion-dollar appropriation is a dazzling reality. Jobs and salaries will keep many of the faithful in line. Others will be attracted by hopes of future rewards. The Roosevelt war-chest will not suffer depletion before the Treasury of the United States runs dry. This is a fact and not a theory.

Perhaps the best expression of this homely truth was contributed by the Hon. David A. Reed, former U. S. Senator from Pennsylvania and long the titular leader of the Republican Party in the Senate. After a pre-campaign speech in which he soundly criticized the Roosevelt Administration, Mr. Reed was questioned by a reporter for one of the Washington newspapers.

'Mr. Reed', asked the reporter, 'Do you think the Republicans can beat President Roosevelt in the next election ?'

'Beat Roosevelt ?', repeated the former Senator, 'Of course we can beat Roosevelt. That would be easy in 1936. But—we can't beat five billion dollars.'

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CO-EDUCATION FOR INDIA ?

By T. N. SIQUEIRA

THERE is no problem connected with the general educational policy in India to-day which is at once so urgent and so baffling as that of co-education.¹ With the insistent demand for female education and the constant assertion by the once weaker sex of its equality with the other, it was inevitable that educationists in India should think of a solution which has all the attraction of novelty and cheapness, and all the recommendation of utility. It was, therefore, discussed by the Inter-University Board in March last year, and then proposed to all the universities of India. Eleven of these universities have submitted their opinions,² and though they are neither clear nor unanimous, they at least show that co-education is a very live problem.

Since education affects the whole man, every educational question is as complex as man himself ; it therefore involves biology, psychology, hygiene, pedagogy, morality and religion. It also differs with nations and temperaments. In this short article we shall study co-education only from the psychological point of view, and examine its advisability for India.

I

To avoid confusion, it is well to distinguish at the very start between education and instruction. Education

¹ The word was first used in 1874, and is of U. S. origin (*Oxford Dict.*).

² For these opinions cf. *The Hindu*, Madras. Educational and Literary Supplement, May 29, 1935.

comprises that period of our lives in which our characters are formed and moulded and our faculties so developed and regulated by reason that we can thereafter face life with equanimity. When we speak of co-education, therefore, we mean the education 'of boys and girls in the same school or institution, in the same classes, and through the same courses of study,'¹ till they are fit to enter a professional career. The training of grown-up men and women in law or medicine is not co-education, and does not, therefore, come directly into the present inquiry.

There are some apologetic advocates of co-education who admit that it has many drawbacks, but plead that it is more economical to have one large mixed school in a town for boys and girls than two small separate schools. They remember one of Lord Morley's pontifical pronouncements that 'Politics are a field where action is one long second-best',² and lay the flattering unction to their souls that co-education is better than no education. This principle is morally sound only when it is a question of choosing the lesser of two good things ; but are there no occasions when 'no bread' is better than half a loaf ?—when, for instance, the half loaf contains arsenic !

But Signor Pestalozzi's authority is often invoked for the theory that co-education is not a second-best but *the* best form of education, since it provides in the school an imitation of the home, where boys and girls live together and play and work together. Pestalozzi's great contribution to Pedagogy was his discovery that since school is a preparation for life it should, as far as possible, be *natural* and resemble as closely as it can the conditions of healthy unselfconscious home life. But is it possible to have among children of different parents and coming from different social surroundings the perfectly natural and

¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, eleventh edition, p. 637, col. 1

² *Studies in Literature*, p. 190.

innocent relations of brothers and sisters? No deep knowledge of human nature is required to say that it is not. The atmosphere of a good home is something unique; it can never be imitated or reproduced. Even the smallest children distinguish between relations and strangers, between friends and enemies, between boys and girls. And as they grow up, these distinctions become clearer and produce unconscious physical and psychological reactions which are unknown among the members of a family.

Another argument which convinced co-educationists bring up is that co-education prepares boys and girls for their future life by giving them a timely knowledge of each other. 'If', says Dr. S. Herbert, 'education is a preparation for life, then co-education would seem one of the best means of attaining that end. . . To train the sexes apart during school life, and then to fling them together in society on the chance of their realizing harmonious co-operation, is at best a gambler's game.'¹ It would seem, then, that so far in India men and women have lived most unhappy married lives because they were educated separately and then thrown together one fine wedding morning, and that co-education will secure that 'harmonious co-operation' which is the joy of family life. But the experience of America and Scotland, where co-education has been tried on the largest scale, does not seem to bear out this theory. Though it is difficult to obtain reliable statistics on such a delicate question, it is admitted by all educationists that the appalling prevalence of divorce and other violations of the sacred bond of marriage in these two countries is in great measure due to co-education. Boys and girls who are acquainted with one another at school will not, when they marry, have the same respect or the same exclusive

¹ *Fundamentals in Sexual Ethics*, p. 334.

attachment which marriage requires. They have come to consider a person of the other sex as *a* companion, not as *the only* companion for life! The true happiness and peace of a good Indian home is known only to those who have lived in one ; and whatever tourists and civil servants may write about them from their cars or *dak* bungalows, the Indian husband and wife love each other all the more exclusively because they never sat on the same bench or played the same games with boys *and* girls at school. Whether long courtship before marriage makes for greater happiness after marriage is a question which can, to say the least, be very reasonably disputed. It has been said that the Indian bride is not chosen by her groom but by his parents : even if this be true, the choice made by his parents is much less likely to be foolish and unhappy in the long run than that which he himself will be inclined to make in his salad days, when he is green in judgment. And if this is true of a choice made by a young man of twenty, how much more true is it of a choice made by a boy at school, before he knows how to use his reason ? No, let us not import co-education along with Ford cars and Diesel engines. Let us not be carried away by all this fine talk about mutual knowledge and contact. Our homes are sanctuaries ; let us keep them sacred.

II

It is sometimes said that co-education will raise women to the same level as men. Even so eminent an educationist as Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, sometime Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, in his Convocation Address at Mysore, said¹ : 'In these days of the onset of democracy, a good theoretical case can be made out for

¹ Reported by *The Hindu*, October 31, 1934

co-education in all its stages. . . The question of equality in education of man and woman takes me to the larger issue of democracy.' European writers, too, sometimes think that to teach boys and girls together in mixed schools is a sign of democracy and equality. Cecil Grant and Norman Hodgson attribute the 'dogged persistence of an obsolete tradition' (of separate schools) to the influence of the medieval monastic system with its anti-feminism 'which determined the general character of education and produced the stereotyped form from which the English Public School has grown.'¹ The truth, however, is that the medieval traditional system of educating girls separately was based on a genuine respect for them. It does not prove that girls are inferior to boys, but that they are *different*. Psychology, no less than anatomy, shows that at every stage a woman is different from a man. This difference is greater in some periods of life than others, and greater in some individuals than in others ; but in every stage of her life woman is different in body and in mind, but above all in feelings and reactions, from man. Is it, then, possible to really *educate* a boy and a girl together ? Education is not mere training to read and write and count ; it is not a pumping of facts and theories into more or less *vacuumized* heads. It is a vital, organic process, which goes on *ab intra*, within the pupil's soul, as it gradually unfolds its petals to the light of life and responds to the appeal of the outside world, now one way, now another, under the influence of a teacher who is a model and an inspiration. To give a really *perfect* education, therefore, there would have to be one teacher to each boy or girl, for no two boys or girls are exactly alike in body and mind, in home training and surroundings, in previous experiences, in intellectual and emotional capacity, in quickness and sureness, in

¹ *The Case for Co-education*, London, 1913, pp. 110, 111.

steadiness and care. If, then, even a class of boys or girls of the same age can hardly be properly educated by one teacher, can we ever dream of educating a mixed class of boys *and* girls, when it is admitted by all psychologists that any girl differs much more from any boy than any boy from every other boy ?

Besides, every teacher is constantly in need of comparisons, illustrations, stories, with which to make his pupils grasp and assimilate abstract ideas. These illustrations, if they are to be of any practical use and not an additional burden, should be taken from the pupils' own experience and surroundings, and appeal, not to the universal *mind-as-such*, but to their concrete, actual minds. How, then, can a teacher find apt illustrations when his class consists of two totally different sections which have hardly anything in common either in the psychology of their faculties or even in the background of their home lives and their interests and tastes ?

III

Neither is the company of the other sex beneficial to either. Co-educationists, indeed, like Dr. Herbert, claim that 'the boys' standard of manner and courtesy is raised ; the girls gain in independence and directness.'¹ Alice Wood, the editor of *Co-education*, says : 'The truth about boys and girls is this : each sex is most itself in the presence of the other.'² There is certainly no doubt that the companionship of girls makes boys less rough and boisterous, and that contact with boys gives girls a certain manliness which is far from ungraceful. You can always tell the boy who has never had a sister. There is always something wanting in the girl who, like Queen Victoria,

¹ Op. cit., p. 340.

² London, 1903, p. 85.

has never had a brother 'to break in upon the gentle monotony of the daily round with impetuosity, with rudeness, with careless laughter. . .'¹ But this advantage is not derived to the same extent by a boy in the company of girls who are not his sisters, or by a girl in the company of boys who are not her brothers. Experience rather seems to show that boys become girlish and girls boyish when they are educated in mixed schools. Is this what co-educationists mean by the equality of the sexes ? The manly vigour of a boy is a quality given him by God ; the delicacy of a girl is also given her by God. Is it to anyone's good to erase these precious differences and produce a non-descript hybrid which is neither boy nor girl ?

These boys and girls will later on be happy only in the measure in which they are *complements* to each other. The happiness of married life consists in either party finding in the other those qualities which it lacks : the husband, manly, courageous, enterprising, active ; the wife, womanly, tender, delicate, devoted, modest. Indian literature is full of lofty ideals of womanhood : Sāvitrī, Sitā, Damayanti,—these are the models for our women, not the tomboys who specialize in cigarettes and 'shorts'. It is because the difference between man and woman has been all but obliterated that they find so little pleasure in each other's company in marriage ; it is because they already know the other sex in class-room and playground that they very soon tire of each other when they have entered into the serious life of wedlock.

Neither is this intercourse of boys and girls in playing field and schoolroom as free from embarrassment and strain as their educators seem to think. Mrs. Ratnamma Isaac, of the Mysore Medical Service, who is herself a professor

¹ Lytton Strachey in *Queen Victoria*, p. 32.

of Midwifery in the University Medical College, in a Symposium on Co-education,¹ says : 'I have not found, nor the students, any awkwardness in teaching and learning such a delicate subject when men and women students are sitting together. . . ' The truth of her testimony about herself we have no reason to doubt ; but whether the students felt no awkwardness, though they were grown-up men and women, it is impossible to know. Will they confess their inner feelings on such a delicate matter to a professor ? Will they have the courage to face the charge of squeamishness and prudery ? Spiritual directors who have enjoyed the confidence of students in mixed schools say that their life in these schools is a continual strain. The very presence of a stranger of the other sex makes a boy or girl shy and awkward, and this is a natural instinct wisely planted in them by God and worth preserving with the greatest care. When they are among themselves boys will laugh and joke merrily ; in the presence of girls who are not closely related to them they feel an instinctive constraint and become unnatural and reserved. This feeling increases at the time of puberty, but it is always present, especially in those children who come of good families, and have had a good upbringing. Far from making school-life natural and easy, therefore, co-education makes it awkward and difficult for both teachers and pupils. A lady teacher can produce a harmless titter in a class of girls at the eccentric amours of Don Quixote or Sir Roger ; a school-master can throw a class of boys into roars of laughter at the vanity of Mrs. Tibbs or Lady Catherine ; but if both are present in the same class, no joke can be made about either without causing awkward situations. The students, too, are under a continual strain when they are sitting with those of the other sex, and still more when they

¹ Contributed to *The Guardian*, Madras, April 25, 1935.

are coming out of or going into class, waiting for the teacher, or playing games.

IV

The advocates of co-education seem to be only too conscious of these very serious drawbacks of their scheme when they propose endless restrictions and modifications in its carrying out. If, as Sir H. Suhrawardy maintains,¹ 'a good theoretical case can be made out for co-education in all its stages', why is he afraid to put it into execution? Why does he say that it may be practised on children below the age of nine or ten, and on post-graduate students, and perhaps also in the graduate classes, 'but certainly it should not be adopted in any other stage, not even in the Intermediate classes'? Is it merely because 'in a country like ours, with its rooted traditions and conservative instincts, it is wiser to be more cautious?' An educationist of Sir Hassan's eminence should not sacrifice principles to caution if he is sure that his principles are right. And if they are right at the graduate stage, how do they become wrong in the Intermediate or High School stage? Is there any appreciable difference in the average age of pupils in these two stages?

Besides, this distinguishing of ages in the practice of co-education is unscientific. Every writer seems to take it for granted that no one can object to co-education in the primary school. But psychology shows that even little children under ten are conscious of their sex, and though they do not *feel* all that older people do, their curiosity is strangely and unnecessarily aroused by the companionship of the other sex. Again, are the pupils of the same class all of the same age? There may be boys of twelve and boys of sixteen or eighteen in the

¹ Loc. cit.

same class ; there may be girls of sixteen and boys of twelve in the same mixed class ; and even boys and girls of the same age differ in physical and psychical development according to heredity, constitution, temperament, home surroundings, health and training. How, then, can the period suitable for co-education be marked off with any scientific accuracy ? It is much safer, therefore, in such an important and delicate matter, on which the entire happiness of hundreds of pupils in life and in eternity will depend, to refuse to accept co-education in any stage whatever.

Another proof of the weakness of co-education is the *amendments* which its staunchest advocates propose in its practical working. J. H. Badley, Headmaster of Bedales, after praising mixed schools, adds the saving caution : 'Care should be taken to see that as regards numbers, age, and the balance of sexes on the staff, there is no excessive influence on one side or the other.' Mr. Leitch Wilson, in his recent report on the progress of education in Delhi, says : 'It is obvious that any impetuous attempt to bring girls into boys' schools, without adequate safeguards, and a reasonable proportion of women teachers, would put the clock back and do more harm than good.' Professor J. A. Thomson insists that 'the sexes should be taught together, *and* taught separately, taught by men *and* by women.'¹ Grant and Hodgson recommend co-educational schools arranged on the 'elective' system, with two sets of subjects, one for boys and the other for girls, and men and women respectively to teach them.² Others propose that though boys and girls sit in the same class-room they should never be together for games or debates or even library meetings ; the girls in a class should be a very small percentage ; the discipline and supervision

¹ *The Position of Woman*, p. 25.

² *The Case for Co-education*, p. 181.

should be very strict. . . Is there not in all this an unmistakable ring of defeat ? Those who thus try to protect a system which they feel to be unsound certainly show a conscientiousness which deserves high praise. Would it not deserve still higher praise if it rejected co-education altogether ?

For the remedy is worse than the disease. Co-education is proposed as a way of economizing on staff and equipment ; and it requires separate subjects for boys and girls, separate teachers, wardens, supervisors of games and physical instructors ! It is meant to give boys and girls not only an equal but an identical education ; and we are told not to give the same home-work to girls as to boys at certain stages when they are weaker and more nervous than boys ; not to give them the same subjects, but rather domestic economy, hygiene, cookery and music ! Co-education is intended to foster intercourse and mutual knowledge between boys and girls ; and its champions prevent them from ever meeting except in the silence and discipline of the class-room !

V

The case for co-education is, therefore, very slender. We have shown that from the psychological point of view it is *impossible* really to educate boys and girls together. Co-education is no education. It may be co-instruction, or co-playing, or co-debating, but it is not and cannot be *co-education*. For boys and girls are too *different* (which is not the same as *unequal*) to be educated together. And their differences are not only fundamental and natural but necessary to the well-being and happiness of the family, the home, and the human race itself. These differences should, therefore, not only not be blunted and erased by haphazard mixed company

at school, but carefully fostered and developed and thrown into healthy relief by the natural and innocent contacts of the home. The happiness of husband and wife lies in their finding in each other, not the whole, but only half (and the better half !) of themselves.

In the face of such tremendous consequences, shall we dare to use the argument of economy ? Better no education for our women than such education. Indian women have been the pride of their sex for centuries in spite of social and educational disabilities. May they continue to be such, with the added refinement of a truly feminine education, if it can be had, but without any cheap and halting substitute ! The strict separation of boys and girls in the past has certainly not made Indian women weak and lifeless. Writing on the extraordinary courage and initiative shown by them in 1930, Sir Francis Younghusband, no infatuated Indologist or irresponsible •tourist, said :

The result of the Hindu conception of woman has been to ennoble the woman . . . Out of her very humility and meekness has come forth strength. . . And now to-day, as she is coming out into the world, she is displaying a courage and tenacity, a fortitude and love, and a capacity for self-sacrifice, service and suffering, that cause Gandhi to acclaim the female as not the weaker but the nobler sex.

Co-education can only rob India of this glory.

Calcutta.



GREGOR MENDEL

BY DR. JAMES J. WALSH

THE most astonishing personality in the history of biology in the nineteenth century is Father Gregor Mendel, the Augustinian monk who, after a series of observations on pea plants in his monastery garden, revolutionized the science by deducing the laws of heredity which have proved a guiding star to biologists ever since. The revolution he worked was so complete that there has scarcely been a biological journal in any language or any country during the past thirty years which has not spoken of him.

Whole numbers of important biological journals have been devoted to the discussion of the various applications of Mendel's laws, so that he has been more written and talked about than any other scientist in the nineteenth century, more even than Pasteur, the great French bacteriologist, and Darwin, the English evolutionist. A distinguished president of the Association for the Advancement of Science, Professor Bateson, once declared that if Darwin had had the chance of reading some of Mendel's contributions to biology he would undoubtedly have modified many expressions in his book and some of his most significant points of view.

The most surprising thing about Mendel is that his own generation utterly failed to appreciate the significance of his discoveries or recognize the meaning that was in them. It was not until the beginning of the present century that Mendel's work began to attract attention ; for two or three years biologists everywhere studied it, and discovered more and more of the great significance of these simple laws which solved problems that had occupied men ever since they began to study the living things around them and the relations between plants and animals and human beings.

Mendel was the son of a not very well-to-do farmer in Moravia, now part of Czechoslovakia. He went to the Augustinian school in the little town of Bränn, and after some years joined the

Augustinian Order. He was not at all brilliant in his studies, but was very much interested in plants, and as the Augustinians wanted to have a good teacher of biology they gave him the opportunity to go to Vienna for special studies in that subject. To be allowed to teach in a Government school he had to pass a special examination in the subject that he was to teach ; and Mendel twice appeared for that examination and failed. He then went back to Bränn to be an assistant teacher in the *Realschule* on a salary equivalent to a shilling and a half a day.

The examination papers of candidates are kept for many years in the archives in Vienna, or at least used to be before the War, so that they may be checked at any time. Later on, when Mendel's name became famous, his examination papers, which had been kept in the archives in Vienna, were re-valued, but it was found that he had not deserved to pass and that the marks had been liberal. The trouble with Mendel was that when he knew that he did not know a thing he could not 'bluff' like other students who knew far less than he did.

He went back to his humble teaching work in Bränn, then, and was elected secretary of a little naturalists' society in the town. This society published its 'Transactions' and sent them to the important libraries and universities, so that if there was anything of value in them it might be recognized and made use of with proper acknowledgment to its author. It was in these 'Transactions' that Mendel's articles on heredity were published ; but no one paid any particular attention to them at the time. Bränn was a little town with only a secondary school, and one was tempted to say : 'Could anything good come out of Bränn ?'

For his experiments and observations Mendel used the monastery garden. Monastery gardens are generally thought to be extensive, with an orchard and some acres for truck-gardening, and perhaps even more. The monastery garden of Bränn, however, was only the size of a couple of what are called 'lots' in New York, the usual measurement of which is twenty-five by one hundred feet. There was, therefore, space enough to grow a few rose bushes and perhaps a furrow or two of vegetables, but scarcely more. Mendel proceeded to use this little garden for the pea plants on which he based his observations. He made some ten thousand observations in all, and from them deduced his famous laws of heredity.

It is probable that Mendel chose peas for his observations because after they had been scientifically observed, counted and differentiated they could still be useful for the monastery table. This would be in keeping with his vow of poverty. It is now definitely known that the laws of heredity can be more readily and more perfectly deduced from the pea plant than from any other plant. Whether there was a special blessing on Father Mendel's observance of poverty is not clear, but it is a very interesting circumstance that Providence led him to use pea plants for his observations.

These observations were made during the early sixties of the nineteenth century and recorded in the 'Transactions' of the Brünn Naturalist Society. It might have been expected that a revolutionary discovery of this kind would attract immediate and wide attention. But it attracted no attention whatever. A solitary professor in one of the German universities seems to have realized something of its significance and corresponded with its author. A generation later, just at the beginning of the twentieth century, four men working in four different countries discovered that there was some important law of heredity that could easily be worked out in plants and applied to all living things. But when they looked into the literature on the subject they found that this law had been already formulated and completely worked out, a generation before, by a humble Augustinian in the monastery of Brünn.

Mendel's work would probably have attracted much more attention but for the fact that it came at a time when the minds of biologists were preoccupied with quite a different idea. Darwin's book *On the Origin of Species* had been published in 1859 and practically absorbed most of the attention of biologists during the sixties. Darwin's was a brilliant *theory*; Mendel's work was founded on faultless, penetrating *observation*. Darwin's theory has been the football of scientists, kicked now this way, now that, according to the biological fashion of each decade. It is unfortunate that the two men never met, for Darwin thoroughly appreciated the work of others and was probably better fitted than any other of his contemporaries to estimate the value of Mendel's observations on pea plants. Mendel will live on in the history of science; Darwinism seems to have already faded to a very great extent, though Darwin's wonderful powers as an observer will

always remain as a monument to his scientific abilities. In the course of the next five years Mendel's name was in the mouths of biologists everywhere, and his discoveries were hailed as epoch-making achievements in biological science. In a paper read before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1905, Professor W. E. Castle, director of the department of physiology of Harvard University, said with regard to Mendel's law of heredity :

What will doubtless rank as one of the greatest discoveries in the study of biology, and in the study of heredity perhaps the greatest, was made by Gregor Mendel, an Austrian monk, in the garden of his cloister some forty years ago. The discovery was announced in proceedings of a fairly well known scientific society, but seems to have attracted very little attention and was soon forgotten.

Professor Castle does not hesitate to say what he thinks was the reason for this neglect, and he emphasizes the difference in value for science between theory and observation. The Harvard professor's remarks are :

The Darwinian theory then occupied the centre of the scientific stage and Mendel's brilliant discovery was all but unnoticed for a third of a century. Meanwhile the discussion aroused by Weismann's germ-plasm theory, in particular the idea of the non-inheritance of acquired characters, put the scientific public into a more receptive frame of mind. Mendel's law was rediscovered independently by three different botanists, De Vries, Correns and Tzschermak, in the year 1900, while they were engaged in the study of plant hybrids.¹

Far from being alone in his praise of Mendel, Professor Castle was one of many who felt compelled to admit how much Mendel's observations and deductions had helped to clear up the intricate problems of heredity. Among others, Thomas Hunt Morgan deserves special mention. After having been professor of biology at Bryn Mawr, the women's college not far from Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, Professor Morgan was invited to occupy a similar chair at Columbia University in New York City, the largest university in the world in number of students, and later asked to take charge of the Research Institute in California. His observations and experiments on fruit flies have done much to clarify the Mendelian doctrine, and he was given the Nobel Prize last year for his work in exemplifying Mendel's laws and strengthening his

¹ Castle's paper was published in part in the *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* (vol. XXXVIII, No. 18, January, 1903). It may be found complete in *Science*, September 25, 1903.—Castle himself has since added much that is of great value for the proper understanding of the laws of Mendel by his work in the physiological department of Harvard. It is almost needless to say that he has come to be looked upon as an authority of great weight in questions of biological laws, especially of those related to heredity.

conclusions. Professor Morgan strongly emphasized the revolutionary character of Mendel's discovery, and he did not hesitate to say that recent demonstrations of the mathematical truth of Mendel's law absolutely confirm Mendel's original observations. Professor Morgan is quite sure that Mendel's work gives the final *coup de grace* to the theory of Natural Selection. He says :

If we reject Darwin's theory of Natural Selection as the explanation of evolution, we are in possession now at least of a new and promising outlook in another direction and are in a position to answer the oft heard but unscientific query of those who must cling to some dogma : if you reject Darwin, what better have you to offer ?

The most important disciple of Mendel in the generation after his death was Professor Bateson of England, who was afterwards elected president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, probably the most important scientific body in the world. It was Professor Bateson's little volume on Mendel's principles of heredity that provided the first popular exposition in English of Mendel's work. He goes so far as to say that an exact determination of the laws of heredity, as they have been worked out by Mendel, 'will probably produce more change in man's outlook upon the world and in his power over nature than any other advance in natural knowledge that can be clearly foreseen. No one has better opportunities of pursuing such work than horticulturists and stock-breeders. They are daily witnesses of the phenomena of heredity. Their success also depends largely on the knowledge of its laws, and obviously every increase in that knowledge is of direct and special importance to them.'

Bateson feels that he cannot say too much in praise of the significance of Mendel's work not only for science but also for the practical things of life. He says that by the application of Mendel's principles we are enabled to explain phenomena of a fundamental nature which lie at the very root of all conceptions, not merely of the physiology of reproduction and heredity, but even of the essential nature of living organisms. His conclusion is :

I think that I used no extravagant words when, in introducing Mendel's work to the notice of the Royal Horticultural Society's journal, I ventured to declare that his experiments are worthy to rank with those which laid the foundation of the atomic laws of Chemistry.

Mendel remained in Brunn for the rest of his life and died in 1884 at the age of sixty-two. Not long after the publication of

his articles on heredity, while he was still in the midst of his scientific work, the Superior of his religious community died, and he was selected by his brother monks to succeed him as Prior. Though he had no ambition for the dignity, he felt that he was bound to yield to the express wish of his brethren. Unfortunately, however, shortly after his installation trouble arose between his monastery and the Austrian Government over some property belonging to the community. But he won his case completely, though it was not until after his death that the final adjudication came.

His duties as Superior made it almost impossible for him to continue his biological observations ; this trouble with the Austrian Government, in which he had to defend the rights of his brother monks, further prevented him from continuing his work with anything like his former attention. He seems, however, to have occupied himself with observations on subjects somewhat more practically scientific. He investigated the approach to the surface of what is known as ground water, whose level rises and falls with the seasons and which might be expected to influence the occurrence of disease in various ways. This subject occupied Professor Pettenkoffer in the Munich School of Hygiene for a number of years. Pettenkoffer felt certain that whenever the ground water came close to the surface there were likely to be epidemics of typhoid and similar fevers. Even after the bacillus of typhoid fever had been discovered, Pettenkoffer refused to accept it, and it required some very interesting observations and experiments to demonstrate the real causative action of this microbe in the disease.

The other subject in which Mendel was very much interested was meteorology. He published in the 'Proceedings' of the Bränn Naturalist Society a series of statistical observations on the weather. Besides, in connection with the *Realschule* in Bränn he organized a series of stations for making observations in different parts of the country around. At this time the weather was thought to depend on too many factors to be governed by any laws. Most scientists considered meteorological problems to be too complex for a hopeful solution. But Mendel was very definitely of the opinion that the questions involved, though complex, depended for their solution rather on the collation of a sufficient number of observations and the deduction of definite laws from them than on any

theoretical science of the weather. It was clear that the man had a genius for scientific observations, and an ability to simplify intricate problems that was unsurpassed. He had a thoroughgoing scientific bent of mind.

It has often been said that deep religious belief is incompatible with the scientific frame of mind. Scientists are inclined to say that they would like to believe, but find it impossible to accept things on faith, and therefore have to be content with doubts in religion in compensation for their certainties in science. In Father Mendel we have a striking example of the scientific bent of mind raised to the highest exponent combined with a deep and solid piety and a profound goodness of heart and thoughtfulness for others. The fact that his brother monks selected him as their Superior is the best possible proof of what they thought of him as a religious. He seems to have won the hearts of those who knew him best. Some thirty years ago, when I was writing the first sketch of Mendel which appeared in the United States, I was in correspondence with the monks in Brunn, and they told me that there were many still alive then who remembered Father Mendel very well and who could not say enough of his kindly ways and his happy disposition. They talked about the *fröhliche Liebenswürdigkeit*,—which is almost as hard to translate into English as the *Gemütlichkeit* of the Viennese. It means much more than personal magnetism, and might be translated 'happy outlook on life'. His lovable personal character impressed itself deeply on the inhabitants of the town and they remembered him best for that. After he was made Superior of the monastery, he was also for a time president of the Brunn Naturalist Society, a combination of posts that would strike English-speaking people as rather strange ; but there was no feeling in Brunn that there was any serious conflict between science and faith, and, above all, no thought that because a man had religion deep in his soul he could not also have a thorough knowledge of science and a scientific genius of a high order.

New York.

JEHANNE

By H. C. E. ZACHARIAS

V. THE LAY CHAMPION

ROUEN—so long the capital of Normandy—is, perhaps, the French city which has best preserved its medieval *cachet*. Not only does it still possess glorious Gothic churches,—such as the Cathedral and St. Ouen's (once a Benedictine monastery)—and the Law Courts, but whole streets preserve their fronts of timber-gabled houses ; lanes remain where the walls of the houses on either side nearly touch ; there are little passages and inner courts ; monuments of things long passed away ; bits of old gateways and towers. . . And yet of St. Joan of Arc, who has rendered Rouen famous (or rather notorious), there remain few contemporary vestiges. Part of the tower in which she was kept prisoner stands : there are the grounds of St. Ouen's, where she was inveigled into making a recantation ; there is the archiepiscopal palace, where the sentence of her condemnation was passed on May 29, 1431, and that of her rehabilitation, on July 7, 1456 ; there still stands the mansion of the Bishop of Lisieux¹, who was her judge : and that is about all. The old market-place is still to be seen, but an ugly modern covered-in market occupies it nowadays, and the statue which has recently been erected on the very spot where she was burnt at the stake.

¹ In 1432, six months after the judicial murder of Jehanne, Cauchon was transferred from Beauvais to Lisieux by Pope Eugene IV, who actually referred to *bonae famae tuae odor* !

has, therefore, a rather incongruous setting. For the rest, there is the Seine, into whose waters the ashes of the Saint were thrown in order that no relic of 'that dangerous woman' might survive her execution. . .

Rouen was English from 1419 to 1449 and, truth to tell, was not sorry for it. The city had suffered much under Charles VI's exactions and risen in revolt against him in 1382. Since then the king had never forgotten its disloyalty, and had made it feel his displeasure all the more fiercely—so that in 1419 the Rouennese were not at all reluctant to change masters. When the English, therefore, took their redoubtable prisoner to Rouen, they felt they had chosen the safest place they could for the trial. They had with equal skill chosen Peter Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, as her judge. A native of Rheims, he had espoused the Anglo-Burgundian cause and become one of its prominent defenders. He was in Rheims in the summer of 1429 and had to flee precipitately from it at the victorious approach of Jéhanne. As though that ignominy were not enough, he had once more to leave Beauvais before the triumphant march of the Maid. That she should have twice put him to flight, he could never forgive : hence the avidity with which he undertook to see to the proper staging and carrying through of this trial.

The English insisted on the trial because it was of the utmost importance for their cause to get an unimpeachable ecclesiastical court to declare in due form that Jéhanne's mission was not divine. For if it was not, Charles VII had no moral claim to the crown of France ; and if Jéhanne was not a true messenger of God, she must be a messenger from hell, and therefore the coronation of Charles at Rheims was null and void ; and young Henry VI of England could be crowned king of France, as in fact he was at Notre-Dame, the cathedral of Paris.

But how could they prove that one whom we now know to have been a Saint was a witch, a heretic, and a grievous sinner? The attempt to prove this was by no means as preposterous as it appears to us to-day. In fact, appearances really went against Jehanne. Her male disguise, her unwomanly soldiering, her defiance of custom, were enough to rouse suspicion. Besides, how did this peasant girl dare to give orders to nobles of the realm and high officers of the army? Whence was this authority which she so coolly arrogated to herself? What were her credentials? Miracles? Well, black magic also can produce preternatural effects. Most serious of all, did her assumed authority not extend to matters ecclesiastical? The coronation of Charles at Rheims had been engineered by her. Did not Charles thereby show the Gallican aspiration of French monarchy to be supreme master in Church as well as in State? Jehanne with her pretended message straight from Heaven and her insistence on making Charles the immediate feoffee of God clearly seemed to render the Church's authority superfluous, or at least subordinate to the temporal power. Her 'Voices' . . .—but what was all this subjective authority but sheer Lollardy?

That was the crux of the trial: and that she was not condemned out of hand was due to her evident virtue and orthodoxy. Her whole life had been one of conspicuous piety, of constant attendance at Mass, of frequent Confession and Communion. Her virginity of soul and body was an irrefragable proof that she was really a messenger of light and not of darkness. And being conscious of her innocence and of the reality of her intimacy with Heaven, Jehanne stood her trial as one who was certain to be found 'not guilty' of the monstrous charges piled up against her. Her answers to the Court were pertinent, dominated by common sense

and humour which were truly inspired from on high. And so she held her own against this Court which was one of the weightiest of the time. Bishop Cauchon, in whose diocese the Maid had been taken prisoner, claimed the right to preside over the trial ; and as the archiepiscopal see of Rouen was vacant at the time, the Chapter gave the Bishop of Beauvais the 'concession of territory' he wanted. But Cauchon refused to let this trial take place before a purely ecclesiastical court : he insisted on its being a Court of the Inquisition as well, and therefore associated Inquisitor Jean Lemaitre, O.P., with himself in presiding over it. Besides these two, there were sixty assessors, all 'learned clerks' ; and over and above these, not forming part of the Court, but endorsing its verdict and helping it by their advice to arrive at it, were thirteen prelates and ten abbots. Among these prelates, one was a cardinal, Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and two were subsequently raised to the cardinalate—Louis of Luxembourg, bishop of Therouanne, and John de Castiglione, archdeacon of Evreux : among the abbots were those of all the famous monasteries of Normandy, such as Fecamp and Mont-Saint-Michel. Again, there was the Cathedral Chapter of Rouen which endorsed the Court's findings ; and, as if all this did not suffice, there was the expert opinion offered by the Sorbonne, the University of Paris, whose renown as a seat of learning was at that time second to none in all Christendom, unanimously demanding Jéhanne's condemnation. The trial lasted from February 21 to May 28, 1431, and throughout that time, all that learning and acumen, all that weight and influence, were employed to confound one solitary little peasant girl—Jéhanne la Pucelle. Surely that in itself is the most marvellous part of it all.

Throughout her captivity Jéhanne had been assured by her Voices that her deliverance was at hand : and she had always understood this to refer to her mortal life. So sure was she of winning her liberty that she twice disobeyed them. The first time, quite at the beginning of her captivity, when she was kept in Beaurevoir Castle, she jumped out of her window. The only result was that she was picked up, unconscious and bruised, and put under stricter watch. The second time was quite at the end of her trial, when, on May 24, 1431, she was led out into the cemetery of St. Ouen's Abbey, to be publicly 'admonished to repent and confess her guilt'. Seeing her, the crowd was moved to pity ; well-wishers urged her to do as she was told, i. e., to abjure. 'What is that ? Abjure ?', she asked. Certainly 'she submitted to the Church', as she was urged to do, 'only begging St. Michael to counsel and direct her.' Then let her make that declaration in writing, she was told—and a piece of paper was thrust before her, which she signed by making a cross on it. By that time she had been in prison for over a year, and though she had begged and prayed to be allowed to hear Mass and go to Communion, she had not been permitted to do so as long as she wore male dress. And her Voices did not permit her to exchange it for a woman's costume ! This was the hardest trial to which she had been put. But now she was told all would be well if she abjured, she would be taken to the ecclesiastical prison and guarded by women : but she must now dress as a woman. It was thus that she, for the second time, acted against the advice of her Voices. When she was taken back to Bouvreuil, she presumed it was only because she still wore male dress, and so she changed her clothes there, and waited to be released. She waits till Trinity Sunday, but nothing happens. At last she understands that she has been trapped and

betrayed, that she has disobeyed her Voices for nothing. And for the first time she realizes what kind of deliverance is awaiting her. . . .

With this her trials, except her 'examination as by fire', are over and all human hesitation to face death leaves her. She willingly embraces God's will, her dear familiar Saints succour and comfort her, and her will emerges from this last ordeal hard and tense as a Damascus blade. When on Monday morning her jailers look in, they find Jéhanne once more in male dress. They hurry to tell the judges; Cauchon comes and questions her. By that so-called abjuration, she tells him, 'she had meant to revoke nothing concerning the mission laid upon her by God.' And as the Bishop further worries her with questions, she only replies: 'I prefer to die.' The judges' verdict is formulated the very next day: 'Relapsed, Excommunicate, Heretic'. On the morrow there takes place the ghastly execution, which wrings tears even from the eyes of England's Cardinal. Winchester cries a little and so does Cauchon, that it is necessary to burn Jéhanne alive. . . . A common English soldier makes a cross out of two bits of wood and throws it to Jéhanne, who clasps it to her breast. 'No, my Voices have not misled me!', she calls out, and, as the flames mount, she utters her last word on earth—'Jhesu!'

How could this dreadful judicial murder have been committed? How could Cardinal and Bishop and all the rest of the prelates and doctors associated with them have considered it inevitable?

As one scans the record of this infamous trial one sees that the keynote to all the questions put to Jéhanne is that ever-recurring: 'Would she, then, obey her Voices rather than ecclesiastical authority?' Or, more bluntly still, 'Does she, or does she not, submit to the

Church ?' To which Jéhanne has but one answer—
'Yes, I submit ; but God first served.'

Her judges called Jéhanne *subtile* ; but she was of the most translucent simplicity. Had she been subtle and versed in theology, she would have made her questioners distinguish between the rightful authority of the Church in matters spiritual and the authority wrongly assumed by them in matters temporal. It was as individuals, not as God's high priests and successors of the Apostles, that Winchester and Cauchon were opposing Jéhanne's political and military activity : the submission they wanted from her was not submission to the teaching and practice of the Church, but to their own political and worldly ends. These Lords spiritual were, indeed, of the kind of which a famous contemporary of theirs, J. Gerson (1363-1429), exclaimed : 'Is it not an abomination to see one prelate holding two hundred benefices and another three hundred ? Why are the bishops, abbots and monks officers of the State rather than of the Church, and why do they spend all their time in Parliament ?'

Why, indeed ? Because the distinction between officers of the State and officers of the Church had disappeared, and the ecclesiastical dignitary was *ipso facto* deemed a temporal lord. By the churchman wanting to play the layman's part, he did not spiritualize the layman, but became a layman himself. That is the real origin of Laicism. Clericalism has provoked Anticlericalism, which having begun with Protestantism has ended in Atheism ; but the *fons et origo* of it all was the perversion of the ecclesiastical state for political ends. Jéhanne's motto, 'God first served', drove the nail home : she thereby stood out as a champion of the laity's political rights on the one hand, and of the Church's freedom from secular oppression on the other. Anticlericals in modern France who have a warm corner in their hearts for her, are blind

to her double rôle and see in her only an innocent victim done to death by Clericalism ; Nationalists of the *Action Française* brand do not hesitate to call the present Pope a new Cauchon, who forbids Frenchmen to be Royalists ! Each wants to use Jéhanne for its own ends—Laicism, to substitute the world for God ; Nationalism, to exalt selfishness on a larger scale. The only antidote to nationalism, which is turning the world into a bedlam of homicidal maniacs, is a sane patriotism like Jéhanne's, which will fight to see justice done to every nation, so that every country may become a fief of Christ the King. As for Laicism, the other epidemic of the modern world, its revolt against the Church and its attempt to put the State in her place is an everlasting war, which began when 'there was a great battle in heaven, Michael and his angels fighting with the dragon and his angels' (Apoc. 12, 7), and will continue till time is swallowed up by eternity. In this war let all—cleric and lay—that would fight under St. Michael, on God's side, make sure that they mean to 'serve God first', with that complete detachment from self which was so perfectly shown by our Virgin Saint ; but, above all, let the wide ranks of the laity realize that this struggle is chiefly theirs, and let the flames of the pyre of Rouen be a beacon-light to those lay men and women who, like Jéhanne, hear the call and will stand their ground in this political fight with that supreme fortitude 'of which blessed Joan in such a variety of trials has offered so resplendent an example.'

ÉPILOGUE

Jéhanne died at Rouen ; but her spirit lived on. Within seven years of her death, as she had foretold,

¹ St. Joan's Mass—May 30, in the *Universal Calendar*.

Charles VII entered Paris in triumph. Within twenty-two years, the last English possession in France was lost and Charles VII became in fact, as in law, king of all France—that '*France une et indivisible*', whose making goes back to the Maid's career, meteor-like in its briefness and its splendour.

A quarter of a century after Jéhanne's death, Charles thought of rounding off his royal triumph by reopening her case. It would be putting the finishing touches to his position if it could be proved that the Maid upon whose intervention his fortunes had so signally changed had not been a witch or an apostate, but a true messenger from Heaven. The new papal Legate in France, Cardinal d'Estouteville, was easily won over. The Pope, too. For Callistus III (who reigned from 1455 to 1458) was a great reformer, austere in his habits and full of zeal to put things in order. And so, on a clear November morning of the year 1455, an old peasant woman, in heavy mourning, tottered up to the High Altar of Notre-Dame in Paris, where the Archbishop of Rheims,¹ the Bishop of Paris and the Bishop of Coutances were seated, and with loud sobs handed them a scroll in which she appealed for the revision of Jéhanne's cause. The old woman was Isabelle Romée, Jéhanne d'Arc's mother. . .

The Pope in his mandate constituted the three bishops into a Court of Appeal ; with them he associated the Inquisitor-General of France. After six months of the most painstaking sifting of every kind of evidence, the Court repealed and solemnly annulled the former sentence. The decree was read out in the great hall of the archiepiscopal palace of Rouen, where the Court had specially gone for the purpose ; the same day, July 7, 1456, there was a public procession to the cemetery of St. Ouen,

¹ Not Regnault de Chartres, Jéhanne's enemy, but his successor, Jean Jouvenel des Ursins.

where a sermon on Jéhanne was preached ; the next day, another procession went to the Old Market and erected an expiatory cross on the spot where the stake had stood.

As far as it could be done by man, Jéhanne had been rehabilitated.

Jéhanne was 'the Angel of the Renaissance', the herald of the New Age in which we are still living. The full meaning of her message—so far in advance of her times—is only gradually being realized. For a long time she became a legendary figure, utterly misconceived and misunderstood—a romantic Amazon who made a patriotic appeal. That she herself never fought nor shed blood was utterly forgotten : Shakespeare (in his *Henry VI*) and Schiller (in his *Maid of Orleans*) depict her more as a blood-thirsty Fury than a human being. Both poets also err grievously (and Shakespeare atrociously) in not recognizing her virginity, which is of the very essence of her mission. Bernard Shaw (in his *Saint Joan*), has steered clear of both these mistakes ; but, like the other two, he is not a Catholic, and his attempt to 'explain' the Saint by materialistic psycho-analysis is ludicrous and futile.

The time has, perhaps, only now come when Jéhanne's heavenly mission can at last be adequately gauged and appreciated. For it is only in our own generation that Jéhanne has been raised to the supreme honour of the Church's altars. In 1904, Pius X declared her Venerable, and in 1909 beatified her ; Benedict XV canonized her in 1920, and two years later Pius XI proclaimed her the Patron Saint of France.

Patriot, Virgin, Soldier, God's Liege, and Lay Champion, her witness was given five centuries ago ; but her example and her intercession are timeless.

Fribourg (Switzerland).

THE EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

BY NIKHIL RANJAN DAS GUPTA

THE world is in a state of incredible confusion. Divided into hostile camps, mankind has lost clarity of vision. Nations are ready to fly at each other's throats. Our much-talked-of civilization seems to be disappointing us.

Mere peace parleys or pledges or covenants cannot attain a satisfactory solution of this baffling situation. Education, we think, is the only solvent of this world evil. By education we do not mean a mere acquisition of knowledge. In this sense the world has had enough of education. It has acquired much 'light' but very little 'sweetness'. The world to-day lamentably lacks cultural education--the harmonious blending of 'sweetness and light'. Otherwise, antagonism between one nation and another and between classes would not have reigned so supreme in these days of highest human achievement.

In most countries racial superiority, permeated by an extreme type of jingoism, has manifested itself even in the sacred precincts of educational institutions. Not a few countries to-day want to make their people no better than the 'behaving organs' of the state. Pupils in their impressionable years are being standardized as so many law-abiding citizens, and are no longer looked upon as co-ordinated individual units developing their inherent virtues.

The object of education is the healthy growth and development of the inherent traits of individuals, but this ideal of education is dying out in most countries and a clash between the individuals and the community occurs everywhere. Narrow nationalism and inordinate self-aggrandizement will naturally aim at creating good citizens who are subservient to the will and caprice of political leaders. The state, and not the teacher, has become the sole arbiter of the destinies of the taught in countries such as Italy, Russia and Germany. The mental and moral outlook of the

younger generation is circumscribed by geographical barriers and narrow social and national prejudices. In short, education has lost its intrinsic merit and degenerated into propaganda for the state.

To counteract this, the League of Nations, though faced with many political failures, has rendered invaluable services to the world through its educational activities. Even in pre-War days it had already been brought home to a small section of thinkers and educationists that this extreme type of racialism was against the best interests of the nations themselves. An International association of teachers was planned. The War intervened and prevented the first Inter-Governmental Conference of Education, which had been planned by American initiative. During the Peace Conference numerous proposals were made advocating the creation of an office of education within the frame-work of the League. In 1920 the League took the initiative in this direction for the first time. The Léon Bourgeois Report was published in 1921, and the next year saw the formation of a committee of distinguished scholars from all parts of the world. An international University office for collecting and spreading information came into existence. This culminated in the creation, in 1922, of an International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation with a desire 'to promote in all spheres which come within its range co-ordination of effort and a collaboration capable, not merely of saving time and facilitating information, distribution and progress, but also of promoting the creation, gradually, perhaps, but none the less certainly, of an international outlook'. Assistance in the shape of scholarships, concise bibliography, lists of laboratory or other equipment, monetary help to teachers, professors, writers and artists, was given with a view to make an enquiry into the conditions of intellectual life. Expert educationists made an intensive tour in Austria, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Hungary and Jugoslavia. One special problem of education was brought before the Assembly of the League in 1923. It was realized that the success of the League, that is, the future of the world, would depend on the younger generations, who, in a few years, would control the policies of their countries. An educational system which did not see the need for mutual good-will and international co-operation between nations and classes was incomplete and against the true interests of every nation. With this end in view the League urged the Governments of its state members 'to

arrange that children and young men in respective countries which do not give such teaching be made aware of the existence and aims of the League and the terms of its Covenants.' Accordingly, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was called upon to undertake necessary activities by means of a special sub-committee of experts which came into existence in 1926. The following recommendation was accepted :—

'The competent authorities in each state should also take steps that teachers should be provided with a copy of the Covenant and International Charter of Labour, with short explanation and concise bibliography.'

At Geneva an annual conference is held every summer and is known as the Summer School of the International Union of the League of Nations Association. It is planning to establish a permanent centre of International Education, with boarding-houses for students. Its promoters are also thinking of organizing a congress of youths at Geneva in 1936.

The Information Section of the League of Nations is doing a great deal towards this end by regularly making use of the 'Radio-Nations', the wireless station conducted by the League for overseas listeners. Members of the International Intellectual Co-operation Organization are often requested to broadcast cultural views through this medium. Thus Sir S. Radhakrishnan, lately a member of the International Intellectual Co-operation Committee, was invited to speak on Good-will Day in May, 1934. These broadcasts take place regularly every Saturday in three different languages, English, French and Spanish.

It is realized to-day that only the younger generation can and will bring about international harmony. They must, therefore, be thoroughly internationally-minded. And to have this desired end, a noble band of teachers and educationists, however insignificant their number might be at present, have devoted themselves heart and soul to mould the minds of youth in the right direction. Arrangements have been made by the League to utilize school hours, as well as the leisure and recreation outside the school, for travel and exchange of correspondence with foreign students, thereby fostering a healthy spirit of good-will and friendliness towards the unknown and unseen. The teacher will imbue a class or group of young people with new ideas and ideals with the help of books, cinemas, pictures, excursions, broadcasting, dramatizing and other methods.

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The cultural and educational rôle of the cinema is meeting with quick recognition everywhere. Through the initiative of the Italian Government, an institute known as the International Congress of Educational and Instructional Cinematography has come into existence in Rome. It has its branches—the National Committees—in France, Germany, Spain, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, the Philippines, the United Kingdom, Belgium, China and India. The object of the Institute is to materialize the aims and objects of the League to a practical end by showing the value of the motion picture 'as a factor in education, scientific demonstration and human thought, and its actual place in social life'. The Congress aims at preserving the great human ideals of solidarity and brotherhood through the 'movies'. Besides two monthly publications—the *International Review of the Educational Cinematograph*, and the *Informational Bulletin of the Institute of Educational Cinematography*—the I. E. C. will shortly publish a *Cinematograph Encyclopaedia*. For the first time in India such educational films were exhibited to crowded houses at the Elphinstone Theatre, Lucknow. Let us hope that other towns and cities will soon follow suit.

Next to the teacher, books naturally make the greatest impression on the minds of youth. They should, therefore, contain nothing which may give rise to racial superiority or narrow nationalism, or excite contempt and distrust of foreigners and foreign countries. Several expert historians, teachers and educationists under the League were asked to find ways and means to change the basic principles on which both primary and higher education are pursued in most countries of the world. In a brilliant report this Committee of experts embodied their valuable suggestions for the improvement of existing textbooks and a recasting of present educational systems. Special importance was attached to the problem of the proper selection of History textbooks, and a committee was specially appointed for the purpose. The following among other resolutions was recorded : 'that

"National History" should not be ignored in favour of "International History", or vice versa. We are of the opinion that a nation's life can be understood only in the context of the wider geographical and historical world, and, conversely, that international relationship can become intelligible to children only if they acquire some understanding of what a nation is, and particularly what their own nation is.'

In 1931, the Institute of International Intellectual Co-operation appointed a Committee of Library Experts to enquire into, and

suggest any improvement of, the condition of libraries. The Committee considered the following questions :—Exchange of information between the major libraries regarding the purchase of foreign works ; decimal classification ; standardization of the formats of periodicals ; international index cards &c. . .

In 1932 the League of Nations helped the Chinese Government with four accredited experts with the object of reorganizing their existing system of education in collaboration with the Chinese educationists.

The Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching, formerly *The Educational Survey*, and the *Bulletin of the International Intellectual Co-operation Committee*, are periodicals of the League containing reports and information on its educational activities in various countries. *The Aim and Organization of the League of Nations*, published by the League, is a textbook meant for teachers and educationists, and is at present available in 24 different languages including Bengali, Urdu, Hindi and Marathi.

In our country, too, thinkers and educationists of an international outlook are not wanting. Rabindranath Tagore's intellectual contribution towards the realization of a unity in diversity, and towards the co-ordination of parts with the whole, is too well-known to recapitulate here. The Intellectual Co-operation Committee of the League has been represented by men like Sir J. C. Bose, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Prof. D. M. Banerjee and Dr. Seshadri.

The mission of the League of Nations is to create a world Pax, a confederation of states and nations bound by ties of good-will and friendliness. It is no Utopian conception. But it will come from within and not from without—not by pacts and parleys, but by a cultural bond of 'sweetness and light', a dispassionate and scholarly outlook on life. The world to-morrow will emerge out of the success or failure of our attempt at a satisfactory solution of the most vital problem of the world to-day. Fortunately all nations are not militaristic. With the help of such nations and the world-wide propagation of the real fruits of education, the mind and mission of the League of Nations will be slowly and surely translated into living action.

Calcutta.

RAMBLES IN ANGLO-INDIAN LITERATURE

By SADHAN KUMAR GHOSH

SINCE the days of the Pilgrim Fathers of the East India Company the great literary question for Anglo-Indians¹ was whether they should merely import their literature from England or attempt to supplement it with writings of their own. The appeal to pastures new was irresistible, and the nature of the case made the obvious choice practically inevitable. The changed conditions produced new emotions. Anglo-Indians felt themselves to be a distinct community with a separatist spirit. The expression of that spirit, as well as of that of their adopted country, has been the predominant aim and chief *raison d'être* of their literature.

Sir Alfred Lyall called India a land of regrets. He merely expressed the attitude of the average Anglo-Indian of those days. Anglo-Indian poetry in particular has always been a music of weeping. The sense of melancholy natural to the exile permeates it right through. The reader is reminded at every turn of Ruth standing amid the alien corn and of Rachel weeping for her children.

The background of this melancholy is easily seen. The Anglo-Indian is denied the comforts of the English fireside. He hardly knows the ordinary comforts of a home. The wife at Simla or some less known hill station eats the bread of anxiety while her husband toils on the

¹ The word is here used in its original sense. Cf. *Oxford Dictionary*.

plains below. She has to hide her care beneath a mask of gaiety. Her life is a merry-go-round of *salaams*, and occasional picnics. This is the atmosphere of a palm-house heated to a tropical temperature, but it is an accepted part of the life of the Anglo-Indian community and has left a vital impress on its literature. E. W. Savi, Maud Diver, Alice Perrin and a host of other writers have recorded the sense of exile. It is noteworthy that the successful Anglo-Indian novelist is, more often than not, a woman.

This, of course, is perfectly natural. Conditions in India do not encourage one to take up the pen. When a man goes to India, whether he be soldier, civilian, professional man or trader, it is almost always to take up a post already arranged for him, of which the emoluments are sometimes ample and seldom grossly insufficient. If he dabbles in literature he can give only his exhausted energies to it. But the woman has time to spare, so men must work and women must weep, and this is the background of Anglo-Indian literature. The comparative paucity of Anglo-Indian bards has surprised some English reviewers when the really surprising thing is that a poetry grew up at all.

Sir William Jones and John Leyden were the earliest Anglo-Indian poets—and, as it happened, Orientalists. Sir William Jones was a judge of the Calcutta Supreme Court and could afford to write only occasional verse. His linguistic attainments enabled him to make fairly successful translations from Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. *The Enchanted Fruit* is, however, an original poem, and on it Sir William Jones's claims as a poet must largely rest. Leyden was an adept in shorter pieces. Not quite the equal of Jones as a scholar and thinker, he was certainly superior in genuine poetic feeling. *The Ode on Leaving Vellore* and the *Dirge of the Departed Year*

are full of that wistfulness which announces Laurence Hope and Derozio.

A curious feature of these early writings is that they do not attempt to interpret the East. There is no sense of mystery and of wonder such as would be natural to new-comers ; Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe could not have been more insensitive. Even a tourist like Manucci and a wanderer like Pierre Loti showed more appreciation of the sense of mystery which the East naturally excites. But Sir William Jones and John Leyden merely continue the tradition of *Thalaba* and *Lalla Rookh*. There is a thin veneer of legend, but no attempt at a close understanding.

The Mutiny produced a great deal of waxwork heroics. A countrywide convulsion seldom produces even readable literature. The last war, it is true, produced an entire library of the literature of disillusion. But the supposed analogy can only mislead. Charles Arthur Kelly is the only poet of the Mutiny who deserves even a passing mention. He flits over a medley of subjects, historical and mythological, but he is most at home when he is treating of the actual scenes. There is real pathos in the tribute paid to Nicholson :

'T'were long to tell how many a weary day
By Delhi's bloodstained walls the avenger lay ;
How hearts too great to murmur throbbed with grief,
What time death's angel took away their chief.¹

In this connection one does not forget Tennyson's *Defence of Lucknow*. But Tennyson was not an Anglo-Indian.

Anglo-Indian poets are not, as a rule, mystical, unless Sir Edwin Arnold be included in that class. But there have been writers who have indulged in superficial musings on the mystery and tragedy of life. Mention must be made of Mrs. Carshore's *Songs of the East*, and

¹ *Delhi and Other Poems*.

of R. F. F.'s *Dream of a Star*. Sir Alfred Lyall's poems show traces of mysticism, but very faint traces. *Siva* is the best known of them :

I reckon not of worship or song or feast ;
But that millions perish, each hour that flies,
Is the mystic sign of my sacrifice.¹

The *Meditations of a Hindu Prince* is the old, old tale of man seeking blindly if haply he may find God :

All the world over which I wander, in lands that I never have trod,
Are the people eternally seeking for the signs and the steps of a God !

His yearning for an answer is merely futile. 'Is life then a dream and a delusion, and when shall the dreamer wake ?', he asks, and gets only vague answers. But this melancholy is of the earth, earthy. It is not the mysticism of the East.

Rattray and Meredith Parker are the best of the earlier narrative poets. But Henri Derozio's *The Fakir of Jungheera* is a real masterpiece in this class. The story is a very convincing melodrama. A robber-chief carries off a Hindu widow, but the idyll is short-lived :

The minstrel hath no wreath to wreath for thee
Save the sad story of thy misery.

But the length of the poem is a bar to its popularity.

The best Anglo-Indian poetry, however, is a dirge of the domestic afflictions. The form it most commonly takes is that of an address by an Anglo-Indian to his wife or children in England. Of this nature are the lines Heber addressed to his wife. He tells how he misses her companionship :

If thou wert by my side, my love,
How fast would evening fall,
In green Bengala's palmy grove,
Listing the nightingale.

Richardson's *Consolations of Exile* and Cantopher's *The Anglo-Indian Lyre* are also in the same strain :

¹ *Siva : or Mors Janua Vitae.*

The Sun is set : we'll dream no more :
Vainly for us the Vision smiles.

Lyall's *Land of Regrets* and Kipling's *Galley Slave* are the two poems where the curfew note is most convincingly struck. Beside them, the private croonings of the lesser poets sink low. One feels tempted to reiterate the comment of Edward Farley Oaten : 'We wish that these, instead of accentuating and intensifying the sadder features of Anglo-Indian life, had attempted to invest them with a new interest and dignity.'

The author of *The Light of Asia* requires separate treatment. Sir Edwin Arnold's profound oriental knowledge helped him to enter fully into the spirit of Buddhism and to interpret the life of Prince Siddhartha. The conception of Nirvana takes on a new colour at his hands. That extinction of desire to which one-third of the world's population aspires as the goal of many lives is to be won only over the bodies of dead sins. Such is the Nirvana for which those who struggle on to the victorious close may hope.

The charge is often made that no Anglo-Indian novelist has created a character that is a rival to Colonel Newcome or Joseph Sedley. The defect is attributable more to talent—rather, the lack of it—than to anything more fundamental. Besides, a sweeping statement of this sort conveniently ignores Meadows Taylor's Tara, Mrs. Boynton of the *Potter's Thumb*, Kim and Mulvaney. Nor must we forget that Mr. Thomas Atkins owes his currency in literature to Anglo-Indian writers like Kipling and Flora Annie Steel, and not to anything done or written either at Aldershot or in Fleet Street.

The earlier novelists aimed at, and partially succeeded in gaining, a thorough insight into Indian life. Alexander Allardyce's *The City of Sunshine* was a notable work. Mrs. Flora Annie Steel and J. W. Sherer showed very

intimate knowledge of life in the Punjab. Sir G. T. Chesney and Sir G. S. Cunningham foraged Frontier customs and manners. •

This style of work succeeded in having a fairly large circulation in India. But most Anglo-Indian writers wrote with an eye on England. And they forgot that in things Indian, *qua* Indian, English people are absolutely uninterested. So the Anglo-Indian novelist sacrificed his legitimate market for a chimera which too often resulted in disappointment due to causes he should have understood. It remained for Kipling to point out their mistake.

Kipling's influence on writers like Alice Perrin, Ganpat, Talbot Mundy and A. E. R. Craig is evident. R. J. Minney's *Motihari* is a cousin to *Kim*; and in that writer's skilful hands the Grand Trunk Road becomes as haunting and full of romance as the road to Mandalay. Mrs. Hauksbee has been slavishly copied by many subsequent writers.

John Travers marks the reaction against Kipling. Her *Sahib-log* protests against the accepted view that Anglo-Indians live in a hot-house atmosphere of flirtations, seductions and broken marriages. Mr. Shelland Bradley marks the reaction from a different angle :

'Now civilian number four was a man, but he wasn't a gentleman. It was a pity, because I have a great weakness for the latter and so I guess has India. No part of the British Dominions needs gentlemen to rule it so much as India.' A distrust of the Indian civilian is implicit in these lines. This was partly due to the changing times, but the influence of Mr. Sarat Kumar Ghosh's *Prince of Destiny* must not be left out of account. That writer tried his best to counteract the racial hatred and 'Burra-Sahib' mood fostered by Kipling.

¹ *An American Girl in India.*

'The evil would have been less', says Mr. Ghosh, 'had it been confined strictly to politics. But an English writer arose, a mere youth, who wrote stories in the English papers in India, heaping contempt upon the people of Bengal generally as being prime movers in the political agitation. The Bengalis retaliated with fiction in another fashion.'

But despite this warped outlook, Kipling, as Mr. Le Gallienne says, is 'a born story-teller. The last minstrel of the bar-parlour, the fish-liar of the smoking-room, the flash-light man of American journalism, the English public-school man who brilliantly don't-you-knows his way through a story; here were all these, *plus* that "something" of genius that makes, not a fourth sound, but a star.' Mr. Le Gallienne is not reputed for his lenient criticism; and this is high tribute.

A casual survey like this can only point at a few milestones. Anglo-Indian literature can never have been among the great literatures of the world. Writing has always been viewed here with a little suspicion tinged with contempt. Forty years ago all India thought it good fun to laugh at Boanerges Blitzen whose 'prospects were so bright, till an Indian paper found out that he could write.' Things have not improved since then.

Literature was also hampered by the very conditions of Anglo-Indian life. Not only was the number of Anglo-Indian readers very small, but they tended to divide into two main sections—the very idle and the very busy. In England it is the class between these two that supports literary men. It is always the hard-working man with a fair amount of leisure who is the real patron of literature. It is the comparative rarity of this class in India that has helped to handicap the authors who wrote for it. And when to all these obstacles we add the inherent practicality of the Anglo-Indian, who always

felt that he was in India to work and not to play the beautiful and ineffectual angel, we need not be surprised at the shortcomings of Anglo-Indian literature. We must be thankful that a strong local literature grew up at all.

It is wholesome and tonic to realize that Anglo-Indian literature is an Indian literature. Mr. Edward Farley Oaten believes that it is the work of the British Empire, but he could not have been more mistaken. The literature of other parts of the British Empire, in so far as they have a literature, is merely an offshoot of English literature. Neither Rider Haggard nor Oliver Schreiner constitute a break from the English tradition.

The plaintive note in Anglo-Indian literature has already been hinted at. Much of it is confessedly even-song. There is a sadness in most unexpected places—even in the *Barrack-Room Ballads*. It is a mistake to detect either Byron or Werther in this. Here is a literature not influenced by aesthetic *motifs*. It is no new thing for a jaded sentiment to crave the spur of the unnatural. But it is the peculiarity of Anglo-Indian literature, and also its glory, that it has always kept Freud and Jung and D. H. Lawrence at a respectable distance. We may therefore hope for it a brighter future.

Calcutta.



THE ETERNAL BRAHMANHOOD

By MICHAEL LEHRUS

THE Catholic Church's view of brahmanism cannot easily be gauged from her past, or even from her present attitude, to the caste system in India. So far there has been a hesitating approach rather than real contact between the Church and Hindu traditions. Administrative measures have been taken to provide for the immediate and individual needs of converts, but the objective Catholic judgment on the institution of caste has not yet been formed. The Church in India is still in the Catacombs.

Just as in the Roman Empire she took no revolutionary step against slavery, although her doctrine of freedom and obedience did, by patient persuasion, bring about a thorough social revolution, so it is part of the discreet policy of the Church in India not to upset the established order by untimely fulminations, not to root out the wheat with the tares. And yet the Church has—or rather *is*—the positive and working solution of the problems and evils involved in an ancient institution which would seem, to be justified to some extent by its very antiquity, and which ought to be saved rather than condemned.

The cardinal truth which the brahmanical system illustrates is that religion, in its adequate reality, is a *positive social institution*. Divine worship being not a part, but the spiritual consummation, of human life, it must,

of its very nature, tend to bind the whole of humanity in the communion of a living body, acknowledging God's glory in universal harmony.

The other, and the distinctive, truth of the brahmanical system is that religion or divine worship presupposes *sanctity* in the worshipper. Sanctity means that one is *God's own exclusive property*, and in that sense, *divine*. Now the essential expression of worship, namely sacrifice,—the concrete assertion that one is God's own—would be a lie as long as one remained *profane*, i. e. given up to worldly concerns. Religion, therefore, is conditioned by sanctity.

From these two premises it follows that religion, in its adequate form, is the life of a *holy society*, namely, a society constituted by the *consecration* or sacramental setting apart of man for the divine worship, and conditioned by actual *purity* from sin and worldliness in view of his divine task.

Hence proceeds *brahmanism*, which, in spite of its many corruptions, remains the most wonderful and lasting incorporation of religious truth that man, left somehow to his weakness, has been able to bring about in the light of *natural* revelation. Hence, also, proceeds the Catholic Church, the divine realization of the same truth which was supernaturally sown at the very beginning and in the very essence of humanity, to germinate visibly in this world and blossom throughout the universe, at the time appointed by God's eternal designs, unto *His own Kingdom*.

Christianity is a social reality, a *jāti*, (*gens sancta*, as Scripture says), a *race* distinguished by its living mark of sanctity: 'Christian' means consecrated, anointed, *dikshita*. The Christian *varna* is a brahmanical or sacerdotal lordship, *regale sacerdotium*; everything in

creation is providentially subordinated to Christianity, the ideal brahmanism : *sarvasyaivāsya sargasya dharmato brāhmanah prabhuh*.

To this royal priesthood of the universal sacrifice, to this divine race of God's children, has been entrusted *the* Veda, the sacred living truth of the divine Word (*sruti*) ; and the sanctifying Spirit of that race is no other than the divine *Atman*.

So *noble* is the divine Jāti that no man is born in it except He whose divine origin is in the bosom of the Father, He who is the eternal *Word* proceeding from the mouth of God. He alone is worthy by nature, being infinitely God's own, to express the adequate truth of ideal worship. He is the *manushyadeva*, the Brahman, the human splendour of eternal glory : *daivatam mahat*.

No man, whatever his race, his royalty, his sanctity, can beget a Christian, but God alone, who graciously adopts man unto His own child, as brother to the one Christ, as member of the Church, the mystical body of Christ, to take his part in the universal Christian sacrifice.

The divine Brahmanhood is not the fruit of human merit, but of God's own personal *choice* ; and therefore the Christian Jāti is *ecclesiastical*, i. e., in its etymological sense, constituted by election. There is no reason why *I* should be received into the Christian Priesthood except that God loved me : *Dilexit me*. . .

Though we are born, or rather 'reborn', to the Christian brahmanhood by divine adoption, our birth is a *real* birth, nay, a *double birth*. The Christian is a *dvija*. The living *faith* in the divine Redeemer which is implanted in us by God is one birth, that of the seed, through which many in all centuries and nations, who had not even heard of the Church, mysteriously became



THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS

Antwerp Museum

Christian *vrâtyas* and were saved through their implicit knowledge of the Redeemer ; this is the spiritual birth (*ex Spiritu Sancto*). The other birth (*ex aqua*) is the sacramental initiation (*upanayana*) into the Christian life, by which the Christian obtains the right and the ability to take part in the Church's office of divine worship. The *sâvitri* is here the baptismal rite, from which the soul proceeds girded for ever with an indelible sign, the Christian spiritual character or *brahmavarcas*. From the time of this initiation or illumination the Christian lives in the *teacher's* house, i. e. under the teaching authority of the Church, to realize (*siddhi*) more and more the living meaning of the divine Veda.

There are also other consecrations and sacred ordinations (*adhikâra*) to special sacerdotal functions within the Christian body, but these need not detain us now.

Christian life is the expression—exterior as well as interior, social as well as individual—of the one universal Sacrifice of Christ to His Father. This sacrifice really consists in being a witness or martyr to the Divine truth in every action and suffering unto death. The life of sacrifice is *fed* with a sacramental communion with the real historical Sacrifice and the real Victim of Calvary in the daily sacred meal of the Eucharist. For there is a sacred Meal in the Christian *Jâti*, not a meal of natural food, but a divine meal consisting of the very substance of Christ, in which God and His children surrender themselves to each other and consummate their incorporation here on earth, with the result that the divine Victim's life becomes their life, and their life His life, for the salvation of all men.

No unclean soul may approach so sacred a meal without profanation ; those, therefore, who are not of the *Divyajâti* are excluded from participating in the Meal :

and corporateness have been corrupted in India. But they should be healed, not killed.

To emancipate slaves, the Church came forward with her doctrine of man's *personal* dignity ; to the relief of the caste system in India, she brings her doctrine of man's *divine* dignity, and her spirit of divine 'socialism'.

The Church is a sacred body, not by any stiff *exclusion* of Gentiles or *Mlecchas*, but by a spiritual power to include every man in the divine worship. She is holy, not by any sectarian and barren principle of seclusion, but because she is able to sanctify.

India needs the Universal Church ; but is it not also true that the Church needs India to progress further and further in the human understanding and expression of her own Truth ?

The cultural heritage of Europe provided the Church with the materials of her *natural* philosophy and sociology ; but to the Church's *religious* philosophy and sociology a similar contribution will come from India's heritage, her *sāstras* and institutes.

The present essay will not have been useless if it only throws out a hint at the beautiful theological treatise on the Church that might be written in Sanskrit, some day. . .

Calcutta.

The Seven Sacraments; a reproduction of which illustrates the present article, is one of the greatest works of Roger De la Pasture (*alias* Van der Weyden), a Belgian painter who was born at Tournai in 1399 or 1400 and died at Brussels in 1464. His pictures are famous for their deep piety and dramatic sense.

Here we have, under the symbol of a Gothic Cathedral, a representation of the inner life of the Church as a participation in the Sacrifice of Calvary which is renewed every day on the Altar in the Holy Eucharist. Along the aisles the other six Sacraments are represented as leading to this central Sacrament : along the left, Baptism, Confirmation and Penance ; along the right, Extreme Unction, Marriage and Holy Orders.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

WHAT IS WRONG WITH OUR HIGH SCHOOLS ?

THE University of Calcutta is one of the largest in the world. It admits about twenty-five thousand students a year to its Matriculation examination, and proportionately as many to its Intermediate and Degree examinations. It is, therefore, of interest to the rest of India to know the real state of education in Bengal, and especially of its most important and difficult stage—secondary education. This has been described with knowledge and sincerity by Prof. Naresh Chandra Roy, Joint Secretary of the United Bengal Association, in a useful booklet.¹

He calls it a *problem*. Twelve hundred high schools, of which more than half are not 'aided' by Government ; teachers often over-worked and poorly paid and, therefore, not efficient ; curricula which, as the Sadler Commission remarked, fit students neither for the University courses nor for practical life ; an excessive domination of the school by the University, which results in the school being considered merely as a preparation for the University, — these are only a few of the many complexities of the problem.

But they are not found in Bengal alone. With the profound changes that have taken place in the life of man during the last century, and the comparative rigidity with which education has kept its medieval path, there has been felt in every country a growing dissatisfaction with an education which no longer prepares the student for life but rather unfits him for any useful part in this 'brave new world'. In England, in America, in France, in Germany, there has been a revival of the old Battle of Ancient and Modern Learning, with this difference that, while the former combatants were classical and modern literatures, it is now a war between a 'liberal' and a 'useful' education. Adjustments have been made everywhere to suit both parties. In England, where the two oldest universities refused to mend their ways, new

¹ *The Problem of Secondary Education in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1934.

universities have been started in the busiest industrial towns to train men in the new sciences ; in other countries, the old universities have made a happy compromise between the old and the new learning.

India, therefore, is not the only country to be dissatisfied with the existing system. A certain dissatisfaction with things is a 'divine discontent', and a refreshing sign of intelligence. But, besides, there is no country in the world whose circumstances are so peculiar—one would have liked to say 'unique' if the word had not *depreciated* in the hands of journalists—that every problem, political or social or educational, becomes in India well-nigh impossible to solve. The vastness of her extent, the diversity of her inhabitants in race and language and customs and religion, the necessity of learning a foreign language, the obscurity of her future, the consequences of her political position,—is it a wonder that difficulties like these make many a sincere educationist despair ?

But despair is for the weak ; to face difficulties, says Livy, is for the *Roman*. Is there no solution, then ?

Some cynics say that there is an 'over-production' of educated men. This is not true. The general literacy of India is still very poor. Even in Bengal there are only three hundred thousand students in the High School : is this too much in a population of fifty millions ?

There can never be too much secondary education, for it is this education which produces an efficient middle class, the backbone of the nation. But is our secondary education of the right kind ? In India the High School has not yet come to be regarded as a complete unit in education, with its own aim, and independent of the University. The rush for degrees which would obtain the coveted clerkship in Government service reduced the school to a mere antechamber to the college and prevented it from giving its pupils that general culture which is expected of a Matriculate. The remedy is to provide two distinct courses in the High School : one for those who will go on to the University, and the other for those whose education will stop with matriculation. The details of these courses will depend on the needs and conditions of each province, its trades and industries, its natural resources and communications, and the inclinations of its people. But the bifurcation of the currents after the Middle School is an urgent and important need.

Another difficulty which is peculiar to India is the language in which instruction is to be imparted. The pupil's mother tongue is obviously a better medium of instruction than English. But where is the Indian province where one vernacular is spoken by all? And at a time when every effort should be made to tighten the bonds that make a nation, would it not be ruinous to split it up into a hundred little groups and encourage provincial or linguistic rather than national solidarity? Until a really common Indian language can be found which has the necessary vocabulary and literature and the necessary universality which a medium of instruction requires, English must, therefore, remain in possession in spite of its difficulty and its foreignness.

Friendly relations between the University and the Government and between the schools and the public are also necessary to the success of secondary education. In Madras almost every new year has seen a new experiment ever since the School Leaving Examination was handed over by the University to the Government; in Bengal there is an endless tug-o'-war between the University and the Government. The result has been that the school has been sacrificed to the university, and secondary education has not fulfilled its purpose. The public, too, and especially the owners of factories and mills, should take an interest in the schools by providing their pupils with practical training in their workshops, and with employment, too, if they are qualified in the necessary technical and vocational subjects. This would be an incentive to vocational education in middle and high schools and give a fillip to their languishing initiative.

But the greatest need of all is good teachers. In an article in this review¹ we said that in education *what* is taught matters much less than *who* teaches. In the Middle Ages a little Latin grammar or Logic was all that was taught in ten years of a student's life; but at the end of that period he was handed back to his parents, as Carlyle would have said in his volcanic way, a *Man*! But now the great teacher is a rarity. In a recent article in *Etudes*,² Fr. Rimaud complains of the difficulty of finding teachers in France who are both intellectually and morally fit for their work. Prof. Roy, speaking of Bengal, says: 'The prospects in the teaching profession being so dismal, very few men now take to it

¹ May, 1935, Vol. I, pp. 444-451.

² 'L' Enseignement libre est-il de qualité inférieure?'—5 Mai, 1935, pp. 289-307.

by choice'¹ ; and this is true of every other province in India as well.

But is it impossible to obtain the best men for the teaching profession ? Better pay and fewer hours of teaching, a stricter admission into Teachers' Colleges and a more careful training of those admitted, a reposing of more trust and responsibility in those who teach,—such methods will soon raise the standard and draw the best men into the noble profession of teaching.

These are the lines on which a satisfactory solution of the *problem* of secondary education is to be sought, one which will so co-ordinate humanistic with vocational training and open and invigorate and enrich all the faculties of body and soul that its products will be the light of the world.

T. N. S.

PANDITA RAMABAI AND THE WOMEN OF INDIA

The 'Womens' Movement' in Europe has passed through three stages which may, broadly speaking, be summed up in the following phrases :—

First, 'Women ! be as free as men, spiritually and economically.' This refers to the time, some fifty or sixty years ago, when women, posing as man-haters, behaving and dressing like men, were fighting for their right to be allowed to occupy every career in life and to take their place in every profession, whether suited to the feminine temperament or not. They wished to be doctors, engineers, Members of Parliament, bank managers, heads of large industrial firms, University professors, even chauffeurs and tram conductors.

Then, from about the beginning of the present century, came the second phase, which might be summed up in the sentence : 'Women ! know yourselves—what work you are, and what work you are not, suited for.' Women, learning wisdom from the mistakes of the preceding period, now began to turn to the professions which were more appropriate to their character, such as nursing, teaching, the medical or legal profession, with special reference to work in those departments among women and children, and other work of a similar nature.

¹ Op cit., p. 8



Pandita Ramabai

Eventually, at an International Women's Congress held in Berlin in 1929 the way to a new era in the Women's Movement was pointed out by these words—'Women! Give now to the world the imprint of your womanly character.'

The fundamental error behind the earlier stages of this development was the implication that women, if educated and emancipated, were capable of equalling or even surpassing men in any department of life. The truth, however, is that in the wisdom of the Creator either sex is the complement of the other, so that if each be developed to its highest perfection the balance of the whole human race is most beautifully and delicately adjusted. God has given special gifts to men and special gifts to women, and He has given to each a special vocation in keeping with these gifts. To men, in particular, He gave a sense of justice, steadiness, heroism, capacity for logical thinking; to women, a loving nature, spontaneous generosity, patience, obedience, and a keen intuition. At the present day, and still more in the troubled years ahead of us, it is to womanly virtue that the world must look for its healing.

In reading the life of Pandita Ramabai, one of the many great shining examples that India has, in her women, given to the world, the truth of these facts is seen. Born in the second half of the last century in a remote forest village where her parents had retired to a life of contemplation and study, she was educated by her father, who himself had previously risked losing his caste by his championship of the right of women to higher education. After a short married life the Pandita was left a widow, and devoted the remainder of her life to the cause of her fellow-women, bringing to this work her brilliant intelligence and her love of those she tried to serve, together with a first-hand knowledge of their problems. Debarred by slight deafness from following the medical career she would have chosen had she been physically able, she returned to her native country after travelling in England and America to collect funds and experience for her future work, and opened an educational establishment for high-caste girls and persecuted young widows; this in itself was great work, but her large-hearted devotion extended her mission to the rescuing of orphans whom the terrible famine of 1896 and the Gujerat famine four years later had left destitute. She was personally responsible for an establishment of nineteen hundred girls and

women, including a school and kindergarten, a training school for teachers and an industrial school. Before her death, in 1922, Pandita Ramabai must have been responsible for the rescuing, training and education of thousands of girls—orphans and young widows—the majority of whom would in all probability have otherwise sunk into ignorance and depravity. Weak in health and latterly worn out by work, she had, by the force of her clear and well-trained mind, but even more by the disciplined beauty of her tranquil soul, done great things for her country, and that by being true to her womanly vocation ; for from the lives of those thousands for whose training she was alone responsible, who can tell what currents of influence shall flow through India to the end of time ?

For the married Indian woman with her own home and children, her vocation is plain. She is in a very real sense a *pandita* in her own home ; from her the child—the future citizen of the race—learns his first prayers, his first great lessons of character. If she will be true to her great vocation and ideals she has the power to influence for good and to train in the knowledge of truth and beauty the minds and hearts of future generations.

For widows, or those who feel drawn to adopt some special profession, a high and sacred vocation may also be found. In the many avenues opened to them by their newly found emancipation, medicine, law, teaching and kindred professions, modern women may, if they will, rescue a world that is fast slipping into chaos and restore it to peace and beauty. and that not by losing their age-old womanly gifts implanted by the Creator, but by being more true to these than ever before, and by adding to them the fruits of the opportunities given them in this new age.

For both these classes of women may Pandita Ramabai and others of her countrywomen of similar devotion and courage who have lived and died for the moral and social welfare of the women and children of India, be a continual memory and an inspiration.

Elizabeth Allard, Grail-leader.

London.

SOME RECENT BOOKS

DRAVIDICA

THE SAIVA IN A STRANGE GARB

The Saiva School of Hinduism. By S. Shivapadasundaram, B. A., Emeritus Principal, Victoria College, Chullipuram, Ceylon. Pp. 189. London: Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1934. Price 6s.

The style of Mr. Shivapadasundaram's little work certainly deserves the praise it has received both here and in England; its subject-matter will appeal to those who suffer from the modern craze for religion without dogmas and morality without sanctions. The temptation to water down the tenets of a remarkable religio-philosophy of India in order to please such readers seems to have been too strong for him. 'Religions', he says, 'lay stress on two elements, doctrines and observances, and make extravagant claims regarding them. The authorship is attributed to God or to a godly being. The doctrines relate to the self, the universe in which it is placed, its goal and its master, if any. . . The belief in these claims', he concludes, without giving any proof, 'has thus no substantial foundation, and the whole superstructure crumbles under the impact of demonstrable truths' (p. 21). Here the author clearly contradicts the basic claim of the Siddhānta to be a revealed system of truths which cannot be obtained by reasoning alone. The Saiva Siddhānta is Agamic, if anything, and the Agamas are implicitly believed by this school to have come down to mankind, like the Vedas, from Siva himself. European readers will find a good account of the reputed origin of the authoritative works of the Saiva Siddhānta in Dr. H. W. Schomerus's *Der Saiva Siddhānta* (Leipzig, 1912), Einleitung, pp. 1-32.

For Mr. Shivapadasundaram, religious truths have no objective reality behind them. Religion itself is no more than an 'inward power which urges all living beings to strive to reach higher and higher stages, the highest being perfection' (p. 35). Religious teachers 'need not rack their brains over the salvation of other human beings.' The author's religion 'is ever vigilant, knows the real knowledge with which to feed one at a given time, and does its work thoroughly. It is an omniscient, almighty and all-loving power, and can do its work infinitely better than any of our so-called teachers' (p. 42). And what is this almighty power which urges all beings—including the lowest forms—towards the highest goal? It is Siva-Sakti, 'the love of God, which is the Real Religion' (p. 43). This being so, 'the soul cannot be held responsible for any of its acts. . . no being can be blamed or praised for what it has done. Still, the State holds that the doer of an offence is responsible for the act and ought to be punished for

breaking the law, and not for mending his future life. This opinion is echoed by society. In dealing with crime, neither the State nor society has shown itself to have emerged from savagery even in the most enlightened parts of the world. . . We have seen that no man is to blame, and that all are good. . . Badness is impossible. . . The soul can acquire only goodness, and whatever it does must be good' (pp. 108, 111). Such is the philosophy that Mr. Shivapadasundaram presents to his European readers in the name of a religion which insists on the need of religious teachers from beginning to end—Siva himself acting through a human teacher in the final stage—, and which lays great stress on good deeds as leading to higher embodiments and evil deeds as lowering the soul in the scale of being, till the last stage of *jivan-mukta* when alone the acts of the soul are supposed to be above all distinction.

Mr. Shivapadasundaram is evidently anxious to show up Hinduism as a 'pre-eminently scientific' form of faith in which 'the most modern scientific theories of the West find their counterparts' (p. 14). By 'scientific theories', of course, he refers to the hasty pronouncements of unbelievers on religious questions which they have never studied. Thus he affirms that 'Saivism is able to accept biological evolution, as it posits the evolution of the whole material universe and of the souls themselves' (ibid). But biological evolution cannot be called a scientifically ascertained fact; and even if it were, Saivism certainly could not accept it, for according to the Saiva Siddhānta, while the bodies or 'matrices' for souls are evolved from primordial matter, the souls are eternal spirits existing by themselves, though, for an unexplained reason, inevitably caught in the meshes of *māyā* (matter). Souls are not evolved from matter, nor the 'matrices' from one another. Souls enter the 'matrices' in succession, according to their merits and demerits, without changing them. The 'matrices' are permanently fixed bodily forms, just as the souls are eternal, unchanging substances. These are commonplaces which no exponent of the Saiva Siddhānta can afford to ignore.

THE ANCIENT TAMILS

The Ancient Tamils as Depicted in Tolkāppiyam, Porulatkāram, Part I. Pp. 153. Published by S. K. Pillai, Park Town, Madras, 1934. Price Re. 1/4.

This is a well printed booklet presenting the third part of the ancient Tamil grammar, *Tolkāppiyam*, in readable English. 'As everywhere in the world, so in ancient India, love and war were the chief prepossessions of powerful princes and petty princelings. Bards in early times flourished under the patronage of chiefs, and the amatory and martial adventures of their patrons constituted the themes of old bardic minstrelsy. . . At first, the bards sang, as do the lark and the nightingale, yielding to the unconscious promptings of the environment; but the poems increased in number, describing all possible situations susceptible of poetic

treatment and the various ways of singing about them, based on the actual practice of poets. This led to the development of literary criticism and the establishment of literary conventions, which form the subject of the *Poruṭatikāram* in the *Tolkāppiyam*' (pp. 28-29).

In sharp contrast to the editor of the work, who uncritically ascribes the *Tolkāppiyam* to 1000 B.C., the anonymous author notes that it 'belongs to the epoch when the mixed northern culture had to some extent imposed on the previously well-developed culture of the Tamils ; while it faithfully records that previous culture, it contains evidence of the attempt to fit the new ideas to the old life' (p. 39). This brings the age of the Grammar down to some centuries *after* Christ. The author's views on the mixed nature of the northern culture are interesting :

The Arya has always been a cult-name and not a racial designation in India. Its essential characteristic was the worship of the gods through Agni who was their mouth. . . The fire-cult was, from the very beginning, violently opposed by the rest of the people of North and South India, to whom the Rishis gave the opprobrious names : *Dasyus*, *Asuras* and *Rakshasas*. Hence there existed in ancient India, side by side, for a long time two civilizations, the Arya based on the fire-cult, and the Tamil based on a fireless cult (*anagnih*). Though there was social and commercial intercourse between the two, their rivalry kept the streams of religion and literature severely apart from each other. . . In the age of the Mahābhārata war, the *kshatriyas*, who were the patrons of the fire-rites, and for whose post-mortem benefit most of the great *yagnas* were performed, were mostly exterminated. As a consequence the fire-cult and the fireless cults were amalgamated, and various schools of asceticism arose, which blended the pessimistic concepts of the later Vedic teachers and the practices of the fireless worship of images of the gods, called technically the Agama cult (pp. 36-38).

EARLY DRAVIDIAN COLONIES IN EUROPE

Germanen und andere frueheuropaeische Namen nordischer Staemme. By A. Clemens Schoener. Pp. 67. Tuebingen : J. C. B. Mohr, 1934. Also earlier brochures by the same author : *Altdrauidisches, Eine namenkundliche Untersuchung*. Pp. 50 ; and, *Armalurisches in frueheuropaeischen Namen*. Pp. 107. The last two with the author, *Partenkirchen, Wettersteinstr.*

The name of the last-mentioned brochure will give the reader an idea of the learned author's special researches. 'Armalurisches' is a newly coined compound consisting of the three Dravidian words : *dr-u*, brook, river, *mal-ai*, rock, mountain, hill, and *ur*, residence, village, country. Herr Schoener has in this opusculc given a list of some eight hundred words, found as the designations of streams, rivers, hills, villages, towns, in Europe and western Asia, which are traceable to Dravidian alone. His *Altdrauidisches* deals with a certain number of land and water names in the West, which are shown to be plainly Dravidian in origin. The present booklet contains a discussion on the name 'German' and the names of other Northern tribes, such as *Hessen*, *Harier*, *Paemanen*, *Alemannen*, *Tenkterer*, *Brukterer*, *Burgander*, *Burer*, &c. These German names are analysed and shown to be derived from Dravidian, with the implication that they were in most cases conferred on intruding tribes by older colonies of people who spoke a Dravidian language.

Etymologists from the earliest times have found the term 'German' a hard nut to crack. Strabo was perhaps the earliest writer to try an etymology for the word, which he assumes to come from the Latin *germanus* and interprets as meaning 'true, vigorous, &c'. Writers of our own day have wavered between various derivations. Some tried the *rapprochement* between *Germaenner*, *Wehrmaenner* and *Heermaenner*. Others think that the word comes from the Celtic *garm* meaning 'shout, outcry', and that it designated the boisterous, furious fighters from the North. Yet others found its origin in the Celtic *ger*, *gair*, meaning 'neighbour', with the ending *mn*, man. Again, some were of the opinion that it was no more than a Latin name for brother (p. 8). Herr Schoener thinks that the word cannot be reasonably derived from any other source than the Dravidian *kelum*, white, and the third personal ending *an*. In support of this view he adduces historical data from Poseidonios downwards to show how the name must have been given by the original swarthy inhabitants of the modern territory of Maas to the white foreigners who invaded their land, and who were later included in the common designation of the *Tungri*, somewhat in the same way as Europeans in India are known at the present day as *Vellaiyar* or *Vellaikkärer*. Confirmatory evidence is sought in river names such as the Gère, Gerau, Gerabronn, Kercus, Kerkha, Cerami, &c. He points out at least three dozen river names in Europe with the stem *Ger* or *Ker* signifying white in Dravidian, coupled with the equally Dravidian endings, *Ana*, *Ara*, *Ika*, *Isa*, &c. To appreciate Herr Schoener's close reasoning fully, one must study his discussion of the river names in his *Alt-dravidisches* and especially his *Armalurisches*, where he shows a rare mastery of Dravidian etymology in interpreting what Brueckner calls 'the oldest and most problematic of all names'.

The author does not profess to enter into the question of ethnology: yet his argument seems to confirm F. von Luschan's opinion that 'there is a direct, if very ancient, connexion between the smooth-haired dark Dravidians and the palaeolithic inhabitants of Europe.' And he quotes with approval the observation made by H. Kiepert that 'the cattle-breeders of Nilgiri in the west coast of South India differ little from the white race in respect of build, the shape of their cranium and complexion' (p. 22). It is an established opinion among anthropologists, he states, that the modern inhabitants of Europe are a mixture of four or five distinct races, and history records instances of the language of one race passing into that of another, such as Latin in ancient times and English at the present day. He inclines to the opinion that what he styles *Armalurisches* was, in the stone and metal age, a world-language in Europe. Evidently Herr Schoener does not claim to have said the last word on the subject; but his booklets are well worth study and the points he raises are of the utmost interest to the philologist and the ethnologist.

DRAVIDIAN CULTURE IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

Dravidian Culture and its Diffusion. By Sahityakusalan, T. K. Krishna Menon. Pp. 39. Cochin : Government Press, 1934.

This is another stimulating booklet, reprinted from a lecture delivered by the author in the Maharaja's College Hall, Ernakulam. It presents, in a few pages, the conclusions and surmises of almost every writer of note who has approached the subject. Dr. Chatterji is quoted as hinting that the Cretan, Lycian, Elamite and Dravidian languages might be materially related and that the Aegean islands, Asia Minor and Mesopotamia might have formed one cultural area (p. 7). Aegean civilization was focussed in Crete. It was of such importance that it is considered likely to have exerted an influence on the nascent civilization of Europe (p. 13). The Dravidians traded with the ancient Chaldeans long before the Vedic language found its way into India (p. 9). Canarese passages have been found in a Greek farce written in an Egyptian papyrus. The influence of India on Chinese art and literature has been immense, whilst the civilization of Java and Sumatra is saturated with it (p. 11). There is a marked resemblance between the Mediterranean and the Dravidian peoples. The Egyptians in the time of David had commercial dealings with Musiris on the west coast of South India. Earlier still, Moses refers to the use, in religious worship, of large quantities of cinnamon and cassia, products peculiar to Malabar and Ceylon. The gates of Carthage were made of sandalwood from South India. Indian teak was found in the ruins of Ur. It must have reached there in the fourth millennium B. C. when it was the sea-port of Babylon (p. 15). And so on. The booklet is well worth reading ; so, too, are the footnotes where the author quotes his authorities at every step.

S. Gnana Prakasar, O. M. I.

Jaffna.

SPIRITS

The Church and Spiritualism. By Herbert Thurston, S. J. Pp. XXII + 384. Milwaukee : Bruce, 1933.

The Spirit World About Us. By Joseph Husslein, S. J., Ph. D. Pp. X + 148. Ibidem, 1934. Price \$1. 50.

Regular readers of *The Month* cannot fail to have been struck by Father Thurston's frequent articles on poltergeists, clairvoyance or second sight, telepathy, and kindred subjects. His interest in abnormal psychic powers was aroused when he was a child of eight or nine and has grown with years : he is now seventy-eight. He was a schoolmate of Conan Doyle's, a friend of Sir William Barrett's, and has known many others who were either Spiritualists or researchers in the phenomena of Spiritualism. Those who have any acquaintance with his work are aware of his acute

critical faculty (old-fashioned people are apt to consider him hypercritical), his calm, judicial impartiality, and the patient burrowing and extensive reading on a wide variety of subjects which his writings show. A book by such an authority on subjects which interest everybody, from the philosopher to the mere seeker after the sensational, could not fail to be an event but for the boycott of silence in regard to Catholic books : *Catholica non leguntur*.

On the 31st of March, 1920, the late Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, speaking at a meeting in the Queen's Hall, London, said that the purpose of the meeting was 'to celebrate the seventy-second anniversary of what Spiritualists considered to be the greatest event which had occurred in the world for two thousand years'. The event (or series of events) for which this resounding claim was made occurred at Hydesville in Wayne County, New York. It is said that mysterious rappings had been heard for some time in a farm house occupied by a family of the name of Fox. One night Margaretta Fox, a girl of fourteen or fifteen, challenged the unseen rappers to rap as many times as she snapped her fingers. The raps followed in due number. Then Mrs. Fox asked them, first, to give as many raps as the number of her children (of whom only the two youngest girls were then living in the house), and then, as many raps as the years of their respective ages. Correct answers were rapped in reply. Soon Margaret and her younger sister, Katie, only twelve years old at the time, were in regular communication by a code of raps with what purported to be a ghost, or ghosts, and the migration of the family to Rochester did nothing to interrupt the communications. On the contrary, other human mediums (as they soon came to be called), including a much older sister, Mrs. Leah Fish (afterwards Mrs. Underhill), joined in the practice, but none so successfully as Margaret and Kate. There was money in the business. In a short time, séances were being held all over the United States and had spread to Europe. From a craze, this cult of ghosts soon developed into a religion and appropriated to itself the name of Spiritualism, which before had been, more philosophically, applied to all doctrines opposed to materialism. In France, the term *Spiritisme* was, and is, used for the form which 'Spiritualism' generally took in Latin countries, where the communicating 'Spirits', in curious disagreement with those of England and America, inculcated the doctrine of the transmigration of souls.

Early in 1851, a committee of doctors in Buffalo investigated the rapping phenomena of the Fox sisters and in a carefully reasoned report came to the definite conclusion that the girls produced the raps by cracking their knee joints and perhaps also their toes or ankles. On the other hand, Sir William Crookes, F. R. S., in his *Researches in the Phenomena of Spiritualism*, bears the following testimony (p. 87., quoted by Thurston, pp. 40, 41) :

But for power and certainty I have met with no one who at all approached Miss Kate Fox. For several months I enjoyed almost unlimited opportunity of testing the various phenomena occurring in the presence of this lady, and I

especially examined the phenomena of these sounds. With mediums generally, it is necessary to sit for a formal séance before anything is heard; but in the case of Miss Fox it seems only necessary for her to place her hand on any substance for loud thuds to be heard in it, like a triple pulsation, sometimes loud enough to be heard several rooms off. In this manner I have heard them in a living tree—on a sheet of glass—on a stretched iron wire—on a stretched membrane—on a tambourine—on the roof of a cab—and on the floor of a theatre. Moreover, actual contact is not necessary. I have heard these sounds proceeding from the floor, walls, &c., when the medium's hands and feet were held—when she was standing on a chair—when she was suspended in a swing from the ceiling—when she was enclosed in a wire cage—and when she had fallen fainting on a sofa. . . . With a full knowledge of the numerous theories which have been started, chiefly in America, to explain these sounds, I have tested them in every way I could devise, until there has been no escape from the conviction that they were true objective occurrences, not produced by trickery or mechanical means.

The fact that in the same work (pp. 3-4) he says: 'But I cannot, at present, hazard even the most vague hypothesis as to the cause of the phenomena. Hitherto I have seen nothing to convince me of the truth of the "spiritual" theory', shows that he was not a Spiritualist.

When doctors differ. . . . But it was not only the doctors that differed. Margaretta married a Dr. Kane, who did his best to wean her from what he stigmatized as this 'weary, weary sameness of continual deceit', and it was probably for this purpose that he, a Protestant, advised her to become a Catholic, which she did in August, 1858. Unfortunately, her conversion was not lasting. The *London Spiritual Magazine* for July, 1867, announced that 'after her medium powers have been held in abeyance for so many years, she has at last been pressed by the spirits into their service at the very town of Rochester where she was first developed, and is now once again before the world as Mrs. Margaret Fox Kane, with undiminished powers as a spirit-medium.' From this time, too, she seems to have taken more and more to drink and at last died, in 1893, a confirmed inebriate. Her sister Kate had died of drink the year before. I have mentioned Mrs. Kane's conversion, because Spiritualists have ascribed her exposure of Spiritualism to Catholic instigation, though it took place years after her reversion to Spiritualism. On October 21, 1888, in the Academy of Music at New York, both sisters, as a result of a quarrel with their elder sister, Mrs. Leah Underhill, joined in this exposure. As was reported in the *New York Herald* of the next day:

By throwing life and enthusiasm into her big toe Mrs. Margaret Fox Kane produced loud spirit-rapping in the Academy of Music last night and dealt a death-blow to Spiritualism, that huge and world-wide fraud which she and her sister Katie founded in 1848. Both sisters were present and both denounced Spiritualism as a monstrous imposition and a cheat. The great building was crowded and the wildest excitement prevailed at times. Hundreds of spiritualists had come to see the originators of their faith destroy it at one stroke. They were greatly agitated at times and hissed fiercely. Take it all in all, it was a most remarkable and dramatic spectacle (Thurston, p. 28).

Later, both recanted this confession.

Margaretta and Kate must have been equipped with remarkable leg-joints to be able by cracking them not only to produce sounds 'loud enough to be heard several rooms off', but which appeared

to come from the flies, from behind the scenes, from the gallery of the Academy of Music. Confederates? That is an obvious suspicion, but did they denounce these confederates when they recanted their confession? 'Besides, there are reliable witnesses to the vehemence of the raps and what we might call their ventriloquism in circumstances which excluded the possibility of confederacy; in addition to Sir W. Crookes, the late Lord Rayleigh, F. R. S., related, in his presidential address in 1919 to the Society for Psychical Research, that Mrs. Jencken (Kate Fox), when staying in his own house in 1874, though remaining motionless and in a good light, produced from the door 'loud thumps such as one would hardly like to make with one's knee' (Thurston, p. 27). On the other hand, if the sceptics' explanation involves a belief in prodigious toe-cracking or knee-cracking, the Spiritualist explanation that the spirits were so much at the beck and call of these two unfortunate inebriates as to rap wherever and whenever required—even to prove that Spiritualism is a fraud—certainly evinces a robust faith.

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle says of Mrs. Kane: 'She really knew no more of the nature of these forces than those around her did. The editor of *The Love-life of Dr. Kane* says: "She always averred that she never fully believed the rappings to be the work of spirits, but imagined mere occult laws of nature were concerned." This was her attitude later in life, for on her professional card she printed that people must judge the nature of the powers for themselves' (Thurston, p. 42). He propounded the theory that Mrs. Kane's raps were caused by a long rod of 'ectoplasm', protruding from her person and capable of conducting energy so as to strike blows at a distance, and he considered that it is entirely possible that Margaretta 'had some control over the expulsion of ectoplasm which caused the sound' (*History of Spiritualism*. Vol. I, p. 90, quoted by Thurston, p. 43). What, in this theory, becomes of Conan Doyle's claim that these raps are to be regarded as the greatest event in the history of the world for two thousand years?

Father Thurston's book contains intensely interesting chapters on telekinetic phenomena (the levitation of heavy tables and automatic accordion-playing), telepathy, clairvoyance, materializations, Houdini, &c. He defends Houdini against Conan Doyle's accusation that, while he waged a relentless war against mediums, his own marvellous and inexplicable feats were, at least partly, due to 'psychic' gifts—that he was a Balaam who cursed what he knew he ought to bless, and that the curse in the end lighted on his own head. No less convincingly does he defend Spiritualists against the accusation of conjurers that all their phenomena are feats of conjuring. It is an intellectual treat to read the chapter in which he makes hay of the suggestion that Home's phenomena with the accordion can be explained by a concealed musical box or a concealed confederate.

With his immense knowledge of the literature of Spiritualism, Thurston has little difficulty in justifying the Church's reiteration of the Biblical prohibitions against divination and necromancy, by

showing from the admissions of Spiritualists themselves that these practices are at best a puerile waste of time and never free from the risk that evil communications may corrupt good manners. I suppose the only two arguments in their favour would be : first, that we ought not to reject the overtures of the departed dead to communicate with us by this sort of wireless telephony ; and second, that, admitting the grave moral risks and the general futility of the 'fruitage' of Spiritualism, it would still be obscurantism to forbid the researcher to seek for knowledge in these fields, or the prospector to dig for grains of gold in this mountain of rubbish. But who would not smash his wireless set or his telephone if experience proved that, while one in ten thousand of the messages it carried was *possibly* authentic, the rest emanated from lewd, or malicious, or mischievous impostors ? As for the charge of obscurantism, the Church can afford to bear it meekly and smilingly, when it boils down to this that she refuses to exalt knowledge above virtue. No doubt, Satan could teach us much about this world and the next—and he would—but she bids us decline any such offers without thanks.

Does this last sentence mean that the Church attributes all genuine Spiritualist phenomena to Satan ? Certainly there are Catholic writers, both lay and clerical, who proclaim this conviction in no uncertain tones, but the Church has taken good care never to commit herself officially to this explanation. This view is sponsored by names of great authority ; but their argument is based, first, on the assumption that there are no other spirits besides God, the good and bad angels, and the spirits of the dead ; and secondly, on the assumption that it would be unfitting for God to allow the spirits in the last category to communicate systematically with the necromancers. As to the first assumption, we have no exhaustive knowledge of the categories of spirits ; as to the second, it suffers from the weakness common to arguments *de congruentia*, that our thoughts about what is fitting may not be as the Lord's thoughts. St. Peter thought that the Passion was not fitting, and earned the rebuke : 'Get thee behind me, Satan.' However, from an ethical point of view, the nature of the communicating spirit makes little difference : it is grievously wrong to abdicate our personality and lay ourselves open to an invasion by evil spirits, whatever be their nature, and if we may not do so ourselves we may not induce or encourage another to do so, whether the evil spirit be a devil, or a living, unscrupulous hypnotist, or a deceased 'scallywag'.

The Spirit World About Us, by Father Husslein, treats of angels, good and bad ; and the chapter about Saul and the Witch of Endor contains an eminently sane and judicious discussion of Spiritualism, ancient and modern, in which the author quotes Father Thurston's opinion from the book just reviewed. But, as is fitting, most of the book is about the kindly, ministering spirits whose *aura*, so unlike the stifling atmosphere of the Spiritualist séance, surrounds the Catholic from his cradle. One reason, apart

from Biblical and ecclesiastical prohibitions, why Spiritualism has had little attraction for Catholics is the Catholic devotion to the angels. The aim of Father Husslein's book is to quicken this devotion to the heavenly spirits in general, and in particular to the guardian angels and to St. Michael, 'the leader of the heavenly host in the warfare against the spirits of darkness', a devotion that is especially timely now that the enemy has thrown off the mask and proudly proclaims that his warfare is against God. To this end the author has narrated all the apparitions of angels mentioned in the Bible, and collected every mention of angels in Holy Writ, commenting on both in the light of Catholic tradition and theology. Readers who imagine that Scholasticism was greatly exercised about the problem of how many angels can dance on the point of a needle will be disappointed to find no discussion of this question in a book which gives all that we know from Scripture and theology about the angels, carefully distinguishing between what is of faith and what is mere human speculation. All this is done in a simple devotional style, enriched with many gems of poetry, and the book is illustrated by twenty-six beautiful reproductions of pictures by Gustave Doré and of masterpieces by Velasquez, Murillo and Fra Angelico.

J. Lauder.

Poona.

PRAYER FOR ALL TIMES

La Prière de toutes les heures. Trois séries de 33 méditations, by Pierre Charles. S. J. 9e éd., 100e mille. Pp. 540. Louvain : Museum Lessianum, 1934. Price 20 frs.

This artificial age of ours has lost the art of seeing. We have no eye for the intrinsic beauty of things that lie before us. We either suffer from myopia or from long-sightedness. When our vision is not dazzled by the glamour of footlights it is blurred by the smoked lenses of professional goggles. And so we miss the Invisible hidden under the veil of the visible. We have urgent need of prayer for the perfect restoration of our sight : *Lord, that I may see!*—see Thy omnipotence in the sprouting herb, and Thy infinity in the depth of baby eyes—see the entire universe wrapt in the splendour of Thy all-enveloping love, in the redemptive embrace of Thy Incarnate Word.

Our ears, too, have lost their keenness, else we should hear the voice of God in the multitudinous tongues of His creatures—*quasi vocem turbae magnae*.—in the clatter of old pots and pans consecrated by honest use, in the glad *Te Deum* of birds and beasts and all things humble, drinking in life from the 'universal Sun', in the clamour of the hungry for bread, in the sighs of the sufferer, in the wailings of the disconsolate. We should hear His voice in the winds that waft to us from far-off climes messages of anonymous fellowship, silent sympathy, gentle admonition and pitiful appeal. And thus within the hermitage of the great, big, bustling world, we could hold heart-to-heart colloquy with our Changeless Friend

by making all His interests our own. This is the aim of *La Prière de Toutes les Heures*, of which the first series shows how we may go to God at all hours of the day, the second describes how He comes to us, and the third points out the final goal towards which His grace, taking firm grip of our will, intends to lead us.

Father Charles' Meditations passed through nine editions and exceeded an output of 100,000 copies in the course of a decade ; they were translated into English, German, Italian, Dutch, Polish and Hungarian.

Rarely are meditations charged with such verve and vitality. To dissipate the 'majestic prejudice' which through false reverence would place our prayers like a rich brocade along the border of our life and not within its very warp and woof, they have been divested of their conventional solemnity, and apparently stray texts from Scripture or from the Church's Liturgy---a mere word or two like 'Colligite fragmenta', 'Unde et memores', or even 'Amen'---have been rendered pregnant with significance. Presented in a limpid and scintillating style in which bold epigrams blend with an astonishing wealth of imagery, new ideas wear the look of familiar, time-honoured maxims, and old truths come upon us with the sudden shock of novelty. Its healthy optimism, that does not shut its eye to the existence of sin, sorrow and failure, produces in the mind the exhilarating sensation of a plunge in a cool crystal stream after the torpor of a sultry day.

Our Christian life ought to be one continuous act of communion with God. In spite of its drab appearance it bears within itself the principle of divinization. The light which shall reveal our Maker face to face shines within us already inchoatively as faith, and charity establishes a union of our will with His which shall be fully consummated in heaven. The whole of our spirituality, therefore, consists in an ever increasing consciousness of the divine life in and around us, in finding God in our gloomy atmosphere, colourless surroundings and wearisome labour. For the God of heaven is also the God of earth ; He mingles with us in all our daily affairs, in our trivial occupations and petty anxieties, just as He mingled of yore with the dust-stained children of Nazareth and the thousands of uncouth and ignorant rustics to whom He announced His Beatitudes.

Peter Gomes.

Louvain.

THE MAKING OF A CIVIL SERVANT

Sir Robert Morant. By Bernard M. Allen, M. A., LL. D. Pp. 318. London : Macmillan. Price 12s. 6d.

The Civil Service plays such an important part in the private and public life of India and the Civil Service of England has won such a reputation for efficiency and statesmanship, that the life of one of the greatest English Civil Servants in recent times must

prove instructive to all those that are similarly employed in India. Sir Robert Morant left his mark on those two great modern departments of state, Education and Health, which fill as large a place in India as in England.

Born of people with moderate means, he had the usual upbringing of a boy of the upper middle class. At the Oxford University he was subject to influences that are hardly to be found in Indian universities. Entering a 'Brotherhood' at New College, he took classes at Hinksey every Sunday afternoon and joined in the movement inaugurated by the Rev. S. A. Barnett which ended in the establishment of Toynbee Hall, the now famous University settlement in the East End of London. Though intended for the ministry of the Church of England, he gave way to religious doubts and disappointed his mother. After leaving Oxford, he took up tutorships and was attracted to Siam by the offer of a place in the family of a Siamese nobleman. From this private tutorship he stepped on to a tutorship in the royal family of Siam and was entrusted with teaching the Crown Prince himself. In this high position he underwent the usual vicissitudes of service in an eastern State—enthusiastic reception, privilege, prestige, followed by palace intrigue, alternation between distrust and trust, then suspicion, anxiety, and finally sudden dismissal. But to Siam and the periodically generous treatment he received from the Government, especially the King, Morant owed the self-confidence and the broad outlook which come from acting in great positions of trust and responsibility. So, although he returned to England disappointed and somewhat soured, he left Siam with a cultural and administrative experience that was to stand him in good stead in his own country.

Soon after his return to England he accepted the post of Assistant Director of Special Enquiries and Reports in the Education Ministry of which he was one day to become the departmental head. Appointed in 1899 Private Secretary to Sir John Gorst, Vice-President of the Board of Education, he came to the notice of successive Ministers of Education, and his final and lasting work, the organization of the educational system of England through the Act of 1902, was in sight. But before he reached that end, what work he had to do—elaborate minutes, conferences with Cabinet Committees and representatives of the public, journeyings to and fro, painstaking draftsmanship, laborious coaching of Ministers in and outside Parliament! And then the work of organizing the system of education set up by the Act: it was giant's work and could have been done only by a giant of a worker like Morant. But all this work and service did not prevent his departure from the Education Department owing to an act of administrative indiscretion which might well have been forgiven to a man of Morant's record of service. But he could not be long kept out of the higher service of the State. And, curiously enough, it was Mr. Lloyd George, the determined opponent of his educational measures, that gave Morant his new opportunity. In 1911 he made him Chairman of the National Insurance Commission which was to implement

his famous Insurance Scheme. Here he had to build a new department and put into force a novel measure of social reform. His experience in the working of this scheme proved to him the need for organizing a National Health Service for England, and his indomitable energy and perseverance gave him no rest till he had seen the establishment of a Ministry of Health. This completed and crowned the long and noble record of Morant's service to the State in England.

How did he manage to do it all ? In the first place, a naturally good physique, hardened on the playing fields of Winchester and more especially by long walks, enabled him to stand the strain of his work. Secondly, he had the needed inspiration to fire him to do great work for his fellow-men. The early reading of Kingsley's *Yeast*, the influence of the Settlement movement, his experience of education in Siam and France where he was sent to report early in his educational career in England, served to give him sufficient motive power. Hard work, love of detail, patience, tact, persistence, did the rest.

Sir Robert Morant's career as described by the practised hand of Dr. Allen ought to serve as an incentive and instruction to civil servants all over the world. There they will see how a competent and well-equipped man can help in the administration of a great department of State—even to the formulation of policy. For Ministers even in England are busy, have no time, and are not armed cap-à-pie. Knowledge, thought, especially forethought, management of men, are necessary. And in India how much more necessary, where Ministers are not largely recruited from a leisured class ! To the large and honourable body of administrators in all grades of service this life of an inspired civil servant deserves to be cordially recommended.

M. Ruthnaswamy.

Madras.

RELIGION

DAS BUCH EXODUS, UEBERSETZT UND ERKLAERT. By DR. P. HEINISCH. (*Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, 1. Bd., 2. Abt.) Pp. XVI+298. Bonn : Hanstein, 1934. Price RM. 10. 80 (paper), RM. 12. 80 (bound).

The Commentary on Holy Scripture published by the firm of Hanstein in Bonn is meant for students and cultured laymen. Yet two at least of the volumes are the result of original research, and deserve to be noted by scholars. These are the Commentary on *Genesis*, and that on *Exodus*, by Dr. P. Heinisch.

One of the most important questions with respect to Holy Scripture is that regarding the source and the authorship of the Pentateuch, or Five Books of Moses. One who undertakes to solve this question has before him an intricate problem, and should his researches lead him to conclude that the accepted view is wrong and that the Pentateuch is not the work of Moses, his conclusion can be but a hypothesis and not the proof of a positive fact.

That Moses had written the five books, *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers* and *Deuteronomy*, that go under his name was, as late as the seventeenth century, considered as uncontroverted. The books witness to his literary activity, while

M.

Deuteronomy records that it is the work of his pen. Yet it is evident that Moses did not write all that the books contain. The narrative of his death cannot be attributed to the law-giver of the Hebrews ; while ten other passages at least evidently prove that they were written by another hand.

Critics have tried to determine the passages in the Pentateuch which are not written by Moses, by reference to the fact that there are two or three versions of the same story, each with its own character, vocabulary, grammar, &c., but they are found intermingled. Setting apart the portions having one common character from those having another, we get three complete histories, not identical, but even, at times, contradictory. Now Moses, being himself the main subject of the story in the four last books, could not have written three different versions of a personal narrative, which do not agree. Hence the critics conclude that the Pentateuch has been written by another who has woven three narratives into one.

The position of the critics seems, however, rather unstable. On the one hand, they agree with the verdict of history that whoever may be the author of the Pentateuch, Moses, as responsible for the blending of the tribes of Israel into one nationality, must be held as a great historical personality, a veritable genius both in the sphere of politics and of religion, and at the same time they belittle their own appreciation by the assertion that monotheism was not a Mosaic doctrine, for the Hebrews when they came to Palestine were animistic. Now the advance of historical research in regard to the history of Egypt and Mesopotamia has necessitated a change of view with respect to the culture of Israel at the time of the Exodus and the place of Moses in the history of his people.

Here Dr. Heinisch comes in. He takes up anew the whole problem of the composition of the Pentateuch. Every fact is checked, every argument examined as to its value.

The result of his scholarly work may be summarized. Though it may be admitted that there are in the Pentateuch narratives which are repeated, yet these are much less frequent than the critical school surmise. This a thorough examination of all the facts goes to show.

There are not three—or four—histories from the creation till the invasion of Palestine by the Hebrews. There is only one complete history of the events from the creation to the conquest of the Holy Land. But that history has been later interpolated, and the interpolations manifest a much later stage of culture.

Heinisch concludes that the author of the Pentateuch is Moses. And his conclusion is a real inference from the book itself. But he shows also that in the historical parts of *Exodus*, and still more in its legislative parts, there are post-Mosaic elements : double narratives, and further developments of legislation.

A Roelands.

SOUS LA LUMIERE DU CHRIST—PERSPECTIVES. By JOANNES WEHRLÉ. Pp. 252. Paris : Bloud et Gay. Price 15 fr.

As the Abbé Wehrle himself says in the *Avant-propos*, this is not so much a book as a collection of essays written on various occasions. But when they are looked at 'sous la lumière du Christ' they fall into line in a certain recognizable order : starting from the miracle of our adoption as sons of God (Ch. 1), we seek its *explanation* in the historical existence and divinity of Christ (Ch. 2), and in His kingship over the whole earth (Ch. 3). A striking *proof* of this divinization of man is the sanctity and prophetic power of a peasant girl like Joan of Arc (Ch. 4), and the heroic virtue and teaching of a Doctor of the Church like John of the Cross (Chs. 5 & 6). The result of this wholehearted adoption of humanity by God is that there cannot be a philosophy that is entirely divorced from religion. (Ch. 7).

The most interesting of all these uniformly clear 'perspectives' is the last : standing on a coign of vantage before the beginning, when the world was not, we see all mankind in God's eternal decree raised to His own plane by partaking of His own nature ; then time begins, and man is created, redeemed, destroyed—can we now think of him in a purely natural state, without even a desire of seeing God face to face, and an 'appetite' for possessing God ?

Fr. Wehrle seizes the real difference between Maurice Blondel's position, as it was stated in *L'Action* and in *Cahier 20 of La Nouvelle Journée*, 1932, and that of his numberless critics, and makes a spirited defence of him. We heartily agree with this defence. If philosophy does not consist in mere juggling with lifeless concepts but is 'l'étude du problème de la destinée humaine', as Auguste Burdeau defined it, if in the actual order of Providence man is essentially made for the Beatific Vision, how can philosophy be anything but Christian? Blondel does not, any more than St. Thomas and St. Augustine, deny the infinite distance which separates nature from grace; he says that grace completes nature, and that nature has been made for grace, for Christ is the 'first-born of every creature' and 'all things are made in Him'.

We cannot sum up the argument better than in Fr. de Broglie's words: 'C'est donc, à parler en rigueur et absolument, la nature pure qui doit se penser comme l'absence de grâce dans un sujet susceptible de la grâce, et non point la grâce qui doit se penser comme une intrusion tout étrangère dans une nature adéquatement intelligible sans rapport à elle.'²

Perhaps it would have been better to put the last chapter first because it would have thrown 'la lumière du Christ' on all the 'perspectives' from the very start and made a new heaven and a new earth. But we can guess why the author kept this thorny question to the very end of his book. . .

T. N. Siqueira.

THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS. By REV. VALENTIN M. BRETON, O.F.M. Translated from the French by Rev. R. E. Scantlebury. Pp. XIX + 213. London: Sands & Co. Price 3s. 6d.

This is the twenty-third volume in the Catholic Library of Religious Knowledge which aims at popularizing theology and bringing it within the reach of the ordinary English reader. Fr. Breton does not lay claim to originality: 'Our chief anxiety was not to produce a work of erudition, but—and we declare it openly—a work of edification' (Preface, p. XII). He wants to bring the consoling dogma of Christian solidarity home to his readers, and there is no doubt that he succeeds.

But though he has made constant use of Fr. Bernard's exhaustive and masterly article on the subject in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (Vol. 3, col. 429-453) and of Professor Karl Adam's scholarly book on *The Spirit of Catholicism*, Fr. Breton has presented the Communion of Saints in a new and popular way.

After explaining the true meaning of the formula, he traces its history from the fifth century, when it was first inserted into the Creed in Gaul, down to our own times when Protestants have omitted it as savouring of 'polytheism, very badly disguised'. But though it is not found in the Nicene Creed, which dates from the fourth century, it was from the very beginning contained in the Church's belief, as liturgy and iconography show. The Scholastics in the thirteenth century examined the doctrine and established its proofs and its implications.

Part Two examines the *theology* of the dogma, and shows how it is contained in the Gospel teaching on the Kingdom of God and in St. Paul's central theme, the Mystical Body, and how it is celebrated every day in the Eucharistic banquet: 'For we, being many are *one* body, all that partake of *one* bread' (1 Cor. 10, 17).

Part Three draws the practical *spiritual* conclusions from this dogma. The Communion of Saints implies common possessions, common interests, common joys and sorrows, common losses and gains, between the head, Christ, and all the members on earth, in purgatory, and in heaven. Union, solidarity, obedience, unselfishness,—what a beautiful programme! And what other religion is there which makes man at once so humble, to be the last in the company of Christ and His saints, and so proud, to be their brother and co-heir? Indeed, Christianity

¹ In *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, Mai-Août, 1924.

² i. e. 'Strictly and absolutely speaking, we should rather consider pure *nature* as the absence of grace in a subject capable of it than consider *grace* as an intrusion of something foreign into a nature that can be adequately understood without it'.

is the only religion which satisfies our essentially *social* nature and which, after we have been created and redeemed together, wants us to save one another and carry one another's burdens, and rejoice in our sufferings because they 'fill up the things that are wanting of the sufferings of Christ, . . . for His body, which is the Church' (Col. 1, 24).

T. N. Siqueira.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

THE PRAVACANA-SARA of Kunda-Kunda Acārya, together with Amrtacandra Suri's Commentary. English Translation. By BAREND FADDEGON. Pp. XXIV + 227. Cambridge University Press, 1935. Price 15s.

Jainism is divided into two opposed schools or sects, the Digambara and the Svetambara. The *Pravacana-Sāra* is the most important 'scripture' of the Digambaras, and is, therefore, the first volume to be published in the *Jain Literature Society Series* lately undertaken by the Cambridge University.

The author, Kunda-Kunda, is the most esteemed teacher of the Digambara Jains; and Amrtacandra Suri is the best of the three commentators of the *Pravacana-Sāra*, and his work is really what its name means, *Tattva-Dīpikā*.

The book falls into three chapters: Truth as related to knowledge, Truth as related to the Knowable, and Hints on Conduct.

The first chapter is a treatise of epistemology, psychology and asceticism in one—for it is characteristic of Jain philosophy to bring morality and science closer together than is done in other systems. The saint alone attains perfect knowledge, which is release from bondage. 'Manifold bondage', says the *Pravacana-Sāra*, 'arises for the soul which is evolved through infatuation, attachment and aversion; therefore, these must be destroyed' (I, 84).

The second chapter deals mainly with Cosmology, the origin and nature of matter, the notion of time and space, the *karma* of bodies. While many of these speculations are interesting, some of them show a remarkable intuition—for instance, 'I am not body, nor mind, nor voice, nor cause of these: not worker, nor causer of working, nor approver of workers' (II, 68).

But the third chapter is the most important, for Jainism is essentially a moral or ethical system which uses knowledge merely as a handmaid to conduct. The highest ideal of sanctity is that of the ascetic who can say: 'I do not belong to others, and others do not belong to me' (III, 4). Such a man is characterized by vows, restraint of the senses, pulling out of his hair, neglect of his person, taking one meal a day and that standing (*stūti-bhojana, eka-bhukta*), and not injuring living beings (*ahimsā*) (III, 6, 9).

It is impossible, in a review, to give an adequate idea of the careless wealth either of the treatise or of its commentary. There are in this as in other works of its kind cryptic statements which if logically developed might either destroy one another or lead to conclusions far from intended. These are to be interpreted by the living voice and gesture of the *guru* to those who have chosen to follow him. Others will seek another interpreter who will give them quite another meaning. . .

Professor Faddeggon of Amsterdam deserves congratulation on the thoroughness and accuracy of a work which has been inspired by a genuine love of Jain philosophy and a desire to bring the original Prakrit within the reach of the average English reader. Professor Thomas's Introduction is a little jewel, for it really introduces the *Pravacana-Sāra* to the student who has just embarked on that uncharted sea.

T. N. Siqueira.

SATKARYA in der Darstellung seiner budhistischen Gegner. By WALTER LIEBENTHAL. Pp. XVI+152. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1934. (Beiträge zur Indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Religionsgeschichte, herausgegeben von J.W. Hauer, 9.H.).

Śāntarakṣita was a Buddhist monk who was born in Bengal and adopted the idealist teaching of the Vijñānavādins. He emigrated to Tibet about the middle of the eighth century and founded the monastery of Samye, where important collections of Tibetan translations are preserved. His main work, the *Tattvasamgraha*, which gives its author a prominent position in Indian scholarship, was discovered by Dr. G. Bühler as early as 1873. But it was not until 1926 that a manuscript could be obtained from a Jaina monastery and edited in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* (vol. XXX & XXXI). The *Tattvasamgraha* is a collection of twenty-six chapters or *parikṣhās*, discussing twenty-six philosophical topics, accompanied by a most valuable commentary by Kamalasīla, a disciple of the author's.

Dr. Liebenenthal has made a lucid German translation of the first chapter, which deals with the fundamental topic of *prakṛti*, a notion which corresponds neither to *nature* nor to *matter*, though it holds an analogous position in regard to *spirit*. The 'adversary' here is the Sāṃkhya system as represented in a group of strophes in the classical *Sāṃkhyakārikā*. The Sāṃkhyan commentary quoted and utilized by Kamalasīla is evidently older than the *Gaudapāda*, the *Mādhara* and the *Paramārtha* commentaries, and looks rather like their original. Kamalasīla's exposition of the Sāṃkhya doctrine is distinctly superior to them in faithfulness and coherence. Were it only for a more exact knowledge of the Sāṃkhya teaching this translation would be useful. It is a matter for regret that little account has so far been taken of this technical and authentic elucidation of the most interesting chapter of Sāṃkhya, the principle of causality.

It is true, as Dr. Liebenenthal observes in his valuable Introduction, that the concrete terms of the Sāṃkhyan problem are not at all easy to understand; and one may wonder whether even pandits to-day have more than a nominal knowledge of them. Their materials are for the most part pre-scientific, and their original meaning and image seems to have been irretrievably lost. Even the notion of movement, for instance, which the author treats with remarkable insight, is totally different from the Occidental notion of physical movement, and should be imagined as a kind of radiation from the subjective nucleus of the individual towards an objective horizon.

In spite of such difficulties of interpretation, these discussions of Indian scholasticism do not lack general interest. Those on causality, for instance, show the unavoidable antinomies of reason when dealing with the problem of the origin of *existence* in terms of mere *evolution*, or of what the European Scholastics call *causa fiendi*.

The Sāṃkhyan doctrine incorporated in the expression *satkāryam*—literally, 'the effect really exists'—states that the effect pre-exists in the cause, though not in its effective form; it lies there as a power of self-manifestation. One may easily anticipate the difficulties which a dialectic bent on finding absurdities rather than particles of truth in adverse statements will move against the Sāṃkhyan thesis. The refutation by Śāntarakṣita, summarized by S. Dasgupta, in *A History of Indian Philosophy* (vol. II, pp. 171 ss.) is a characteristic example. Still the Sāṃkhyan thesis followed, on the whole, the safe *via media* on the problem of causality, and expressed a truly metaphysical view.

On many details—and details are the important thing in Indian philosophy, as Prof. de la Vallée Poussin observes—the acute observations of W. Liebenenthal mark a distinct advance in Sāṃkhyan research. One may here and there question secondary conclusions, such as the priority of the *Gaudapādabhāṣya* to the original parts of the *Mātharavṛtti*; but most of the author's findings will receive the unanimous assent of Indologists.

M. Ledrus.

RURAL INDIA

BADLĀPUR, *Amcha Gamv*. By N. G. CHAPEKAR. Pp. 4 + 502 + 26. Poona, *Aryasanskriti Press*, 1933. Price Rs. 6.

Some years ago, Narain Govind Chapekar, a gifted Marathi writer, published, in the *Vandhgnanvistar*, a Poona monthly, a series of articles entitled 'Amcha Gamv' which attracted my attention by its copious, minute details on village life in the Maharashtra. I see with pleasure that those articles have been reprinted, with some additional information, in book form under the title of *Badlapur, Amcha Gamv*. The volume contains 500 closely printed pages, replete with information about the village of Badlapur, which is situated on the Bombay-Poona line about 42 miles from Bombay. At first sight, such a huge volume on a single village of not more than 2,300 inhabitants might seem unreasonable. What if writers took it into their heads to write such a volume about every village of India! But the reader of this book will be so conversant with village life in the Maharashtra that he will need no other books for information. All other villages between the Tapti and the Tungabhadra are built on the same pattern, inhabited by the same castes, administered in the same manner, have the same religious mentality and the same social customs, and are in the same economic position. Therefore, Badlapur may be taken as the type, and the knowledge of Badlapur is the key to the knowledge of village life in the whole Maharashtra country.

This book will be very useful to those who are interested in village uplift, and also to missionaries who are often puzzled by the ways and manners of people whom they wish to influence.

Louis F. Gayet,
Bishop of Nagpur.

WISDOM AND WASTE IN THE PUNJAB VILLAGE. By MALCOLM LYALL DARLING, C. I. E. Pp. XV + 368. *Oxford University Press*, 1934. Price Rs. 8.

As Registrar of Co-operative Societies, M. L. Darling had ample opportunities to tour about and study in detail the village life of the Punjab. This book, like his *Rusticus Loquitur*, is in the form of a diary; yet it is not a travel book, but a social study based on direct observation.

The three main educational influences in the Punjab village are taken in turn: co-operative work, the school, and—greatest of all—the army. Co-operative societies, stunned as they are by the world crisis, have taught the peasant how to handle money, abolished compound interest, controlled the use of money, and given him social training.

The army has developed personality along with the sense of rule and duty, yet it has done little for agricultural development.

But neither is school education a panacea; and the author's views on it deserve to be studied by educational authorities in rural areas: 'I found a general consensus of opinion that though the primary and vernacular middle course may have had no bad effect, the Anglo-Vernacular Middle School tends to dissociate from the land and that the High School is the boycott of the land. My first conclusion is that though education is indispensable for the peasant, it should not, in the case of most, go beyond the Vernacular Middle. Some good judges would go further. Believing that the process of disintegration begins in the sixth class, they would restore the five-class Primary and make that the natural term for the ordinary village boy.'

Various proposals, some of them of questionable value, are put forward for improving village economics. We are put on our guard against a Five Year Plan 'à la Russe' and offered a twenty-five year one instead. We might add that if it takes twenty years to educate a man, it takes twenty generations to educate a whole village.

A. Lallemand.

LITERATURE

THEORIE DES BELLES-LETTRES. By L. LONGHAYE, S. J. Pp. XI + 577. 7th edition. *Paris, Téqui*. Price 20 frs.

If Fr. Longhaye is right in thinking that to write well one must be thoroughly imbued with one's subject and speak with one's whole soul, this book must be a very good one, for he is certainly full of his subject. He has taught it all his life, and taught it *con amore*. He has written several tragedies in French, and an excellent treatise on Sacred Oratory, besides two other large works, each in four volumes, on the History of French Literature in the 17th and in the 19th century. He may also be said to speak with his whole soul, for he has his heart in his subject. He is a Frenchman of the type described by Matthew Arnold in his essay on *The Literary Influence of Academies*: he has a conscience in matter of art and literature. He is deeply convinced that there is a right and a wrong way in art. And it is to determine and formulate what is right and what is wrong that the book under review has been written.

The author does not pretend to have reduced to a definite formula every truth concerning literature. He knows too well that literature is not geometry; that it is not all reducible to pure reason; that, being the living expression of man's whole nature, it gives a large scope to imagination and feeling, whose manifestations cannot be squeezed into a logical formula. But granting as he does that the problems of taste cannot be reduced to mathematical formulae, granting that everything is not ultimately demonstrable in literature, he will not allow any agnostic attitude in matters of taste. He maintains that we can and do reach moral certitude on more points than we are prepared to allow; that literature, in fact, rests on sure abiding principles, and that these principles can be ascertained and formulated.

The author is a Catholic priest and a Jesuit, and he looks at art in the light of Christian philosophy. But, as he says in the Conclusion, it would be false to infer from this that the principles he lays down hold good only for Christians. Literature being the expression of man as man to men as men, and the nature of men being essentially the same always and everywhere, the essential principles of literature must be true for all men. Ultimately, indeed, literature is the endeavour of a soul to reveal a portion of its life-experience, and share it with other souls. Its one essential problem, therefore, resolves itself into the threefold question: How can a man best reveal his soul in writing? How can he best appeal to the essential faculties of his reader? Of what abiding worth is the life-experience he wants to convey?

The book is not a thriller, nor is it meant to be a textbook. It is intended rather for those engaged either in teaching or in studying the higher branches of literature and interested in getting to the ultimate explanation or philosophy of art.

That in this age of thrillers so intensely serious a publication should have reached its seventh edition is a comforting proof that the taste for serious literature is not as extinct as one might have feared. But it is as also a convincing proof that the book is an outstanding contribution to the theory or philosophy of letters.

L. Le Guen.

THE METAPHYSICAL POETS, *Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, Traherne*. By J. B. LEISHAM. Pp. 232. *London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1934*. Price 10s.

This book is neither biography nor critical edition nor anthology, but a mixture of all three. The author takes four typical seventeenth century Metaphysical poets—Donne, Herbert, Vaughan and Traherne—and tries to throw the light of biography on a number of their poems. As Mr. Leisham says (p. 108), 'the purpose of a poem is to enable the reader to re-create in himself the experience in and out of which it was born'; hence the circumstances, physical and mental, in which a poem was composed help one to understand it. Working on the known facts of their lives and the chronology of some of their poems, Mr. Leisham advances a reasonable hypothesis as to the experience which these four poets wanted to convey.

The lion's share of the book is given to the most modern of them, John Donne, who, with his passion for introspection and self-analysis, is becoming popular to-day. It has taken many years to live down Dr. Johnson's disparaging remarks about the 'Metaphysicals'—a phrase that has probably been responsible for keeping many people away from the seventeenth century: but as the author points out, it was not the 'metaphysical' side of Donne that was his real contribution to English literature, but his realism and freedom from the Petrarchan sentiments and conventions of the Elizabethans. His analysis of the 'metaphysicality' of Donne and his confrères is very able: the root of their 'conceits' is their preoccupation with the intellectual side of poetry, which, however, saves them the bane of so much religious verse.

The second of the quartet is Herbert. Mr. Leisham rejects the generally accepted picture of Herbert as a kind of plaster saint, who lived his peaceful life amid his flowers and garden, and points out the essential virility of the man as seen in his poetry, without taking one iota from his immense loveliness and sweet reasonableness.

The treatment of Henry Vaughan is perhaps the poorest of the four, though we ought to be thankful if only for the chance it gives us of re-reading some of the most marvellous passages in the religious poetry of the seventeenth century. But the man is not made to stand out as are the other three.

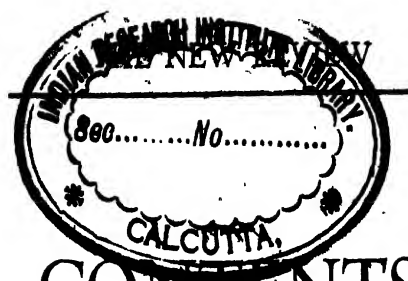
The section on Thomas Traherne is extraordinarily good. Though our biographical knowledge of this poet is of the slenderest, Mr. Leisham has made him live by a copious use of quotations from his prose works and 'meditations'—quotations which tempt one to admit that Traherne is perhaps a greater poet in his prose than in his verse. However, one may ask whether Traherne is as unorthodox in his mysticism, and especially in his way of regarding creatures, as Mr. Leisham leads us to suppose. Indeed, in many places Traherne might almost be writing a lay commentary on the *Contemplatio ad Amorem* where St. Ignatius speaks of God as dwelling and working in all nature. It is often forgotten that seventeenth century religious poets, though Protestant in name and outward conformity, were still being nourished with the old Catholic culture. Milton is the first really Protestant poet in English: all his early contemporaries were in essential culture Catholic: and unless this is remembered it is impossible to drink in fully the beauty of these poets. But of this there is no word in Mr. Leisham's book.

There is also no mention of Crashaw. Surely he deserved a section to himself. He was certainly a 'metaphysical': he was also a religious poet. Nor was he the least of the singers of his age: when he is at his best there is not one of his contemporaries who can come near him in the incandescent rapture of his soul.

To sum up: the book as a whole is stimulating; while some sections are better than others, in each the author has something definite and invigorating to say. He seems to have discovered a new use for biography, which we hope many more critics will follow. The book can be recommended to the lover of the seventeenth century, for it will throw a new light on old favourites; and to the novice in 'metaphysical' poetry, too, for the author has quoted so abundantly that a previous acquaintance with these poets is not necessary to understand and appreciate the book.

A. J. Antony Williams.





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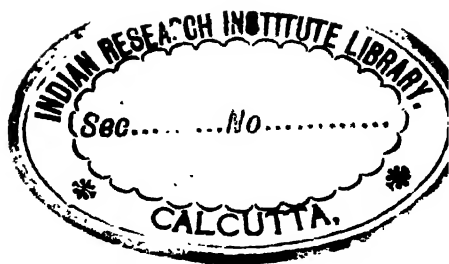


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INDIA AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

By T. T. ADISAYAM

THE poverty of India is not an opinion, it is a fact', says Mr. Ramsay Macdonald.¹ But India was not always poor. Ancient India was noted for her fabulous wealth which bewildered travellers and beckoned conquerors. 'Up to the eighteenth century', says Anstey,² 'the economic condition of India was relatively advanced, and Indian methods of production and of industrial and commercial organization could stand comparison with those in vogue in any other part of the world.' Even as late as the early part of the nineteenth century Sir Thomas Munro, Sir Charles Metcalfe and others gave a glowing testimony to the flourishing condition of the Indian village communities. But since the middle of the last century India has fallen from affluence into indigence. In spite of recent improvements in irrigation, transport and foreign trade, due mainly to British enterprise, a casual visitor to modern India cannot but be struck by the sight of deserted villages, ruined crafts and famished people. The reason why India has been reduced to this deplorable condition is to be sought in the obstacles that prevented and still prevent her from reaping the full benefits of modern industrialism. We shall in the following pages attempt an analysis of Indian social institutions and

¹ *The Awakening of India* (popular edition), p. 103.

² *The Economic Development of India*, p. 5.

try to point out the obstacles that stand in the way of economic progress.

I

In the hey-day of Indian prosperity, the economic life of the country centred round the village, and the economic unit of Indian society was the family. The normal Indian family consisted of husband and wife, their children, their grandchildren and their great-grandchildren, sharing the same food, the same worship and the same property. The head of the family was a mere trustee administering the property for the welfare of its members, who contributed to the common stock whatever they could earn, and shared according to their needs whatever was available. Based on personal ties of the purest affection, the Indian family could afford to practise a kind of religious communism which transformed family duties into the highest virtues of self-discipline, sacrifice, obedience and reverence. Much money was saved under this system, for all unnecessary reduplication of household establishment and equipment was avoided and a small income was made to go a long way. The widow, the orphan, the decrepit and the infirm were assured of due protection in the household without any need for the cumbersome modern method of State medical aid or old-age pensions. Every able-bodied member of the family, including women and children, had to perform some work to promote the prosperity of the family. Thus in an agriculturist's home, while the men worked in the fields, the women assisted in sowing and weeding. If field work was not available, they threshed the corn or stacked the hay. If there was any time left they were engaged in spinning cotton or silk thread or in twisting ropes out of coco-nut or jute fibre. The younger boys and girls were employed in grazing the cattle.

This collaboration of all the members of the family not only sweetened their labour but also increased the common income. After providing for their frugal wants as well as for the seed, manure and agricultural implements, what was left over was spent in a variety of ways. Their first care was to increase the family property. Then came the women's demand for jewellery. What is considered extravagant now was not extravagant in those days. The gold jewels worn by women served not merely as ornaments but also as savings to be utilized in the hour of need. Pawn-broking, a common feature of rural credit, was practised to a large extent by the women in comparatively rich households. Thrifty housewives generally had a good supply of pin-money which they used to help the needy with loans on the security of silver or gold ornaments or household utensils. Hence the head of the family never regretted having converted part of his savings into jewels. Family feasts, which are so necessary to strengthen social life, received due attention, and part of the surplus wealth was spent in merry-making on the occasion of a marriage or in paying homage to the dear departed on the occasion of a funeral or an anniversary. Thus the joint family at the height of its glory was an admirable institution of mutual helpfulness.

Another important social institution which promoted the economic well-being of the country in former days was the caste system, the steel frame of Indian society. The caste was simply the family enlarged. As social life required a certain differentiation of occupations, families pursuing different trades tended to crystallize into different castes, and thus an excellent system was evolved for training skilled workmen and conscientious artisans. As the craftsmen worked in the congenial atmosphere of their own homes, the secrets of the trade

were easily learnt by the young apprentice, and the hereditary knowledge of the craft which had grown in the family for centuries was imperceptibly transmitted to posterity. The exquisite beauty of their ivory work, the artistic elegance of their stone-carving and the far-famed perfection of their cotton goods bear eloquent witness to the fact that heredity was the secret of their excellence in the industrial arts.

If heredity of profession brought about the differentiation of castes, it was religion that introduced rigidity into the system. To the idealistic Hindu who regarded life as a series of religious acts, art and industry appeared as an aspect of religion, and hence he tried to perform his work as conscientiously as he could. The doctrine of Karma, which filled his mind with the notion that a man's deeds would follow him into his next birth, urged him to fulfil his task carefully. Nay more, he had a religious veneration for the very tools he used and the objects he made. As different tools were used in various occupations, worship also took different forms. Thus the agriculturist would worship his plough and his cattle, especially the cow. The women engaged in spinning would worship the *charka* and decorate it with flowers. The weaver would worship the loom and the shuttle, the trader his weights and measures, and so on. Ceremonial worship on Ekādasi, Dvadasi, Sankarān̄thi and Ayuda Pooja days was, therefore, different for the different castes ; and this difference in worship, together with the strict regulation of food, made inter-dining and intermarriage between the various castes wellnigh impossible.

But this rigidity was not a bar to enterprise and progress in the social scale. It was unthinkable, indeed, that a man should pass from one occupation to another and thus change his caste ; but within the same caste a higher status could be obtained through diligence and

ability, and it was this economic movement that led to further social differentiation. Thus an agriculturist could, by his enterprise and initiative, rise from the humble position of a mere cultivator to that of an employer of labour, a money-lender, or a landlord. In the industrial castes one could rise in social status by taking up a higher branch of the trade. A dealer in hides could become a tanner, a shoemaker, and the like. In fact, distinct grades of occupation implying a higher social position not only proved a powerful stimulus to labour but also helped the caste system to maintain its vigorous life and its inventive faculty.

But by far the greatest achievement of the caste system was that it co-ordinated the different types of economic and social activity and thus promoted the corporate life of the Indian village. The self-sufficiency of the village, its freedom from external contact, and, above all, the absence of a money economy on a large scale, made it possible for the caste system to direct the village production on a co-operative basis so as to satisfy the needs of all ; and hence within the self-sufficing confines of the village a trade was not a vulgar source of profit but a sacred calling based on mutual service. The agriculturists grew the grain necessary for the inhabitants of the village and supplied the traditional share of grain to the artisans in return for their services. Thus the blacksmith was paid in grain for his ploughshares, the potter for his pots and the weaver for his cloth. Competition had no place in rural life, and the exploitation of the individual, the curse of modern society, was prevented by caste discipline. The organizations of the various arts and crafts played a part analogous to the medieval trade-guilds, and saw to it that every transaction was regulated by custom. The result was that all were given a due share in the prosperity of the village. Besides, healthy

habits of self-help were fostered among the people. To give but one instance, under the watchful care of the village organization, every householder had to set apart a handful of alms every day to defray the cost of a school or a religious festival. Is it any wonder that the East India Company reported to the British Parliament in 1813 that almost every village in India had its school?¹ In the days of India's prosperity every village could boast of a wealthy middle class which planned and directed the work in the field, managed and organized rural trade, and financed village agriculture and industries. In a word, the village communities of India were leading the happiest and most contented life in an environment most appropriate to their social and economic ideal.

II

Such was prosperous India before she came in contact with the disintegrating forces let loose by the industrial revolution. It is common knowledge that the very foundations of human society were shaken in the early part of the nineteenth century by the great industrial changes which consisted mainly in the introduction of new forms of power, transport and finance. The invention of the steam engine and the evolution of modern banks overthrew the customary methods of small-scale production and in their place introduced unbridled competition to capture the world market, with the result that the economic world came to be dominated by the ideal of profit for the *individual*. A century of capitalism has brought about an enormous increase of wealth in Europe and America, but it is acknowledged on all hands that moral well-being and true social and ethical ideals have

¹ *The Modern Review*, April, 1927, p. 496, quoting from the *Australia-India League Bulletin*.

been sacrificed, thus giving rise to embarrassing and disconcerting problems.

Equally embarrassing, but quite different in their nature, are the problems confronting India as a consequence of the industrial revolution. The first great change which the industrial revolution brought about in India was the introduction of competition in a region where custom had exercised unquestioned sway. The revolution in transport caused by the rapid construction of railways since the middle of the last century undermined the self-sufficiency and isolation of the flourishing village communities, and helped England to make capital out of her new inventions by flooding the Indian market with cheap machine-made goods. The Indian domestic and cottage industries could not possibly withstand this formidable competition, and with the increasing use of money and the consequent disappearance of barter the co-operative basis of Indian village production could thrive no longer. The rapidity with which railways were built had the desired effect of securing the Indian market for English goods, but it ruined the village artisans. It gave them no time to adapt themselves to the new circumstances and they had no other alternative than to abandon their once flourishing trades. The result was that the flower of the Indian middle class left their village homes and migrated to the towns and even to foreign countries like South Africa and the Straits Settlements in search of a precarious livelihood. Thus it was the influx of foreign goods that intensified the force of unequal competition, ruined the ancient Indian industries, and reduced the people to the contemptible position of 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'. The village, once a scene of life and vigour, the very soul and centre of Indian civilization, now presents a sad spectacle of dreariness and desolation.

The ruin of the village industries owing to powerful foreign competition could not but have far-reaching consequences on the structure of Indian society. The increase in the number of men thrown out of work not only brought about the struggle for existence but rendered the smooth working of the joint family impossible. The system of pooling the earnings of all and sharing according to need the common fund, which was the strength of the joint family in days gone by, has now become its characteristic weakness. Under the influence of the modern spirit of individualism the absence of correspondence between reward and effort has proved a serious obstacle to strenuous endeavour, while in the unemployed and under-employed the assurance of an easy living at the expense of the more industrious has fostered a certain lack of responsibility. Though it may be said that the joint family system keeps the unemployed on the margin of subsistence in a more honourable manner than the modern system of the dole, yet the earnings of the family have to be spread out without effecting any saving, and thus the accumulation of capital which is so indispensable for large-scale production is prevented. Besides, human nature being what it is, jealousy and discord between those who earn more and those who earn little or nothing easily develop into acute hatred, and it is not rare that close relatives waste the already attenuated family property in costly and useless litigation. Further, the conservatism of the people makes them still continue the custom of spending lavishly on the occasion of a marriage or a funeral even when they can no longer afford it. This accounts for the permanent indebtedness and the ultimate ruin of many a family. Thus the diminution in productivity due to the loss of the traditional occupations and the growth of the modern individualistic spirit have rendered the joint family an anachronism.

The caste system has fared no better under the changed conditions of modern times. The silence of the village shuttle, the decay of the potter's wheel, and the disappearance of the oil press, owing to the importation of foreign cloth, enamel ware and kerosene oil, have demonstrated the futility of the traditional methods, which however excellent in themselves cannot compete with the modern methods of scientific industry. Within the limited sphere of a self-sufficing village economy a man's birth determined his career ; but in the modern world, if aptitude, temperament and qualification are not taken into account in choosing a profession, there is bound to be a waste of energy caused by lack of correspondence between capacity and function. Hence the complicated social stratification of India into the traditional functional groups is an obstacle to the economic progress of the country, the more so because it prevents the mobility of labour from one occupation to another according to the needs of the market. The rigid exclusiveness of the various castes places insuperable obstacles in the way of combined action, and the resultant dissociation of intellect, labour and capital in the hands of the different castes prevents the country from making any appreciable advance along the lines of large-scale organization. As long as caste exercises its inexorable sway in the sphere of consumption, prescribing to each social group the kind of food it should take, the chances for union are rather remote. Apart from waste of energy and lack of combination, the barrier to economic progress placed by caste prejudice and religious scruple is immense. If a better system of manuring is not adopted, it is due to caste prejudice ; and if the elimination of bad cattle is not resorted to, it is due to an exaggerated regard for animal life. And yet the annual economic waste in maintaining old and defective cattle is estimated to be 176 crores of

rupees, and the damage done by rats costs India nearly 60 crores of rupees a year. Caste has outlived its usefulness, and if it is allowed to persist it will be only to the detriment of national wealth and well-being.

In addition to the ruin of the cottage industries, the overthrow of the joint family and the decline of the caste system, the industrial revolution has introduced into India a multiplicity of wants without a corresponding ability to satisfy them. To the ordinary Hindu imbued with the doctrine of Karma the limitation of wants had been not merely a religious principle but a practical economic ideal of plain living. But to-day the rising tide of Western industrialism bids fair to flood the country with articles of conventional needs and thus disturb the frugal life of the village. Instead of being satisfied as of old with simple food, coarse cloth, and a small cottage, the modern peasant cannot do without foreign cloth and a variety of other imported goods. Such an alteration in Indian wants may be taken as an indication of a rise in the standard of living, but does not necessarily constitute a mark of prosperity in the absence of a corresponding increase in rural income. The Indian peasant, still pursuing primitive methods of cultivation, produces very little compared to the output of the modern mechanized farms of other countries ; and since he has to sell his produce in the world market at the same price as that fixed by the competition of advanced countries, he gets only a minute fraction of the income of similar farmers in foreign lands. If we base ourselves on the figures furnished by the statistical branch of the Department of Agriculture, the *per capita* income of rural India is 85 rupees per annum, a paltry sum scarcely sufficient to be distributed over a number of items like food, clothing, shelter, and social ceremonies. If in thus spreading out his meagre income the agriculturist spends some money

on conventional needs in consequence of his coming into contact with the outer world, it does not mean that he is more prosperous than his forefathers. The truth is that even if he spends nearly 90% of his income on food he does not get enough to preserve his strength. No one can deny that two-thirds of India's 353 millions lead a distressingly sub-normal life ; under-fed, under-sized, and muscularly weak, they are fractions of men !

This sub-normal life is mainly responsible for a low standard of health and the prevalence of many preventible diseases accompanied by a high death rate. Malaria, which was once restricted to the districts of Lower Bengal, has now spread throughout India and causes the death of 1,300,000 persons per annum. We have it on the authority of the Indian Government Report¹ that 'as many as ten million cases of malaria were treated in hospitals throughout the country during 1930, and the number of cases which do not come up for hospital treatment is immense.' The number of deaths every year due to dysentery, typhoid, pneumonia and other diseases has been calculated to range between two and three millions. Cholera, smallpox and plague take their own heavy toll. Tuberculosis and leprosy are widespread. According to the Marquess of Zetland, who was for some time Governor of Bengal, hookworm exists among 80% of the coolies in the Darjeeling tea plantations² and is almost equally prevalent throughout the greater part of the plains of Bengal. The Indian Industrial Commission has reported that all the rural population of Madras is subject to this disease.³ The physical and mental suffering that results from the prevalence throughout the country of so many serious diseases cannot but have disastrous consequences from the point of view of

¹ *India in 1930-31*, p. 424.

² *India : A Bird's-Eye View*, p. 277.

³ *The Industrial Commission Report*, p. 162.

the general economic welfare. The weakening effects of disease upon the human constitution and the actual number of working days lost on account of ill-health contribute not a little to a serious waste of man-power. It has been computed that out of the total labour resources of 178 million persons, consisting of 92 million men and 86 million women, India annually loses the energy of 46 millions through unemployment and under-employment, of 33 millions through sickness and disease, and of another 33 millions through ignorance and inexperience. In the face of such distressing facts it is a misuse of language to say that India is prosperous.

III

An efficient means to rectify the present sad state of affairs is rapid industrialization, for though India can boast of a few large-scale industries they are in no way proportionate to the needs of the country. The cotton industry of Bombay, the jute and iron industries of Bengal and the mining industry of Bihar, together with the numerous railways, shipping companies, insurance companies, banks and tea and coffee plantations, may give one the impression that India is making rapid progress in modern industrialism. But a more careful consideration of the facts will show that industrialization has affected only a small portion of the people, leaving the bulk practically untouched. The vast resources of the country still remain undeveloped, and the little that has been done is mainly due to foreign capital and management. Though it may be claimed as an advantage to the country that foreign capitalists accelerate the industrialization of India, especially since the sons of the soil are not ready to take up the work themselves, yet the disadvantages are too obvious to be overlooked. Foreign capital, involving foreign control and management, gives rise to vested

interests which are normally inimical to the economic and political aspirations of the country. For example, companies incorporated in Britain and doing business in India will naturally seek to promote British rather than Indian interests. The most formidable opposition to the granting of responsible government to India comes from commercial motives, especially from the fear of losing the privileged position of safeguarding British interests. Lord Rothermere, attacking those who favoured Dominion Status for India, wrote to the London *Daily Mail* on June 3, 1930, as follows: 'They do not realize that the step they so lightly contemplate would be the end of Britain as a great power. . . Without the profits which Great Britain draws from her commerce with India the most ruthless Chancellor of the Exchequer would be unable to raise enough revenue to provide old-age pensions, unemployment relief, education grants and all the other State allowances which are regarded by their beneficiaries as part of the automatic routine of existence. . . At least four shillings in the pound of the income of every man and woman in Great Britain is drawn directly or indirectly from our connection with India.' Sir William Joynson Hicks was even more open when he said:¹ 'We did not conquer India for the benefit of Indians. I know it is said at missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of Indians. That is cant. . . We conquered India as an outlet for the goods of Great Britain. . . We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general and for Lancashire goods in particular.' Indian opposition to foreign control and foreign management is, therefore, well-founded, since foreign firms naturally prefer to give positions of trust and responsibility to persons of their own nationality and are not eager to train Indians in industrial organization and technique.

¹ In a speech quoted by *The Indian Social Reformer*, Nov. 28, 1925.

And as long as this industrial training is wanting to Indians the country will continue to be economically backward.

The inability of India to make any great progress in industrialism should also be traced to the present system of education. That it is ill-balanced is evident from the fact that 92% of the 353 millions are still illiterate. Is it any wonder that the ignorant masses are unable to extend their outlook beyond the narrow limits to which tradition at present confines them? If a well-devised system of compulsory education had been introduced all over the country with a view to procure sound general knowledge, the ideas of the people would have developed on the right lines. But as it is, Indian education is too literary to be of any use in practical life. It is often noticed that primary schools in rural areas cause an aversion to manual labour and discourage the best pupils from taking up cultivation. If rural education had been so devised as to awaken interest in farm life, our elementary schools would not be the unwanted things they are to-day. As for secondary and university education, the prevailing system has proved to be absolutely ill-suited to the growing needs of the country. 'Do we not find', asks Vera Anstey,¹ 'that instead of teaching the people to understand the world about them and how natural forces can best be utilized and controlled, they have been taught to write notes on archaic phrases in the works of 16th and 17th century Englishmen and to learn by rote the personal history of obscure rulers of a foreign land?' The result of such a system is that a university graduate whose academic knowledge fits him only to fill the post of a schoolmaster finds himself in the unenviable position of not getting any post at all. If we turn our attention to technical education, there are six agricultural colleges,

¹ Op. cit. p. 4.

four veterinary colleges, nine engineering colleges and seven colleges of commerce throughout India affiliated to the various universities,² but students proceeding from these colleges find it as difficult as Arts students to obtain suitable employment. Obviously there must be something fundamentally wrong with an educational system which has managed to produce such an acute state of unemployment.

The main defect of the present system is its incapacity to satisfy the growing economic needs of the country. Established a century ago with a view to recruit willing workers in the subordinate branch of the administration, it has remained to a large extent unaltered in its essentials, and its absolute indifference to the present industrial needs of India has rendered it practically useless. In progressive countries education is a dynamic force impelling one to use knowledge as a weapon with which to meet new situations, and hence there is an intimate connection between the universities and the industries. With the aid of donations from successful businessmen valuable research is conducted in the university laboratories of Europe and America, resulting in discoveries of great industrial importance ; and students in technology are not only allowed free access to industrial workshops to acquire practical knowledge during their training, but are also willingly employed in business concerns after its completion. All this is feasible in a free country where the industries and the universities are all national. But in India industries are mainly under the control and management of those who are not interested in giving Indians practical technical training in the higher grade, and universities are not too eager to change their time-honoured tradition of keeping aloof from the life and needs of the people. The only attempt

² *The Progress of Education in India, 1927-1932*: by Sir George Anderson.

at establishing contact between technical education and industry is the promising experiment undertaken by the Tata Iron and Steel Company at the Jamshedpur Technical Institute, where students receive a three-year training after which they are employed by the Tata Works. Such experiments can be multiplied and an industrial turn can be given to the educational system if a purely Indian policy is pursued.

We have thus seen in broad outlines some of the embarrassing problems confronting modern India as a result of the industrial revolution. The ruthless importing of foreign goods and the resulting competition have succeeded only too well in ruining the village industries, breaking up the joint family and disintegrating the caste system. Insufficiency of work, ill health and ignorance force the millions of India to lead a perpetually sub-normal life. The few industries that have sprung up in recent years are controlled mostly by foreigners who naturally seek their own profits. The over-literary system of education prevalent in India is not calculated to foster business ability, and the unfortunate divergence of interest between the Government and the governed is an insurmountable obstacle to the economic progress of India. These general problems form the background of Indian economic life to-day. Their cumulative effect is to make the suffering millions cast longing looks at Soviet Russia, and the plague of Communism has already tainted some of India's leaders. If Russian propagandists are allowed to exploit the economic evils of this country, if revolutionary and atheistic ideas are allowed to take deep root in the minds of Indians, the task of promoting a healthy economic life will become extremely difficult if not altogether impossible.

Kurseong.

BESCHI THE TAMIL SCHOLAR AND POET

By THOMAS SRINIVASAN

THE MISSIONARY

THE few facts that are known about Beschi's life are easily available¹ and can be rapidly summarized here. Born in 1680 in Italy, he entered the Society of Jesus in 1698, and joined the Madura Mission in 1710. This mission, which had been founded by another Italian, Robert de Nobili, more than a century before, for that reason possessed a certain attraction for Italians. Beschi spent the first years in the south of the peninsula at Kamanayakenpatti and Gurukalpatti. In 1712-13 we hear of his being stationed at Ayyampet in the Trichinopoly District. The next two years saw him again in the south where, on one occasion, he was on the point of being put to death for his religion. After another year, spent partly at Madura and partly in Marava, Beschi was definitively stationed in the north.

He was to spend the rest of his active life at Elâkurichi near Tanjore, Conankuppam in South Arcot and Vadugerpeth to the north of Trichinopoly. At Elâkurichi he secured a considerable grant of land from the Nayanâr or Zemindar of Ariyalûr. Later on he came in contact with

¹ *La Mission du Maduré*, by L. Bertrand, S. J., Vol. IV, and *Beschi*, by L. Besse, S. J. The latter has superseded all the earlier biographies. The older notices by Babington, Caldwell, Mahon, &c., were all based on the unreliable 'Life' by Muthusami Pillai.

Chanda Sahib who seems to have been completely taken with the talents of the great missionary. The influence which Beschi wielded over Chanda Sahib saved the neighbouring missionaries from many a vexation in that period of ceaseless civil war. It is very likely that Chanda Sahib showed his admiration in the usual manner of the time by awarding Beschi a pension in the shape of a grant of land. This is apparently the only basis of fact behind the later tradition that he was actually Diwan to the Nawab and kept great state.

In any case, Chanda Sahib's nawabship came to an abrupt end in 1742, and Beschi soon after withdrew to the Fishery Coast, presumably to rest after his thirty years' labour. In 1746 we find him at Ambalacât as Visitor of the Jesuit college there. It was at Ambalacât, according to Besse, that he died in February, 1747.

The few letters of the period that have been utilized by Fr. Besse tell us very little about his literary history. There is just a hint in a letter of 1715, while Beschi was working in Tinnevely, that he availed himself of the leisure enforced on him by persecution to devote himself to the study of Tamil poetry. This was quite in keeping with the traditions of the Madura Mission. Its founder, de Nobili, could write with equal facility in Telugu, Tamil and Sanskrit. In fact, he may claim to be the pioneer of Tamil prose—a species of literature which was little esteemed in the country. It is true his prose is rather turgid. But he points with justifiable pride to the purity of his own language compared with the barbarisms of the Tamil spoken by the Portuguese on the coast. With equal justice he could have contrasted his business-like style with the stilted circumlocutions that passed for prose even among his Tamil contemporaries. Fr. de Nobili is also said to have composed

verse—of what quality we cannot judge, for nothing of it has come down to us.

But deep scholarship in the languages of the country was the least part of the missionary's equipment in Madura. In his dress, his food, his manner of life, in his very outlook, he was expected to turn Indian, or rather Hindu, so far as the square peg of his Christianity could fit into the round hole of the Hindu social system. This method, which owed its inspiration to the genius of de Nobili, and on which the Madura and Carnatic missions worked, has had severe critics ever since its foundation. But it is difficult to see the point of their criticism. The Christian religion did not enjoy in the interior the political support which helped its spread in the Portuguese territories. On the contrary, de Nobili had to live down the heavy reproach of preaching a religion which was associated in the popular mind with *mlecchas*. His first task, therefore, was to overcome this reproach and prepare the minds of the people to judge his message on its merits. It was only by this means that he and his successors were able to start a mass movement towards the Church among the higher classes—a movement based on religious grounds alone, which forms a unique chapter in the history of Indian Christianity. Even apart from its tactical value, there is no doubt that de Nobili's method was in direct conformity with the spirit of Catholicism. There has always been a school, or rather a tendency, among Christians to identify the cause of Christ with a definite race, culture, political régime, or particular system of social ordering—an unfortunate tendency which, in spite of occasional or temporary advantages, has always ended by doing more harm than good. It is the eternal glory of de Nobili that he took up arms against this tendency and enlisted on the side of Catholicism that social purity and personal asceticism

which is so much esteemed in India. It was now Beschi's turn to add to it the glamour of a great literature and the attraction of a popular poetry.

THE SCHOLAR

Beschi's writings fall into three broad categories. In some his aim was to facilitate the study of the language, particularly for his fellow-missionaries. To this class belongs his grammar of Kodum-Tamil. The word *Kodum-Tamil* was originally used to denote the dialects of the '12 countries adjoining the land of Sen-Tamil, viz., the Pandya country'. Beschi was the first to use it in the sense of colloquial, as opposed to literary, Tamil. His aim was to give the missionaries a means by which they could quickly equip themselves for contact with the people, leaving it to the taste and ability of each one to master its literature. But the results of the distinction thus made by him have been unfortunate. On the one hand, some at least of his successors have been satisfied with this Kodum-Tamil and thus helped to perpetuate a variety of Tamil—Christian Tamil, as it is called,—decidedly less polished than the language of the schools. On the other hand, it has been responsible for the rather foolish idea of some scholars that there is a wide gulf between literary and colloquial Tamil—as if it were greater than exists between, say, Cockney and the king's English.

At any rate, Beschi's work on Kodum-Tamil and its sequel on Sen-Tamil have formed the starting point of all modern grammatical studies in Tamil. Native grammarians had hopelessly complicated the system of Tamil grammar in an ill-conceived attempt to force it into the altogether uncongenial mould of Pāṇini. Again, most existing grammars were recondite with obsolete exceptions and

obscure in the last degree, so that they were generally accompanied by scholia not much more enlightening themselves. The only grammar that was at all in general use was the *Nannûl*. But even this was very jejune, and confined itself to two out of the five sections of Tamil grammar. The result was that prosody, rhetoric and the allied arts had fallen into neglect.

Beschi, with his mastery of European languages, was the first to reduce the rules of native grammarians to an intelligible and consistent system. His *Grammar of Sen-Tamil* in Latin is a supreme achievement of conciseness and clarity which has not received its due as a brilliant anticipation of the science of philology. At the same time, Beschi wrote a grammar in the style of the native works, in sùtras, called *Thonnûl* (the ancient book). He meant it to complete and thus supersede *Nannûl* because it embraced all the five sections. In some places he has bodily taken over the sùtras of his Jaina predecessor. But while it took the latter 462 verses to do his two sections, Beschi has completed his five sections in 370 verses. It is a sufficient commentary on the obscurantism of all those responsible for the teaching of Tamil in the schools to say that this excellent work was printed only in 1891, and never again since then.

Beschi was also the first scientific lexicographer of Tamil. He edited two dictionaries, one Latin-Tamil, the other Portuguese-Tamil, and followed them up with one in Tamil, the *Saduragarâdi*. In the *Saduragarâdi* he was breaking altogether new ground. The old dictionaries in Tamil, or *nighandus*, as they were called, besides being in verse, followed a peculiar classification of their own. Thus the *Pingalandai* is divided into ten sections and its more famous successor, the *Chûdâmani*, is divided into twelve sections, such as names of gods, of men and animals, words with many meanings, &c. Neither of them

follows the alphabetical order which to us is the distinctive mark of a dictionary ; they can be used only by memorizing or by frequent cross-reference. Beschi divides his own work into four sections (as his title indicates) : the first being on names, the second on things, the third on series,—e. g. Angas : 6 ; countries : 56 ; &c.,—and the fourth on rhymes, that is, grouping the words according to initial rhymes. In each section the words are arranged alphabetically. This book, which was the first dictionary in Tamil on modern lines, has set the standard for all subsequent lexicographers. Rottler and Percival and Winslow and native lexicographers have, with acknowledgment or without, drawn largely on it.

According to Burnell, it was Beschi who carried out some salutary changes in the Tamil alphabet. The *virāma* or *pulli* which had originally been used to distinguish the consonant had fallen into disuse owing to the apathy of palm-leaf writers. Beschi saved much confusion to Tamil readers by restoring it. In writing the peculiarly Tamil long *è* and *ò* after a consonant the old practice had been to mark the *dirga* above the consonant. This diacritical mark (-) had also fallen into disuse in an age of indolent scribes. In restoring its use he carried out a modification of the symbol also. The old symbols had been கெ—கே (ke—kè) ; கொ—கோ (ko—kò). He introduced the new symbols கெ̣ (kè), கொ̣ (kò).

THE PROSE WRITER

The second class of Beschi's works are his prose writings. The shortest of them, probably meant to serve as a primer to learners of Tamil, was a humorous skit called *The Story of Guru Paramārtha* (Sir Noodle). It is in effect a gentle satire on the crass ignorance of his contemporary Hindu *matādhīpathis*. Not only has the

book been translated into many European languages, but many of Beschi's expressions and episodes have passed into proverbs among the people. Guru Paramârtha has become as celebrated as Pickwick or Don Quixote.

The bulk of Beschi's prose, however, consists of apologetics directed against the Protestants. The Danes had occupied Tranquebar a century before, and set up a printing press and appointed a pastor there. Then as now the apostle of dissent had a way of treading heavily on the Catholic missionary's toes, and some of his effusions reached Beschi at Elâkurichi. The danger of loss of faith among his charge was at one time so great that he placed his church and flock under the special protection of Our Lady, Refuge of Christians, and instituted a feast which has continued to the present day. He also resolved to take up his powerful pen against the adversary.

To this purpose of combating heresy were devoted the *Vedavilakkam* (Explanation of the Faith), the *Pêdagamaruttal* and the *Lutherinattiyalbu* (The Character of the Lutherans). The first is a comprehensive treatise on the Christian religion with special emphasis on those doctrines which the Protestants denied. The second was a reply to a Protestant pamphlet called *Pêdagam* (The Corruptions of Rome). Beschi, therefore, called his book the counterblast to (the charge of) corruption. This is in some respects the most brilliant of his prose writings. With merciless sarcasm he examines every charge in the Protestant indictment and shows its untenability. He gives copious extracts from their work in order, as he says, to show up the lies couched in their crude eastern Tamil. Along with other arguments well known to Catholic controversialists Beschi does not hesitate to appeal to the 'idols of the tribe'—the religious experience and even the social prejudices of the country. Thus,

arguing against the right of private judgment he says : 'The Bible is like the ocean full of rich pearls, but to get at them a man must be an experienced diver, else he will only vainly imperil his life. . . Is it possible for a washer-woman, for a *panchama* woman picking oysters in a paddy field, to explain the *Chintamani* or discuss the *Tholkâp-piyam* ? Is it not proper that the Scriptures, like a tank of drinking water, should be guarded from the pollution of the unclean and the casteless, who shall, instead, be served with a potful by the guardian brahmin ?' In this way Beschi tells off seventy-eight lies which he claims to have discovered in the thirteen pages of the Lutheran pamphlet.

In the third work Beschi drops the heavy weapons of his theological armoury and covers his adversaries with ridicule. The Lutherans had sent him a letter couched, as usual, in barbaric Tamil ; and Beschi replied with a quotation from the book of the Apocalypse where the fifth angel describes the infernal locust (IX, 7-11). He applies this description to Luther and pitilessly works out the comparison under each detail.

The fourth important prose work of Beschi's is the *Vèdiar-Olukkam* which was meant to be the vade-mecum of the Catechist. By the elevation of its style, the unction of its piety, and the exalted ideal it teaches, the book takes rank among the classics of Christian spirituality. The Protestants, who had so little reason to love its author, paid to his work the unwilling tribute of appropriating it to their own use. It has been printed and used among them to this day with alterations to suit their own taste.

(To be continued)

OUR EDUCATED UNEMPLOYED

BY T. N. SIQUEIRA

A beggar sat by the roadside, begging. An unctuous, 'charitable' gentleman stopped before him and said : 'I feel much for you, my friend'. 'Sir', replied the beggar, 'you feel in vain unless you feel in your pockets.'

One is reminded of this story when one hears highly paid and firmly planted leaders of thought patronize 'Our Educated Unemployed'. Gushingly, with a tremor in their voice, they inform these unfortunate brethren that 'We cannot look forward hereafter to the educated young men of our country being absorbed in Government service'—

And hate for arts that caused *themselves* to rise. . .

Nor is their sympathy merely negative ; it is positively constructive : 'But it is up to us to find out other ways and means of affording relief to this problem of unemployment.' The Stage Direction here is : *Prolonged cheers, after the which an old man proposeth a vote of thanks, and all depart severally each to his own home in mighty satisfaction thereat. . .*

This problem of unemployment—does the very phrase not *sound* like a skeleton in the cupboard which one cannot ignore but of which the less one thinks the better ? It is easy to talk oilily about research and industry and vocational education as a remedy for unemployment ; it is easy to say condescendingly : 'We can only turn to more advanced and prosperous countries in the field of industry for guidance, so that the talents of our young men

may not get rusty or be wasted.' But how ? When ? . . . And while such benign solutions are being offered on the cool hills, thousands of educated young men, who can give much better *solutions* to more difficult *problems*, are wasting away in the hot plains knocking at office-door after office-door in the vain hope of being given something to do. Is it a wonder that many of them turn their sunken, youthful eyes in the direction of Moscow ?

Unemployment is not the monopoly of India. Almost every country is suffering from it to-day. But there is perhaps no other country in the world where so many *educated* men are unable to use their knowledge and talents in spite of their best will to serve. There is something inhuman in such a state of things. God does not punish man in this way. 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread', He said to sinning Adam ; but there are millions of men to-day who are willing to 'sweat', even at lower wages than they deserve, but cannot eat bread. Unemployment is a man-made evil, permitted by God, resulting from something rotten in the state of—*mankind*.

It is men, therefore, that must unmake it. In approaching this throbbing subject let us be sure of the sincerity of our sympathy for those whom a cruel society has found to be superfluous. . . A donation of a thousand rupees for their relief might, perhaps, be made the price of a 'permit' to speak of them at all ! And for those who, like the present writer, have neither gold nor silver nor even copper, other tests might be imposed !

I

To prove that unemployment does exist among the educated in India would be to imitate the parson who in a Christmas sermon laboured to prove with many texts from the Fathers of the Church that Christmas was a

season not for grief but for rejoicing. It is difficult to obtain correct figures ; but we shall probably not be far wrong in saying that more than a million graduates who are able and willing to work are unemployed in India to-day. There are hundreds of applicants for every vacancy that occurs in any department of Government. One is chosen ; the others proceed to knock at the next door. . .

But what is more important than the *fact* of unemployment is its *cause*. It is a mistake to put it all down to the present Depression. For the direct effect of the Depression has been to throw industrial workers out of work, and India has very few large industries. Europe and America, and those countries of Europe especially which are mainly industrial, have a far greater proportion of unemployed *workmen* than India. Why has India more *educated* unemployed ? The hope of obtaining employment in Government service, the rush of people of moderate means from the country to the town because an agricultural life no longer satisfies their needs, the inability of industry to absorb those who are trained to it, the fewness of posts suited to the educated,—all these causes have been peculiar to India and have combined with world-wide factors to make the problem more acute here than anywhere else. Of these the most important cause is probably the general movement of Indian life from the country to the town which was due to the increase of population and the want of a corresponding increase in the means of subsistence in an essentially agricultural society. How often does it not happen that of a family which lived on its few acres of land one son alone now remains to look after them and all the others have migrated to the nearest town there to be educated and later on employed in an office or on a railway ? With the continuance of Vedic methods of cultivating and manuring the soil, the income from land has become far

too meagre for an increasing population ; the standard of life has risen through the introduction of improved communications and Western inventions, without a corresponding rise of income.¹

II

This diagnosis, brief as it is, will lead us to the therapy of Unemployment.

The test of a doctor is whether he is content to allay the immediate symptoms and pocket his fee before a relapse comes on or wishes to go to the root of the disease and, though it may take longer, cure it once for all. Superficial politicians who are confronted with the huge figures of the educated unemployed rush to prescribe a restriction of educational facilities in India. As Dr. Walter Kotschnig remarks, in *More Facts*, the organ of the International Student Service, 'Stricter examinations at the beginning, during and at the conclusion of study at the university or college, the raising of examination fees, and the application of a *numerus clausus*, generally exhaust the wisdom of reformers.' The entrance examinations have been stiffened up in every country of Europe, with the result that only a small percentage—in France, for instance, thirty-six per cent—of those who sit for the matriculation examination are allowed to enter the university. But this is not a remedy, for it increases the number of the *discontented* unemployed, of those who feel bitter against a system which considers them fit to appear for an examination but unfit to pass it.

Restriction of entrance to the university is, therefore, not a cure. Neither is an arbitrary raising of fees less unjust so long as the expenses of the management remain

¹ See this question treated at length in 'India and the Industrial Revolution', on pp. 111-116 of this number.

the same. An absolute restriction of the number of students to be admitted to the university—technically called the *numerus clausus*—has, therefore, been suggested. This restriction has been made in Germany by a law which orders each university to admit only a certain number to its courses. Thus between 1930 and 1934 the number of undergraduates in Germany fell from 30,000 to 15,979, and in 1934 only 40.37 per cent of those who were 'eligible' were allowed to enter the university. The German Government has also made one year's military service or work in a Concentration Camp a condition for admission to university degrees.

Well-intentioned educationists, who are conscious of the poor physique and the lack of practical knowledge of the Indian student, have advocated a *numerus clausus* of another kind for India. They want a year or two of military training in the University Training Corps or of practical training in village uplift or in manual work like carpentry, spinning and weaving, and elementary engineering, to be made compulsory on all those who wish to enter a university, so that, while the number of graduates will be kept down and their usefulness to society increased, there will not be so many of them who must either be clerks or starve.

There is much to be said in favour of these proposals from the point of view of the general improvement of India's manhood. If, as has been suggested, every village school had an experimental farm or field attached to it where better methods of cultivation could be taught, if every town school had a little workshop where the elements of the useful arts were taught, our students would not be the unpractical, weak, dreamy, passive beings they so often are. But though these improvements may reduce 'over-production' in schools and colleges, will they reduce unemployment? Will they

not merely shift the problem from the educated on to the uneducated ? For, the number of openings for young men remaining the same, whether they are educated or not the same appalling number will be unemployed—and the more dangerous, perhaps, for being less educated.

The Committee of International Students' Organizations which met at Geneva at the end of April last were, therefore, wise when they held that restrictions on the pursuit of higher studies should not be imposed in any form, whether through raised fees or reduced scholarships or considerations of sex, race or opinion. They also considered the proposal to prevent one man from holding more than one post and to lower the age of compulsory retirement. This would give employment to more men and make for greater efficiency. The Committee, however, pleaded that before such measures were introduced the authorities should 'recognize the unsatisfactory economic position of intellectual workers which obliges them to accept more than one post and to continue working after the usual age of retirement.' This argument carries weight when it is applied to a village schoolmaster who, unable to support a family on a pay of Rs. 15, has to be also postmaster or village munsif, and who cannot save enough of his pay to allow him to retire at fifty-five. But these 'intellectual workers' whose 'unsatisfactory economic position' we are asked to pity are heads of Government departments with salaries which run up to four digits ! It is these men who hold 'pluralities' and who ask for and obtain 'extension of service' when it is time for them to retire. Have they not made enough money to allow them to make room for others whose 'economic position' is far more 'unsatisfactory' than theirs ?

'This, it seems to us, is one of the measures which may be profitably introduced to reduce unemployment among

the educated. Another would be to throw more posts open to them. But the peculiar circumstances in which India, unlike any other country in the world, has been placed by God seem to make her most responsible positions inaccessible to even the ablest and most gifted of her sons.

The Committee at Geneva recommended the establishment of national information centres in every country and an international information centre in the League of Nations Labour Office. For it often happens that a vacancy occurs in a department through the death or transfer of an official and is known only to those who are working in that department. Then a nephew or a son-in-law is noiselessly thrust into the hole and abler candidates come too late. If these vacancies are made known to the university or to the professional association which keeps a list of its graduates, the best available men can be selected to fill them and a certain measure of impartiality can be observed.

But this will only provide a better *distribution* of the available posts ; it will not *produce* new ones. For this purpose the Committee advises the undertaking by public authorities or co-operative or mutual-aid institutions of the direction of certain branches of intellectual work for which private individuals cannot provide. Research institutes, works of co-operative enterprise, like the compiling of histories, dictionaries, textbooks, books of reference, newspapers and other periodicals on a large scale—these are a few of the many intellectual undertakings which are beyond the means and the energy of private individuals, but which in other countries are done by co-operative societies or companies of shareholders or by governments or municipalities. Many such works may be suggested in India. We have no authoritative, well-documented Indian History of India ; we have

no translations of all the great European masterpieces of literature and science ; we have very few scholarly dictionaries or convenient textbooks in Indian languages ; we have hardly any research institutes of the kind which give employment to thousands of educated men and women in Europe and America. But these improvements should be made by private initiative and not left to the Government, because private management is more interested in success and does not entail heavier taxes on the people. Is there no idle capital hoarded up in Indian palaces and in the sandalwood jewel-boxes of Indian women ? Textbooks of Economics are fond of repeating the slogan that Indian capital is shy. When there is a great work to be done for the uplift of the country and the relief of the unemployed, will it not overcome its oriental shyness ?

Neither is the research for which we plead a barren pastime for unemployed graduates. It is according to many able thinkers a solution of the general economic problems of India as well. Addressing a large gathering at Bangalore on June 6, Sir C. V. Raman said : 'If India is to live as a nation it is imperative that her national leaders should foster a spirit of research not only in the universities but in every walk of life. . . The undue emphasis laid on mere absorption of knowledge . . . should yield to an emphasis on the benefits of discovering and radiating knowledge.'¹ We are content to depend on foreign countries for such ordinary things as matches and soap and umbrellas and glass and cloth ; can we not make them ourselves ? Is there no raw material in India ? Are there not thousands of unemployed graduates who with a little training can, in a country where labour is so cheap, produce articles as finished and as cheap as those we import ?

¹ Reported by *The Hindu*, Madras, June 8, 1935.

But research alone is not enough. There must be a change in our ideas of dignity. It is an unfortunate inheritance of the Caste system that we have the greatest horror of soiling our hands with anything less clean than pen and paper. Dr. Gilbert Fowler, late of the Indian Institute of Science, who is a true friend of Indian students, commenting on the large number of unemployed engineers in this country, said that they should not wait for something respectable to 'turn up', but put their hands to any small job they could find, and if they did not find any, *make* their own jobs.¹ The dignity of manual labour was never more eloquently preached than when God became man and chose to be a village carpenter, and when for apostles He chose hard-handed fishermen of Galilee. Christian Europe has inherited this high sense of the honourableness of toiling with one's hands. We think it more honourable to be clerks to others than independent carpenters or shop-keepers. How far we still are from the spirit of American undergraduates who work as newspaper-boys or shoe-blacks in vacation time to pay their way through the university !

A change of outlook, therefore, is the fundamental need of India to-day. She has gone her traditional way from the days of the Vedas down to our own time, without adapting herself to changing circumstances, bowing low before every blast 'in patient, deep disdain', submerged by every invader, conquered, exploited, yet somehow surviving . . . Now she has come to the parting of the ways. She can no longer solve all her problems by 'plunging in thought'. Is she, as Sir C. V. Raman asks, to live as a nation, or to die ? If to live, how ?

The answer to this question is also the solution of the problem of unemployment. But it is much more

¹ Cf. *The Statesman*, Calcutta, May 21, 1935.

difficult and complicated than would appear from the sleek and off-hand pronouncements of popular lecturers. One promises his hearers that Swaraj is the magic herb that will cure unemployment by its very touch. Another assures his audience that India should be industrialized if she would live. A third prescribes a return to the simplicity of the golden past when a few paternal acres were enough for a whole joint family to live on. All these are partial cures. India is now in a dilemma : if she remains agricultural, she cannot keep pace with the rest of the world ; if she becomes an industrial country, she will have no market for her goods unless her own standard of living is considerably raised. India is too westernized to-day to be satisfied with the *ancien régime* ; but, on the other hand, she can never be a fully industrial country like England or Japan, not that resources are lacking, but because there is no demand for the industrial products which she would have to export in exchange for foreign machinery and capital.

While we agree, therefore, with Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, Advocate-General of Madras, that 'what is required at present in India on the part of educational reformers is an intense practicality',¹ we are at a loss to know how this practicality is to be applied in the concrete. To make students practical without providing openings in which they can turn their skill to good account would be, not to reduce unemployment, but to shift its 'incidence'. Perhaps Sir Alladi means that from their earliest years students should be taught a trade along with their general education, so that they can help themselves in their daily needs—repair a bicycle, or a bench, or a coat, weave and saw and draw water, should occasion arise—without depending on others for everything. Diwan Bahadur N. N. Iyengar, Chief Engineer in

¹ From an address at Ootacamund, June 8, 1935.

Mysore, lately¹ proposed 'a course of combined cultural and practical studies with a broad scientific basis . . . physics, chemistry, mathematics, geology and biology, their economic and commercial aspects, comprising a knowledge of new materials and their uses pertaining to economic geology, economic botany, economic zoology, and, in addition, a knowledge of the general principles of engineering.' The course would last five or six years after matriculation and equip the student with the general principles of science which will enable him to turn to advantage any chance he may come across in life.

No thoughtful man, therefore, holds that there has been an 'over-production' of graduates in India. There can never be too many of them. To quote Dr. Gilbert Fowler again, 'the graduates of India are the true wealth of India.' The League of Nations Committee, too, of which we have already spoken, is opposed to a reduction of their *number*. But every well-wisher of India desires a change in their *quality*. There is too much sameness in them. A greater variety would be a gain to the country and a substantial solvent of unemployment. For if they were from the very beginning of their school career given a taste for manual work, a number of them would find other professions more suited to their talents, and all of them would acquire a greater sense of self-help and of the dignity of manual labour, so that there would not be so much crowding of the same official careers as there is now. Sir Mirza Ismail makes the same suggestion: 'What is wanted is a comprehensive, well thought-out, and graded scheme of vocational education. The young must be diverted after every stage of general education—primary, middle, and high school—from pursuing the straight path that leads to the university into the parallel paths of

¹ June 3, 1935; cf. *The Hindu*, June 4.

vocational training.’¹ This vocational training may be different in country schools and town schools, and in various districts, according to the different surroundings in which the pupils live and into which they will soon be absorbed. In Bengal, for instance, they may be taught jute and iron manufacture, in Bihar the mining industry, in Coimbatore the ground-nut industry, in Malabar the industries connected with the coco-nut, in Central India the sugar industry, in Bombay the cotton industry.

This need for a more varied training which may answer diverse needs and prepare men for different avocations is, as we said in a previous number of this review,² both urgent and important. Not that we imagine we have found the philosopher’s stone that will in a moment transform the unemployed into flourishing Fords or Rockefellers. But such an education will give the educated Indian a new mentality, and make the University courses no longer what H. G. Wells called them, ‘a wasteful prolongation of puerility’.

There is another remedy for unemployment which the Committee of International Students’ Organizations has recommended to all countries and which is particularly needed in India. It is the training of young intellectual workers who will later on go and follow their professions in rural districts. In western countries there are special ‘colonial instruction courses’ for those who are intended to serve in their colonies : such are the ‘Social groups’ in France, the ‘Educational missions’ in Spain, the ‘Frontier colleges’ in Canada. One of the causes of unemployment in India is the rush of country folk to the towns and their unwillingness to return to their villages where life now appears so dull and drab and backward to their ‘urbanized’ eyes. If teachers, doctors, lawyers,

¹ *The Calcutta Review*, October, 1934, p. 25.

² July, 1935, p. 80.

engineers, and students scientifically trained in carpentry, weaving, cattle-breeding, poultry-farming and agriculture, were willing to sacrifice the unhealthy atmosphere and the bustle and excitement of town for the pure air and the peace and roominess of the country, they would do a great service to the nation and bridge the ocean which now divides the village from the city. Gandhi has started a magnificent work of village uplift. How noble it would be for the best youths of India to help him in this work of conquering illiteracy and conservatism, disease and poverty, and thus contribute to the regeneration of their country ! They will have to be content with plainer living and proportionately higher thinking ; they will have to scorn the delights of town ; but these very sacrifices will fire their youthful generosity and raise them to the stature of heroes.

III

We have tried to diagnose the present epidemic of unemployment among Indian graduates. We have tried to 'prescribe' whatever our sympathy could suggest for its cure. But we still have a sense of the futility of our attempts. For, as we write, the number of the unemployed is growing and, with it, a feeling of bitterness against a society which has made its most highly-gifted and promising members seem a burden and an eyesore to the rest. It is not merely education that is to be reformed. The whole social machine is out of gear. It is painful to read the sad but very true remark of a great friend of India's : 'It is for India to use the knowledge and intelligence of her graduates. This, however, cannot be done under the present economic system.'

And if we may analyse his mind and express what he does not say, this cannot be done under the present *moral*

system. For the duty of brotherly love and mercy has been forgotten by nations and individuals and social classes alike. Sir Alladi Krishnaswami refers to the caste spirit as one of the causes of India's distress. But the caste spirit is only one form of a universal selfishness which seems to have possessed mankind. The Roman cynic's description—*Homo homini lupus*—has been verified in nations and groups of men to-day : each nation is a wolf to its neighbour, the capitalist tries to sweat the labourer, the labourer to ruin the capitalist. But above the din and confusion of self-seeking states, the voice of St. Peter's successor, Pope Pius XI, has been heard clear and loud in his Encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno* : the world, he says, has fallen into this miserable condition because it has forgotten Christ's Sermon on the Mount, because it has not listened to His New Commandment.

It is, therefore, not 'social and economic reconstruction' which is 'the real task that confronts us in India', as Sir Frederick Sykes wrote in *The Daily Telegraph* ;¹ it is not the spirit of research that will save India, as Sir C. V. Raman thinks ; nor 'looking forward and upward', as Sir Gilbert Fowler advises ; nor even international organizations and agreements, as the League of Nations recommends. Only one thing can cure the present Depression and Unemployment—a universal return of all mankind, in private and in public life, to the practice of the Divine precept : 'Love one another as I have loved you'.

Calcutta.

¹ June 20, 1935.

A CHRISTIAN COMMUNIST

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE

THE Rev. E. Stanley Jones is a Protestant missionary in India who enjoys considerable popularity as a writer and speaker in North America. His latest book¹ deserves notice because it shows a not uncommon attitude towards Russia to-day. Dr. Jones believes that the Soviet experiment has met with enough success to make it very important :

We read propaganda for and against the experiment, hoping that will settle it. But it does not. For through the rifts of the clouds of controversy we see the fact of a new order emerging, different and challenging to the whole basis of present-day civilization. In spite of the clouds we can see that the Russians are making amazing progress ; for instance, their literacy has gone up from 35 per cent in 1913 to 85 per cent to-day ; instead of 3,500,000 pupils in 1912 there are now 25,300,000 pupils and students ; the circulation of daily papers is twelve times what it was in Czarist days. They have risen from the eighth nation in total industrial production in 1927 to the second to-day. Only the United States now surpasses them in total industrial production. And they have accomplished this in five years. The total output of Soviet products, excluding agriculture, is 334 times what it was in 1914. (pp. 7-8 ; H. & S., pp. 9-10)

Dr. Jones displays a childlike faith in Soviet statistics. How can the output of Soviet industry at the present time be compared with the output in 1914 ? There are no accepted statistics for the total Russian industrial output in 1914. Even if there were statistics of *quantities* we should require to know about *qualities* also to make a comparison, for one of the complaints made against industrial products in Russia to-day is that they are of vile quality. In some countries a very rough comparison could be made between values produced in 1914 and (say) 1934, but not in Russia, for under the Soviet prices are fixed arbitrarily without reference to the economic factors that ruled in 1914.

¹ *Christ's Alternative to Communism*. Toronto : McLelland & Stewart, 1935 ; British edition : *Christ and Communism*, London : Hodder & Stoughton ; obtainable in India from the Association Press, Calcutta. Price 5s.

It is not my purpose in the present article to discuss the economic achievements and failures of Soviet Russia. I have my own definite views on the question, for I have visited Soviet Russia and conversed with many people who have resided there or visited it recently. Moreover, I have read a fair amount of the literature on the subject. My belief is that the economy of Russia considered as a whole, agricultural and industrial, is weaker and poorer now than it was under the Czar. I will not here give direct evidence in favour of my view, but will content myself with indirect evidence which even the non-technical reader is competent to weigh. If Soviet Russia had really been making a success of Communism, if her people had been advancing in efficiency and prosperity, it would hardly have been possible to restrain the populations of bordering countries from following her example. But we scarcely ever hear of Communism in Poland or Finland or the other border nations. But we do hear of Russians trying to escape from their own country and of Red soldiers posted along the frontier shooting at fugitives. Dr. Jones himself tells of a group of 149 persons who tried to cross the ice on the river Amur at night to escape from Russia. Only 19 of them escaped, four of these being wounded. All the others were shot or captured and taken back to be shot. These people are said to have been trying to escape on religious grounds, but there are many other instances of fugitives taking desperate risks to get away from economic misery and oppression.

There is a further consideration. If Soviet Russia had been making herself economically strong she would have become strong also in a military sense, for she makes no profession of pacifism but boasts of the size and strength of the Red army. Japan, by her aggression in Manchukuo, showed that she held Russia in contempt as a military power. Nobody can doubt that Russia would have fought Japan on the Manchukuo issue if she had felt able to fight. Germany also, though the Versailles Treaty has kept her a long way behind other nations in the armament race, despises Russia as a military power, and Russia makes no claim to be Germany's equal. Lenin used to revile the League of Nations as 'a thieves' kitchen', and until the accession of Hitler to power in Germany—on the ruins of the Communist movement in that country—Moscow had nothing but scoffs and jeers for Geneva. Then, in fear of both Germany and Japan, the Soviet humbly sought admission to the League of Nations. Russia's

lack of military prestige to-day is clear evidence of economic weakness.

Though Dr. Jones shows more reserve in his admiration for the moral character of Bolshevism than for its economic achievements, he is more eulogistic than the facts warrant. After condemning competitive capitalism and dismissing Fascism, he says :

But Russia with its materialistic Communism does present an issue—a real one. Object to it as we may, and as I do, on the basis of its lack of liberty, of its compulsions, of its ruthlessness, and its materialistic atheism, nevertheless it has founded society on a higher principle, namely, that of co-operation. That co-operation may be limited to those who share the same views and who fit into the régime ; nevertheless, within that restriction the co-operation is open to all on equal terms and is a living thing. When Stalin said in an address to the Russian people : 'In the Soviet Union, Citizens, we have deposited the word Riches in the archives of the nation,' he said something that judges us to the very centre. He did not mean collective riches, for they are feverishly striving to increase them and are succeeding in an amazing way ; but he did mean the end of selfishly striving to be rich, when to be rich means that other people become poor. We may squirm under that, we may hate it and cast it from us, but in the end it will judge us, for it is a higher ideal. (p. 17 ; H. & S., pp. 19-20)

It is admitted that the Bolsheviks have employed atrocious means to gain their ends, such means as robbery, murder, torture, terrorism and the destruction of all liberty. What moral commendation is to be given to the Bolsheviks must, therefore, apply to their ends, not to their means. Here, however, we must distinguish. Bolsheviks may *think* that they are working for the good of the people and for a superior social system in which private property is abolished and men and women and children are freed from the shackles of marriage and family life. But this does not necessarily mean that Bolshevik ideals *are* superior to the ideals of competitive capitalism. The intellectual founders of competitive capitalism, the first apostles of *laissez-faire*, were also idealists. Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus, Jeremy Bentham and James Mill, to mention a few representative names, desired the greatest good of the greatest number. They believed that this was best achieved by allowing the maximum of economic liberty. They believed that the pursuit of self-interest operated for the good of the community. These famous individualists were sincere and, paradoxically, unselfish men. Their aims were no less noble than those of Lenin and Trotsky and Stalin, however different were their policies. The Bolsheviks, therefore, are not entitled to be placed on a higher

moral pedestal merely because of their professed ends. Besides, the word 'ends' means not only the hoped-for results of an action but the motives of the actors. Are the Bolshevik leaders showing more self-sacrifice, more devotion, than the leaders and rulers of other parties and other countries? The regularity with which they keep on executing and exiling prominent men among their number indicates that there must be black sheep in the flock. Dr. Jones himself admits that the average Bolshevik politician is not free from the darker vices; and it was one of the staples of conversation when I was living in a Moscow hotel. It is difficult, therefore, to see how he can endeavour to make Bolshevism a moral mentor to Christianity.

There is a further assumption which he makes as a reason for the urgency of his message. He regards the whole world as standing on the brink of Communism. He quotes some one who says that in Oxford 'the Group movement and Communism are competing for the loyalty of the youth of the University.' I was frequently at Oxford until I came to Canada in the autumn of 1933, and I am still in regular correspondence with Oxford friends whose interests, like my own, are primarily with religious and social movements. But my impression is that both the Groups and Communism are very minor affairs in Oxford. Of China Dr. Jones says: 'There is a race between Communism and Christianity in China and Communism is winning.' My friend and neighbour here in Toronto is the Prefect Apostolic of Chuchow, China, the Rt. Rev. Monsignor McGrath, at present home on sick leave. He has many times said in public that Communism has no chance of winning over the Chinese people and that Communism in China has already passed its zenith.

To an evil which he believes to be so imminent Dr. Jones offers 'Christ's alternative'. The words of the *Magnificat* and those of Our Lord in Luke IV, 18 are quoted to show that the Gospel was primarily a social and economic programme of pushing up the poor and pulling down the rich:

There would be a cancelling of all privileges based on birth and property and social standing. It was to throw open the gates of life and opportunity to all. . . . *Necessities* should be provided for all, before luxuries are provided for any. *Economically* the first concern for the new Kingdom is for the poor, not that they should be comforted by promises of future rewards to be content now, but

that poverty should be banished by providing for the poor the good things which God has provided for all. (p. 53 ; H. & S., pp. 55-56)

There is much in Dr. Jones' teaching with which we heartily agree. He is perfectly right in insisting that political and economic life ought to come under the rule of religion. Neither does he exaggerate when he translates the words : 'Ye cannot serve God and Mammon' into 'Ye cannot serve God and the private-profit motive,' and explains : 'To choose to serve God would mean that we should have to organize life on the co-operative plan, with mutual service as the incentive, rather than on a competitive basis, with the private-profit motive as the incentive' (p. 71 ; H. & S., p. 75). These are commonplaces to those acquainted with Catholic social teaching. For the questions of equality and privilege, of private and common property, of authority and liberty, have been fully and frankly faced by the Church down the centuries.

But Dr. Jones proceeds to interpret the parable of the labourers in the vineyard to mean that 'God wills equality' (p. 71 ; H. & S., p. 75). This would be effected, not by a re-distribution of wealth so that all get separate and equal portions, but by using all 'surplus goods' for collective projects. An exact equality is not demanded ; a rough equality will suffice, though Dr. Jones is stricter than Plato, who only objected to a man having more than five times as much as any other man ! The objection that men have *natural* inequalities of endowment and ability is met by saying that it is *social* inequalities that have to be removed. But there are important difficulties in the way of the doctrine that social equality is willed by God. The differences of individual natural endowments show that God wills inequality in that respect. Equal social opportunities, if that term has any meaning, would not bring about anything like equality of achievement. It would result in much more inequality of incomes than is represented by the richest having five times more than the poorest. Therefore, special social handicaps or deprivations would have to be imposed on the abler members of society to keep them from rising too high. Inequality would be necessary to preserve equality !

Individual inequalities are not the only sort of natural inequalities. There are inequalities of family upbringing, a factor of tremendous importance. Devoted and intelligent parents give their children vastly better care than others. This superior family training results in still greater differences of individual efficiency

than are due to inborn qualities. Is it, therefore, to be frowned upon as anti-social, and counteracted as far as possible by State policy? Most Communists from Plato to Lenin have perceived that family life is incompatible with communistic equality and have, therefore, laid it down that children should be brought up by the community and not by their parents. But whether we regard equality as an ideal or not, it seems undeniable that the very nature of society, the nature of the individual, and the nature of the family, issue in inequality. The dictum 'Equality is willed by God' is, therefore, a gratuitous assertion.

From the parable of the labourers Dr. Jones passes to that of the talents, where he cannot help seeing a lesson, not of equality, but of inequality. But he puts the two parables together and draws from them the principles expressed in the old motto: From each according to his ability (as in the parable of the talents); to each according to his needs (as in the parable of the labourers). And he thus dismisses the obvious practical objection to this very idealistic teaching:

The idea that a man would not work except for the profit motive is being disproved in Russia and around the world wherever it is being tried. The fact is that the men who work the hardest are the men who work for a cause. A competitive order cannot provide a cause; a collective order would. (p. 77; H. & S., p. 81)

Most people work in Russia, as elsewhere, because of compulsion, economic or physical. They do not work involuntarily or unselfishly 'for a cause'. In the early days of the Russian Revolution they experimented with equal pay for all workers. They have definitely abandoned that policy, and now there are different rates of pay for different trades, and individual workers within a trade are paid 'by results'.

The 'Communism' practised by the earliest Christians is adduced to show that this was the system taught by Christ; but we are told that this 'Communism' failed because it was a communism of consumption only, not of production, and because it did not gain possession of the total social order (p. 82; H. & S., pp. 86-87). Dr. Jones also notes that the early Christian Communism was voluntary, and seems to advocate a Communism that is also voluntary.

But to recommend universal Communism, yet without compulsion, is like telling men to solve their transportation problems by growing wings. If Christ did command Communism, Catholics would practise it. They would not question a syllable of His

teaching. But just because the Catholic conscience is so sensitive to the claims of Our Lord's teaching, theologians are to be cautious about the way they burden consciences with their exegesis. Dr. Jones, who condemns others for 'spiritualizing' Christ's words, arbitrarily materializes them. He makes his whole book rest on Our Lord's declaration at Nazareth,¹ which he sets out 'n the following typographical arrangement :

'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
Because he anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor ;
He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives,
And recovering of sight to the blind,
To set at liberty them that are bruised,
To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.'

No unbiassed reader of the New Testament can derive from these words the impression that Our Lord was preoccupied with politics and economics, still less that He proclaimed revolution and Communism and material levelling. Our Lord was tenderly considerate of men's bodily needs ; He told them to pray for their daily bread ; He assured them that their Heavenly Father knew that they had need of these things ; He miraculously made bread to feed the hungry ; He even made wine for a feast ; and He healed the sick. But at the same time He insisted that men should seek first the Kingdom of God and His justice, and that earthly goods would follow after. He insisted likewise that His Kingdom was not of this world, competing with earthly kingdoms. He set forth no plans of political government or economic organization. This does not mean that His teaching has no concern with such things. His principles apply to them all, and some historical forms of government and economical systems are incompatible with Christianity. State Absolutism, for instance, is un-Christian politics, and the glorification of the pursuit of self-interest is un-Christian economics. But there is no specifically Christian principle condemning economic and political inequality. The *degree* of equality required by Christianity, however, is to be determined by the demands of the common good, and it will not be the same for all times and places. The problems involved in this determination must be solved by the sciences of politics and economics in the divine light of theology.

Toronto.

¹ Luke 4, 18-19 : Dr. Jones quotes from the Authorized Version.

THE PICCOLA CASA

By F. X. ROCCA

IT is still called the *Piccola Casa*, the little house of Divine Providence, although it has the look of a good-sized town. It forms, in fact, a whole quarter of the town of Turin in Northern Italy. But it began a century ago with two rooms, a stable and a barn.

A poor woman was journeying from Milan to Lyons with her husband and three little children. On reaching Turin she was seized with a deadly disease. But she was a foreigner in the town, and the strange laws then prevailing prevented her being admitted into any of the municipal hospitals. She was, therefore, compelled to take shelter in a filthy room where the homeless and the aimless, numerous and boisterous, gathered at night for shelter. As death drew near, she sent for a priest from the neighbouring church to assist her. It was Benedict Cottolengo who came and, moved to tears by her lamentable plight, at once conceived the idea of his great work. He hired a house of two rooms close to the church, fitted it with four beds, and began to admit the destitute and the needy into the smallest hospital that has ever existed. But it soon grew beyond expectation, for in that little asylum one could find that genuine sympathy which soothes and cures better than any medicine.

At the very outset a great difficulty presented itself. Who was to look after the aged and infirm of the *Piccola Casa*? Nurses, perhaps, might be available, but who could afford to pay them? The difficulty was thus

solved : they would have *religious* nurses, who had vowed to God absolute poverty, virginity and obedience, and left all they held dearest in the world to serve God's suffering children. For their own maintenance and for the relief of the sick they would rely on Him who feeds the birds of the air. . .

All this occurred in 1828. In 1831 cholera broke out in Turin and soon assumed serious proportions. To bring it under control and to prevent further infection, all private medical institutions which were not sanctioned by the Government had to be closed. Benedict Cottolengo's little hospital had weathered many storms before, but this fresh storm it could not weather. It closed its gates. Apparently it had failed. In reality, however, this was only a halt which would make it develop all the faster.

After a few months of anguish and uncertainty, Cottolengo was allowed to start again, but on condition that his Piccola Casa should be located outside the sanitary cordon placed round the town against the spreading cholera. He, therefore, hired a small farmhouse in Valdocco, a suburb of Turin. It consisted of two rooms, a stable and a barn. That was the real beginning of the great work we now admire in one of the busiest parts of Turin. This dilapidated place was first cleaned, repaired and furnished ; the two rooms were fitted up as wards for the patients, the stable became the quarters of the three Sisters who formed the nursing staff. The institution was officially opened on April 27, 1832, when the first in-patient was admitted by Cottolengo himself. He was a forlorn young man with a gangrenous leg.

We need not trace the history of that little hospital. We shall describe the Piccola Casa as it is at present, as we saw it, as any one can see it, for visitors are freely

admitted and shown every nook and corner. Any one can ask questions there without fear of being indiscreet, for this institution has no secrets, not even official secrets.

It will be well, however, to remember that Cottolengo did not proceed on any preconceived plan. His only aim was to aid as many sufferers as possible, and his only support was an unlimited confidence in Divine Providence. The work, therefore, grew as its needs grew. Soon the two rooms became a large building, then a group of buildings, then a village, and now it is a town with many buildings, streets, offices and workshops. While on that memorable 27th of April, 1832, there were but three Sisters and one patient, now the population has grown to 10,000. But still it is called the *Piccola Casa*, the *little house of Divine Providence*.

And rightly so, for the institution has no specific name : it is not a sanatorium, nor a refuge, nor a maternity hospital, nor a mental asylum, nor even an ordinary hospital ; it is all these things at once. No ailment, no human misery, is excluded from its peaceful shelter. All the 'natural shocks that flesh is heir to' find relief and remedy in the *Piccola Casa*. A better name for it would be the City of Sorrow and Pity.

To attend on such a varied agglomeration of suffering men and women there is a body of Sisters who voluntarily share their poverty in order to be able to serve them with greater self-sacrifice and more tender devotion. They, too, are divided into sections, each with its own name and attending to a particular need of the institution : some belong to the kitchen, others to the laundry, others to the wards, and so on. One of these sections consists of poor deaf and dumb girls who form a religious congregation vowed to recollection and prayer for the well-being of the institution. The recruiting and training of this army of devoted nurses requires another section

where young recruits, desirous to spend their lives in the service of the poor, are trained to charity, self-sacrifice and hard work. They, too, form part of the immense Casa. A large number of priests are also needed to impart to all the inmates the knowledge and consolations of religion and to educate the orphans sheltered in the asylum ; and to prepare such priests, there is a section of young men willing to carry on through the ages the work of their model, Benedict Cottolengo. And to this vast family add the fifty medical men who are entirely occupied with the work of the hospitals, and you have an idea of the inhabitants of the Piccola Casa. Yet what strikes one is the discipline that reigns in this City of Sorrow and Pity, the order, the peace and the visible contentment both of the in-patients and of the willing attendants, for the mainspring of it all is charity, tender and tireless because raised to the sublime heights of religion.

To give a better and more comprehensive idea of the whole establishment, we here offer a few figures, the most recent we could gather, which will speak with the eloquence that is proper to facts.

The Piccola Casa covers an area of 250,000 sq. metres and has 10,000 inmates. Every day they need 1,500 litres of milk, 1,200 litres of wine, 1,000 kilograms of meat, 200 of rice, 200 of potatoes and vegetables, 250 of sugar, and 20 of coffee ; $1\frac{1}{2}$ quintaux of salt, and 2,000 eggs. The total expenses for a year, including the taxes paid to the Government, amount to ten million lire, or twenty lacs of rupees.

Nor will this huge sum seem fabulous if you take a walk round the institution. You can walk for miles within it and cross hundreds of doors and corridors, halls and wards and court-yards, and lose your way unless you have the help of an experienced guide ; and when you think you are at the farthest end your guide will open

yet another door or gate, and if you are not too tired you can begin another round along more buildings and passages and rooms. For every one of the sections, distributed and divided into classes according to age, sex, work and ailment, is lodged, not in a different ward or story of a building, but in different buildings, each with its own church, dormitory, dining-hall, corridors, working-rooms and courts. If you add to all this the places used in common : kitchens, laundries, school buildings, workshops, dispensaries, laboratories and the common avenues of communication—ever crowded with busy people, wheeling along provisions in barrows and hand-carts—you will be able to form something of an idea of the whole.

Nor does the charity of the place limit itself to its inmates. It stretches out its hand also to the wanderer and the out-patient. Attached to the institution there is a spacious three-storied building which serves as a hospital for those who, though not willing to be permanent inmates of the Piccola Casa, yet wish in the hour of sickness to be nursed and waited upon by its devoted staff. Even this hospital has a thousand beds and receives an unending stream of people who come there for medicine, advice, and help of every sort. For the only ticket needed for admission to that City of Sorrow and Pity is *poverty*.

If the reader shares our own wonder on inspecting this little house, he will surely also share another feeling—curiosity to know how such an immense institution is financed. First, then, there is the saving on salaries. The priests, the doctors, the nursing sisters, are not paid—they work for God. But this is a saving of expense, not a source of income. Whence does the money come ? Let us state the problem briefly. Here is a large institution

catering for 10,000 people, at an average cost of twenty lacs of rupees a year, excluding buildings, repairs and depreciation : a sum, therefore, which supposes a capital of at least four crores yielding an interest of 5%. And yet this institution has never owned the equivalent of one picā for the last 105 years. Here is an institution as large as a town, whose members have nothing and produce nothing ; yet they live and eat and are clothed and doctored in their sickness with lavish generosity. The society itself does not possess a copper, it has no safe, no current account with any bank, nay, it does not even keep a ledger or a journal. Whatever comes in goes out immediately ; and this mode of living has been going on, not for a week, or a month, or a year, but for a whole century.

How can we explain it all ? Alms *do* come. Fabulous sums have been given to the Piccola Casa, and fabulous sums are still being given, and yet no one there thinks of these sums. No advertisements are circulated ; no subscription lists are sent round, no sweepstakes are held. These sums simply come when they are needed, as though an unseen banker were watching over the needs of the institution, ready and eager to supply them. And there really is such a Banker for the Piccola Casa, the same who robes the flowers of the field, and who never fails His suffering children. It is He who inspired its founder, Cottolengo, to write this first rule of the Directors of the 'Little House': 'If we keep gold or silver, Divine Providence will not send us any more, for He knows we have it. Therefore, spend for the poor whatever you have, without any thought for the next week or the next month, for the Providence of to-morrow is the same as that of to-day and of yesterday.'

Calicut.

TAGORE'S 'CHAR ADHYAYA'

BY KALIPADA MUKHERJEE

CCHAR ADHYAYA—Four Chapters—is a Bengali novel which has made a stir in the literary world, for its author is Rabindranath Tagore, and it reflects his mind on Terrorism as recently as June, 1934. It will, therefore, be of interest to those who cannot have access to the original to read a brief account of what it contains.

But it is almost impossible to understand its full meaning without the help of the poet's own Introduction. In it he says :

'Once while engaged in editing *The Twentieth Century*, Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya wrote a critique on my newly published *Naibedya*. Never before had I seen such unreserved encomium given to any of my books. And this was the occasion of our first acquaintance.

'He was a Roman Catholic Sannyasi and a Vedantist rolled into one, spirited, fearless, unselfish, erudite and very influential. His great faith in matters spiritual and his wisdom drew me to him in a spirit of deep regard.'¹

'He was my first associate at the time I set up the Santiniketan Ashram. At the time, during his walks with me in the neighbourhood of the Ashram, he raised, discussed with me and unravelled such knotty questions as surprise me even to-day.

'It was at this time that Lord Curzon set his heart on the Partition of Bengal. This was the occasion which in the political field for the first time drew the red line

¹ Cf. 'Swami Upadhyaya Brahmabandhav', by B. Animananda, in the May issue of *The New Review*, vol. I, pp. 468-76.

of alienation between Hindus and Moslems. This alienation will gradually cut asunder our language, our literature and our culture, and cause the degeneration of the whole Bengali race,—this was the apprehension which threw the whole country into a state of great agitation. All legitimate methods proved of no avail. Lord Morley said : "What has been settled can never be unsettled". This Sannyasi threw himself heart and soul into the whirlpool which grew out of the country-wide heart-stirring. He published the paper *Sandhya* which with its fiery diction began to pour the wine which set the heart of the whole nation on fire. This paper for the first time indirectly preached Terrorism. Such a change in the Vedantist was beyond my wildest dreams.

'We did not for a long time meet each other. I thought that probably he had ceased to like me, owing to his thinking that my methods of political agitation differed from his.

'In many directions, many kinds of evils began to crop up. Once during these days of blind madness, I was sitting all alone in my room on the second floor of my house at Jorasanko, when in came Upadhyaya. During the conversation we returned to matters we had discussed so often in the past. In the end he rose after bidding me adieu. At the doorstep he once more turned to me and said : "Rabi Babu, I am very sadly fallen". With this he did not wait, but went out. I could understand clearly that he had come only to say this heart-rending word to me. He had then become entangled in a mesh of actions from which there was no escape.

'It was my last meeting and also my last conversation with him.

'This incident is worthy of mention at the beginning of the novel.'

After this, the poet adds a prelude to the four chapters that follow. He first introduces the heroine of his novel, Ela, or Elalata, whose life he depicts as beginning in revolution. Her mother had a peculiar temperament ; she was never guided by reason ; was rather crazy. With this temper she ruled her little household and at times turned it topsy-turvy by her own injustice and doubts. Whenever her daughter did not confess a fault, she would say without hesitation that she was a liar. Yet to be always truthful was really a passion with her. This was where Ela's sufferings were greatest ; and it engendered in her mind a rebellion against all kinds of unreasonableness and injustice.

Ela's father, Naresh Das Gupta, had a European degree in Psychology, and was a renowned professor, though he taught in a private college of his province as he had little greed or capacity for worldly progress. He was open-handed and open-hearted, was easy of belief ; neid though often cheated by those he helped, he did not change his policy. Whenever anybody proved ungrateful to him, he would try to find a psychological explanation for it and never complain even in mind, much less in word. This lack of worldliness, this love of plain living and high thinking, made his wife snub him occasionally. But in Ela he had a sympathetic daughter who chafed at the indignities hurled at him by her mother. She did not like him to bear with her mother in that way ; would at times wet her pillow with her tears in fruitless anguish. . .

Once she told her father : 'It is unjust to put up with this sort of injustice.'

The father said : 'It is as futile to cool red-hot iron by passing your hand over it as to try to change someone's nature by speaking against it. There may be heroism in the attempt, but certainly no joy.'

Ela left him saying : 'But silence assuredly is far less joyful. . .'

The mother was an orthodox Hindu and would not allow any kind of modernism, which she branded as Anglo-mania. This caused constant bickerings and much unpleasantness, which began to tell on Ela's health. Her father noticed the change, and when she asked to be sent to a boarding house in Calcutta, he did not object. The mother said : 'I have no objection to your sending Ela to town if you want to make an Englishwoman of her. But please don't blame me if your daughter suffers later on at her father-in-law's house.' From all this Ela concluded that a girl had to make herself ready for wedlock by curbing her self-respect and deadening her sense of right and wrong. . .

Ela's mother died when she was at college. Naresh repeatedly tried to make her consent to marry. As she was exquisitely beautiful there was no lack of suitors ; but her aversion to marriage had become an instinct with her ; so that her father also died leaving her unmarried.

Naresh had a brother named Suresh whom he had brought up and to whom he had given a European education, even running into heavy debt for his sake. Suresh was now an important official in the Postal Department, and had to travel from province to province. On him Ela's upbringing devolved. His wife, Madhavi, was only slightly educated. But owing to her husband's position she had to mix in society, and with a little practice acquired English manners so as to be able to attend European clubs in spite of her broken English.

But when Ela, with her great beauty and attainments, came to live with her uncle in a large city he became proud of her, and was eager to show her to his superior officers, his colleagues, and his acquaintances. Madhavi was jealous, but feigning satisfaction said : 'I am at ease

now. Why bother an ordinary woman like me with European society in which I can never feel at home ?

Meanwhile Ela undertook to teach English to Suresh's daughter, Surama. Madhavi was angry. She did not like her to get a training similar to Ela's. She was, therefore, anxious to get Ela married. Offers poured in—such suitors as she would have liked for her own daughter ; but Ela refused them all.

This stubbornness on Ela's part made Suresh anxious and his wife impatient. She knew it was a sin for a grown-up Bengali girl to refuse such excellent suitors. Ela was not slow to understand that she was the cause of trouble in her uncle's home.

It was at this time that Indranath came to that city. The students admired him as if he were an emperor. He was high-spirited and well known for his great learning. Suresh once invited him to his house. Ela approached him, stranger as he was, and said : 'Can't you give me a job ?' The glow of the girl's face surprised Indranath, and he answered : 'A High School for girls has lately been started in Calcutta. I can make you headmistress of it. Will you accept my offer ?'

'I am willing if only you trust me.'

Indranath fixing his bright eyes on Ela's face said : 'Yes, I know people. I did not hesitate for a moment to trust you. The first sight of you has convinced me that you are the message of the New Age. . . I hear its call in you.' Ela felt gratified. She said : 'Please do not flatter me like that. I feel greatly embarrassed by your words. I shall try my best to come up to your expectations ; but I may break down if I try to make myself worthy of your opinion of me.'

Indranath nodded : 'But you must promise never to get entangled in matrimony. You do not belong to society ; you belong to our country.'

Ela raised her head and said : 'I have taken a vow to do this.'

Thus she left her uncle's home, to stand on her own legs in the wide, wide world, in spite of his remonstrances, but to the great joy and relief of his wife. . .

The first chapter of the main story opens five years after this. Some students had invited Ela to a tea-party at half-past two in the afternoon. Ela was punctual. But whom should she see there but Indranath himself who had forbidden students to visit her at her house ! . . . Tagore here gives a pen picture of Indranath. Indranath had passed many years in Europe where he had qualified himself for a high position in life and won first rate testimonials from his professors. On the recommendation of a renowned European professor, he had been appointed professor in the Government Educational Service, but owing to ill-treatment he resigned the post in disgust, came down to Calcutta, started private classes in French and German, and began to coach students in Botany and Geology. Gradually, through this small institution, his secret political activities spread.

In the very first chapter we see that the woman in Ela had begun to stir her to the depths. In spite of her solemn vow she had fallen in love ! But Indranath all along told her to repress herself, to let others know that 'woman is but creative force'.

After discovering that Ela had fallen in love, Indranath said : 'Do you not love somebody ? But you are not adamant. I know whom you love. But I see no reason why you should repent of it.'

'You said that I should have to work with single-minded devotion. That may not be possible under all circumstances.'

'But that is not true of all. You are not such a woman as to drown your mission in life under the load of love.'

'But. . .'

'There is no "but" in all this. . . There is no escape for you.'

'You know well that I am of no use to you in your work.'

'I do not want work from you. So I do not let you know everything about our work. How can you yourself know what fire a drop of red sandal from your hand kindles in the hearts of men? I am not one of those who renounce gold and woman. I do not look down upon gold where gold is of real value; and where woman is of influence, I have set her on a high pedestal.'

'I do not like to tell you a lie, but I can understand that my love transcends all other loves day by day.'

'Never fear. Love as much as you can. Do not make this meeting lifeless by confining it within the cage of the world. . .'

This conversation sums up the whole tragedy in the life of Elalata, the heroine of the story.

The youth, with whom Ela had fallen in love, was Atindra, an enthusiastic member of Indranath's secret organisation. This is how the two first came to be acquainted. Atindra was crossing the ferry in a steamer at Mokameh Ghat. He belonged to an aristocratic family though it was encumbered with debts. He was a stylish young man of about twenty-four. He was lounging alone on a cane sofa on the first-class deck of the same steamer in which Ela was travelling as a third-class passenger. All on a sudden Ela, dressed in an elegant brown *saree* which greatly increased her beauty, approached him from behind and quite unhesitatingly asked: 'Will you please tell me why you do not wear *khaddar* ?'

Atindra did not feel angry ; he was surprised ; he thought that the girl must have taken a liking to him, for otherwise she would not have ventured to ask him such a question. He thought, too, that this preaching of *khaddar* was a mere pretext.

Ela also told Atindra later on, when she was reminded of the incident : 'I have told you many times that from a corner of the deck I looked long and yearningly at you. I entirely forgot whether any one was taking note of all I did. In my life that was the most surprising moment when I grew acquainted with you for ever. My mind said within me : "Whence is it that this man, so different and so distant, comes out of his own environment, a hundred-petalled lotus in the midst of the surrounding moss ?" I resolved instantaneously that I must draw this extraordinary man not only to myself but into the midst of all of us.'

But the tragedy not only in Ela's life but in Atindra's also is that the man who should have been entirely hers became one of a party of political revolutionaries. . .

Atindra reminded Ela : 'This vow of yours is positively irreligious. Its observance means a daily revolt against your religion. If you could break your promise, you could keep the truth. The greed which is not only holy but sanctioned by the will of your inner soul you have allowed to be trodden down under the heels of a party. You will some day have to take the consequences.'

Ela's sufferings were intense from the beginning. She was enduring widowhood, though the soul she loved was living, willing to give itself up at her merest will. She said to her lover : 'Unhappy me that I could not accept my God-given gift ! Our hearts are interlocked ; yet I feel the pangs of a widow. May such misfortune never be any woman's ! . . . You are my hero, I am your prisoner.'

Owing to party principles the hero and the heroine remained lovers, but could never be united as husband and wife.

The punishment of which Atindra spoke to Ela in Chapter II comes upon her in the last chapter.

Atindra had come prepared to kill Ela by order of the party to which both of them belonged. In conversation Ela said : 'Whenever I feel depressed in thinking about all of you, I try definitely to feel that it is easy to die.' Atin replied : 'O timid one, why do you think death to be the path by which one can go away and escape ? Death is the greatest of all certainties, the inevitable sea towards which all the currents of life tend. In it is the ultimate fusion of all truth and untruth, all good and evil. Even now, this very night, we are both within the extended arms of that immeasurable one.

Then he recalled the day four years back on which Ela had celebrated Atindra's birthday on the same roof on which they were now sitting. On that day Ela had not only presented him with a bunch of creamy white tuberoses, but had given him her first kiss. Atindra said : 'I have come to-day to claim my last kiss.'

All alone, within bolted doors, their talk continued in the silence of the night.

'Are you afraid, Ela ? Don't you fear me ?'

'Fear you ? How can you say that ?'

'What is there that I cannot do ? I am on the last steps of my fallen' condition. The other day our party looted all the property of a helpless widow. Manmatha knew the old woman ; he gave us information and took us to her house. Even in his disguise the woman recognized him and asked him why he had done such a heinous thing. After that they killed the old woman, and sent the money to the proper place for what we call

the needs of our country. I have touched and enjoyed stolen property. Botu¹ has published the name of Atindra the thief. He has devised the plan of having my case transferred through the Superintendent of Police to the file of a Bengali magistrate, Jayanta Hazra, lest I should be tried by some other magistrate and go unpunished. He knows for certain that I shall be arrested to-morrow. In the meanwhile, fear me. I myself am in dread of the black ghost of my dead soul. To-day there is nobody else in your house.'

'Why, *you* are here.'

'Who will save you from my clutches ?'

'I do not like anybody to save me.'

'In your own party . . . amongst your own brethren . . . those whom you have anointed with sandal-paste like your own brothers every year, the decision has been arrived at that you should no longer live.'

'What graver offence have I committed than they ?'

'You know much about us. You know the names and whereabouts of many of us. If you are molested you may divulge them.'

'Never.'

'How can I tell you that the man who came here just now brought this very order ? You yourself know how very forceful an order is.'

Ela shuddered and said : 'Are you serious, Antu ? Is all this true ?'

'We have got some news.'

'What news ?'

'In the small hours of the morning the police will come to arrest you.'

'I knew for certain that one day the police would come to arrest me.'

'How could you know that ?'

¹ A police spy playing the part of an associate.

'I got a letter from Botu in which he told me that the police would arrest me, but that he could save me.'

'How ?'

'He says that in case I marry him he will stand surety for me.'

'What reply did you give him ?'

Ela said : 'I merely wrote down on the letter the word "Devil" and nothing else.'

'I have heard that Botu will come to-morrow with the police. With your approval, he will set himself to the kind task of giving you shelter in the crocodile's den after negotiating with the tiger.'

Ela clasped Atin's feet in her arms and said : 'Kill me, Antu, with your own hands. I can think of no better fortune than this.'

He did not move.

She then rose from the floor and said : 'Kill now, kill.'

Atin stood as still as a statue.

Ela added : 'Never mind, Antu. Never forget that I am yours, wholly yours, even in death. Take me. Do not allow this body to be polluted, this body which is yours.'

Atin merely said : 'Go to bed. . . I order you. . . Go to bed.'

But Ela went on : 'Antu, Antu mine, my king, my god, I do not as yet fully know how much I have loved you. I charge you in the name of that love, kill, kill me.'

Atin now seized Ela's hands, forced her into her bedroom, and said, 'Lie down now, and sleep.'

'I cannot sleep.'

'I have a soporific with me.'

'I do not require that, Antu. Have you brought chloroform ? Fling it away. I am no coward. So arrange that I may die in your arms in a state of wakefulness. The last kiss becomes endless to-day. Antu, Antu. . .'

The sound of a whistle came from the distance.

Thus ends *Char Adhyaya*. As Tagore's opinion on Nationalism, Internationalism and Terrorism is too well known, some have seen a purpose in this novel and supposed that the poet probably spoke his own mind on page 110 of the book through Atindra : 'I do admit to-day to you that I am not one of your so-called patriots whom you know so well. To believe the patriotism of those who do not acknowledge what is greater than patriotism is to use the back of a crocodile as a ferry-boat. Fraudulence, meanness, mutual faithlessness, conspiracy for power, and the profession of spies, shall sink them below the mire some day. This I can foresee very clearly. Breathing and inhaling the foul air which vitiates the world inside this pit, I cannot maintain and uphold that manliness which helps one to do great deeds in the world.'

But the poet says : 'The dramatic value of *Hamlet* will in no way be affected if some professor some day proves that many of Hamlet's words and gestures are the poet's own. If, on the other hand, you say that the poet's personality is nowhere reflected through any hint in his dramas, you say very little in their favour.' That is true so far as it goes. But if we knew all that, it would certainly take away some of our relish ; for it is certainly the mists around Shakespeare which make for the better enjoyment of his dramas. Tagore has thought fit to answer all his critics in the *Kaifiyat*, or explanation of *Char Adhyaya*, which was published in the *Prabasi* for Baisakh, 1342 B. S. (April-May, 1935). He says :

'All discussions which have so far arisen on my *Char Adhyaya* fall outside the pale of literature proper. This is natural, because the Introduction to the novel is tinged with the emotion that pervades politically agitated modern Bengal. It is not only that we are too near it, but its heat is constantly radiating in our minds. This is why the Introduction has appeared of more import to some

readers than the story itself. When all this agitation becomes a thing of the past, when this political unrest is a matter of history, then only will the imagination of the reader regard the story in an unprejudiced manner. Only then will its literary beauty make itself perspicuous.'

'That which can be called the subject-matter of the novel is the love of Ela and Atindra for each other. The trend of a man and woman's love does not depend only on the idiosyncrasy of their characters, but on their environments as well. Love is like a river which directs its flow according to the condition of its two banks. I have tried to give expression to that peculiarity in the love of Ela and Atindra in this story.'

'Certainly one can ask what it is that makes the author introduce Upadhyaya in the Introduction to the story. Two tragedies have occurred in the character of Atindra : that he did not gain Ela, and that he fell from his own inward nature. I could not restrain the desire of bringing in a witness to prove that the latter might become psychologically true in some particular nature.'

'A certain lady has informed me that the outward life of Upadhyaya is expressed in the character of Indranath, and his inward nature revealed in the character of Atindra. This is doubtless worth careful attention.'

The poet adds : 'There is yet another controversy. In the course of the story, opinions regarding the revolutionary movement have been expressed in the mouths of the male characters. If there were no such opinion anywhere, the Introduction to the story would be meaningless. One should assume that these opinions are meant to bring out their own characters. If somebody asserts that some of these tally with my own, I must say that such a consideration is secondary. The truth or otherwise of this does not make any difference to their value in the story. I shall admit it as a fault of mine if this

expression of opinions has made any of the characters in any way incongruous.'

He concludes by saying: 'Literary criticism cannot take cognizance of any particular opinion or advice as expressed in *Char Adhyaya*. It is plain that it is based on the history of the love of a modern Bengali hero and heroine. That love derives its dramatic peculiarity from the Introduction which deals with the revolutionary movement in Bengal. Here the description of the movement is only secondary. The piquancy and the pain which its stormy atmosphere has occasioned in the love of both constitute the literary value of the work. Matters of argument or advice form the subject-matter of essays in current periodicals.'

In a very recent appreciation of the novel in the *Duinik Basumati*, the critic cuts Rabindranath up very severely for his Introduction to the novel. He says that Rabindranath has belittled Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya who was in a sense his preceptor. Brahmabandhav, the writer observes, did not teach us to be revolutionaries, but he said that we should be self-established if we want to be independent.

Whatever our opinion of the contents of the novel may be, we must frankly admit that it has given us joy, that it is alive, that it is a work of genius and not of crudition. It is a work of art and should be judged as such. Like his own best known novels, such as *Gora* and *The Home and the World*, it combines joyful creation with observation, and will remain one of his most interesting books.

Howrah.

THE PICTURESQUE STATE OF MYSORE

BY MRS. S. K. CHELJIAH

THE State of Mysore has long been recognized by her numerous admirers as one of the most beautiful parts of India, and her appeal to an ever widening circle is due to the varied gifts with which nature has endowed her. If there is any city in the whole of India which may rightly be called a jewel, it is the city of Mysore, with its lovely parks, its stately palaces and its splendid monuments.

I

The founder of the present dynasty of Mysore was Vijayaraj, who came to the south with his brother, Krishnaraj, from Dwaraka in Kathiawar in the year 1399, and highly pleased with the picturesque appearance of the place settled down in the town of Mysore. On one occasion the two brothers saved the daughter of the chief of Hadinad, near Mysore, from a forced alliance with the ruler of Karugahalli. In gratitude she married Vijayaraj, who thereupon assumed the government of both Hadinad and Karugahalli. By the beginning of the seventeenth century this family was in possession of numerous places in the neighbourhood of the town of Mysore ; and when Rajah Wodeyar ascended the throne its position became more firmly established. For he took the fortress of Seringapatam in 1610 from the viceroy of Vijayanagar and made Seringapatam his capital instead of Mysore. He extended his dominions towards the north and the south and was a very popular ruler. The next prominent ruler was Kanthirava Narasa Rajah Wodeyar, who extended and consolidated the family possessions and also assumed the insignia of royalty. After him came Dodda Deva Rajah Wodeyar and Chikka Deva Rajah Wodeyar ; and both extended their kingdom far and wide. Their

successors, however, were very weak rulers and took very little interest in the administration of the State. Internal dissensions, therefore, naturally began. Taking advantage of the situation, Hyder Ali usurped the throne in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Under Hyder Ali and his son, Tippu Sultan, the kingdom increased in size and included a large portion of the southern peninsula. But on the fall of Seringapatam and the death of Tippu Sultan the five-year-old representative of the Mysore House was installed on the throne. In 1831 it became necessary for the British Government to interfere in the affairs of Mysore owing to the serious mismanagement of the State by the ruler, and a British Commission was appointed to administer it. On the 25th March, 1881, however, amidst universal rejoicing the State was restored to Maharajah Chamarajendra Wodeyar. After an eventful reign of nearly fourteen years he died in 1894.

His eldest son, Maharajah Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar, who was then barely ten years old, was installed on the throne on the 1st February, 1895, and Her Highness the Maharani Vani Vilasa Sannidhana was proclaimed Regent. For eight years she held the reins of administration, assisted by a dewan and three councillors with well defined duties and responsibilities, and under her able guidance the State made uninterrupted progress as numerous public works bear witness. During her Regency, the State subsidy was raised from twenty-four and a half to thirty-five lacs, but she bore it with stoical firmness of heart. A portion of the palace was accidentally burnt in 1895 and was rebuilt at a very great cost. But in spite of all this the revenue of the State steadily increased. Her administration was also marked by numerous reforms of a progressive character. Lord Curzon once said of her : 'As the head of the Government of India, I have pleasure in stating that the smooth progress of events during the Minority has been largely due to the unfailing tact and discretion of Her Highness. If I may be allowed to say so, she has set an example of public and domestic virtue which has been of equal value to her people and to her family, and which has earned for her the admiration and respect of all.'

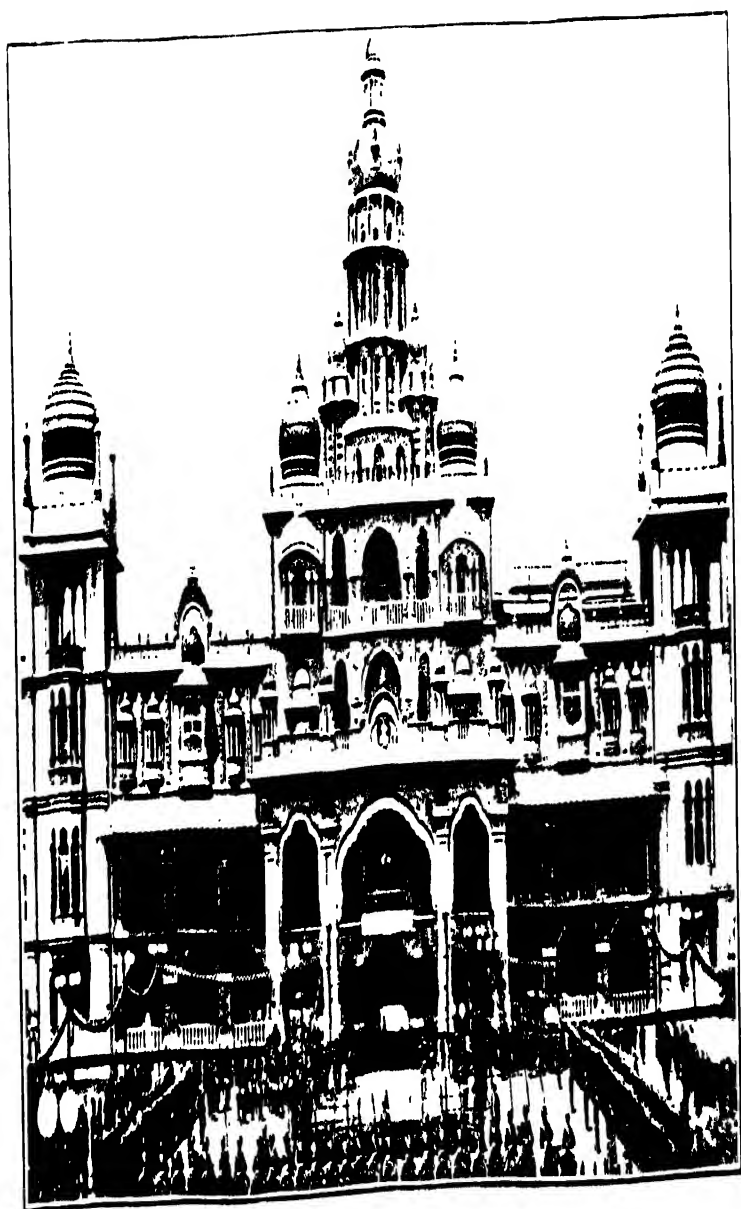
His Highness Krishnarajendra Wodeyar attained his majority in the year 1902, and was invested with full ruling powers on the 8th August of the same year. Under his wise administration the Mysore State has made considerable progress in education, irriga-

tion and the use of electric power, as well as in awakening the public to a sense of their duties and responsibilities. Under his benign rule the cities of Mysore and Bangalore have rapidly improved in beauty, healthiness and comfort. His Highness is very ably assisted by his dewan, Sir Mirza Ismail, who has done much to promote the happiness and prosperity of Mysore, and to whose efforts the remission in 1928 of ten and a half lacs of rupees in the subsidy was entirely due. During his period of office the State expenditure on education has increased by nearly 50 per cent, so that approximately seventy lacs are now annually spent on public instruction.

II

The city of Mysore is really a Garden City, with its beautiful parks and lawns. Wherever you go, tarred roads, magnificent parks and buildings of beautiful architecture greet you ; and all these amenities of civic life are in large measure due to the personal generosity of His Highness the Maharajah. The immense improvements that have been made have so completely transformed the city that those who knew Mysore many years ago will hardly recognize it now. The Krishnarajendra Hospital, the New Mansion or Lalita Mahal, the Pleasure Palace, the Jagan Mohan Palace, the Sandal Oil Factory, the Silk Factory,—all these have changed the face of Mysore.

The city owes a good deal of its charm to the Chamundi Hill, a precipitous rock nearly 3,000 feet above sea-level, on which stands the well-known temple dedicated to Chamundeshwari, the tutelary deity of the royal house. 'In the first instance the goddess worshipped in this shrine may have been identified with Shiva's consort, and a *sthalapurana* or *mahatmya* was composed which related that on this spot the buffalo-headed monster Chamundi was slain. Chamundeshwari is now regarded as an incarnation of Lakshmi. This unique feature in her legendary history is possibly due to the predominant influence of the Sri Vaishnavite sect in the palace in the twelfth century.' Especially during the Dusserah Festival the famous temple of Chamundeshwari attracts pilgrims from all parts of India. Two-thirds of the way up there is a colossal sixteen-foot figure of Nandi, the sacred bull of Shiva, hewn out of the solid rock in 1659 A. D. It is a fine piece of



The Palace, Mysore

workmanship and looks like a living animal. Pilgrims make offerings of coco-nuts, plantains and flowers to this image.

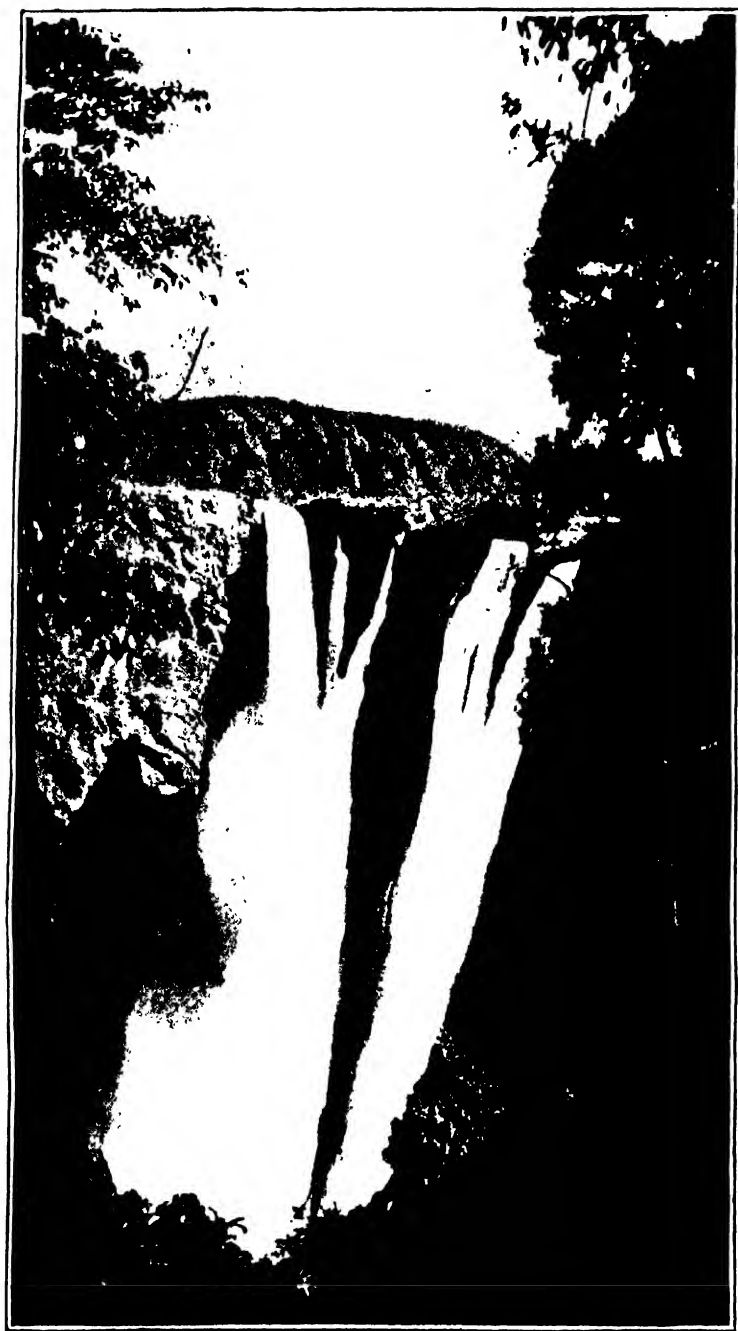
Seringapatam is situated on an island in the Cauvery nearly ten miles from Mysore. This island is three miles long and one mile broad, and under the Vijayanagar kings was the seat of a viceroy. As a distinguished historian rightly pointed out, 'This is an island steeped in history and drenched in memories—bitter, pathetic, terrible ; in records of brave deeds and mean deeds ; of diabolical cruelty, high courage and, on both sides, of loyalty to the death.' There is a beautiful temple here, known as the temple of Sri Renganadhaswami, which on festive occasions attracts people from all parts of the Madras Presidency. Between the temple of Sri Renganadhaswami and the site of Tippu's palace lies the temple of Narasimhaswami, which was built over 200 years ago by Kanthirava Narasa Rajah Wodeyar. In a cell inside this temple the figure of that ruler, nearly four feet high and richly carved and ornamented, stands on a pedestal. Of the palace of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, known by the name of 'Lal Mahal', all that remains is part of the high plinth on which it stood. The water-gate where Tippu Sultan fell fighting single-handed against heavy odds, with hundreds of wounds all over his body, looks very pathetic indeed. The Daria Daulat Bagh,—the garden palace of the wealth of the sea,—was built by Tippu Sultan in 1784. Even to-day it retains its old charm and is a popular evening resort, especially in summer. It is said that Tippu watered the plants in this garden with milk, curds and coco-nut milk.

One of the beauty spots in Mysore is Krishnasagara, nearly twelve miles from the city, where a mighty dam has been constructed across the river Cauvery. Besides the dam its chief attraction is the Brindaban or Terrace Gardens, so called because they consist of three well-laid terraces one above the other, each 475 feet wide. A sheet of water ten feet wide drops in front of the pavilion and flows through a central channel in a number of cascades till it drops at last into the river in a number of semi-circular steps. On these terraces are laid out beautiful flower-beds of variegated colours. Very near the Terrace Gardens on the eastern side is an orange grove containing over two hundred trees of six varieties. A little farther there is a nursery of all kinds of ornamental, shady and useful trees. At night electric lights adorn the full length of the dam and also mildly

illuminate the flowery landscape below. The whole scene is then turned into a fairyland. The fountains play here day and night. There is also a rest-house for visitors, from which one can have a fine view of the gardens. They are among the finest in the world.

III

The waterfalls at Sivasamudram, which supply cheap electricity to the whole State, are also interesting. 'There is nothing in India or in all Asia', says Sir Sidney Low, 'more remarkable in its own way than this skilful and successful effort to utilize and transmute some of the wasted forces of Nature ; and it says much of the Mysore Government's administration.' Sivasamudram is a beautiful island in the Cauvery, and is said to have been in ancient times the favourite residence of the seven *rishis*. Some historical works also record that it was once visited by Rama on his way to Lanka, and that during his short stay here he killed a *rakshasa* who was oppressing the *rishis*. Nearly three miles long and three-quarters of a mile broad, it was once strongly protected with three lines of fortifications. Gangaraya, a petty prince of Umattan, in the province of Mysore, visited the island which was then desolate, and built a fort with gates of brass and a bridge over each of the branches of the Cauvery. There is a story that a chuckler named Amba discovered a root which had the power of making a man invisible, ground it into very fine powder and mixing it with a little oil made a mark on his forehead with the composition. He was thus able to frequent the king's table and help himself from the royal dishes without being seen. . . One day the dishes were very highly seasoned and both the king and the chuckler perspired freely, with the result that the magic composition on Amba's forehead dissolved and he became visible. He then confessed the truth and fell down dead. As the king had been defiled the Brahmans decided that to expiate his great sin he and his consort must throw themselves into the Cauvery. He saddled his favourite mare and seating his wife behind him proceeded to the precipice which overhangs the falls of the western stream. Five times he urged his mare to the edge, but each time she refused to take the fatal plunge. At last he blindfolded her and again took her to the precipice, and she and her riders disappeared into the seething waters below. The fall, therefore, received the name of Ganganna



The Falls of Gersoppa

Chuki, or Gangan's leap, and the most perpendicular part of it is still known as The Mare's Tail.

Sravanabelgola is a village which lies between two picturesque hills called Indragiri and Chandragiri. Its centre of attraction is the statue of Gomateshwara, which is Jainism's gift to the world. This statue, nearly fifty feet in height, is carved out of a single rock, and although very old looks as neat as if it had been carved but yesterday. The inscriptions at the bottom of the statue record that it was erected about the year 983 by Chamunda Raya, minister and general to the Ganga king, Rachamalla. People belonging to the Jaina religion assemble here once in ten years to perform *pooja* to the statue, and bathe it in many lacs of seers of pure milk. Mr. Fergusson says: 'Nothing grander or more imposing exists anywhere out of Egypt, and even there no known statue surpasses it in height.' The statue of Gomateshwara stands erect facing the north and can be clearly seen for many miles in every direction.

Visitors to Mysore should not fail to see the famous Gersoppa Falls on the Bombay frontier. They have a breadth of about 230 feet and a height of 830 feet. They consist of four separate cascades known as the Rajah or Horseshoe Fall, the Roarer, the Rocket, and La Dame Blanche. They eclipse every other fall in India and have very few rivals in the world for height, volume and beauty combined. The best sight of the chasm is gained by lying down and peering over a pinnacle of rock which stands out from the edge of the cliff.

IV

Mysore also possesses numerous temples famous for their architectural beauty, the most important of which are the Chenna Kesava temple at Belur, the Hoysaleswara temple at Halebid and the Kesava temple at Somanathpur. The temple of Belur consists of one principal temple surrounded by shrines, all situated in a courtyard which is nearly 500 feet by 380 feet. The temple is a veritable gem of architecture and its walls contain carved images. It is about 178 feet by 150 feet and consists of a central hall with entrances on all sides except the west. The carvings and sculptures here baffle description. The great temple of Hoysaleswara at Halebid contains interesting specimens of architecture,

but has never been completed. Mr. Fergusson writes that 'it is one of the buildings on which the advocate of Hindu architecture would desire to take his stand.' The temple, which is dedicated to Shiva, is star-shaped in appearance and is 160 feet by 122 feet, and nearly 30 feet high. It has two magnificent Nandis made of highly polished stone, each in a separate pavilion. These two Nandis add much to the grandeur and beauty of the temple. The outer walls of the shrine contain some interesting carvings of lions, tigers and other animals, so exquisitely done that even the minutest parts can be clearly seen. The walls also contain scenes from the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*. Nearly 30 miles from Mysore is the temple of Somanathpur, whose carvings are unsurpassed even in South India. This beautiful Kesava temple of the Hoysala style of architecture stands within a courtyard 200 feet by 177 feet. An inscription on a stone slab states that a certain Somanath completed the temple in 1268.

Mysore, therefore, deserves to be called a fairyland, for the visitor is literally surrounded by a beauty not found elsewhere in India.

Secunderabad.

LIGHT IN DARKNESS

Thro' hissing wind and heaving surge
The morning rays night's curtain rift ;
The panting sailors smile again,
The waves they strike, the oars they lift.

Thro' slashing hail and wan despair
The straggling pilgrim far doth roam
Unbeaten paths, when lo ! he spies
A distant gleam of happy home.

Thro' chasméd glens thy brother gropes
In darkling search for God's sweet face ;
Be thou a ray of whitest light
And lead him to the sweet embrace.

S. PONNAD

Shembaganur.

MACBETH

DRAMA OF DARKNESS

By N. CHATTERJI

WITH only two hours in which to present a play to his uncultured Globe audience, it was natural that Shakespeare, greatest of psychologists, should use the easiest way to drive home to them the central idea of the drama they were watching. This is the way of repetition.¹ Tragedies, historical or imaginative ; tragi-comedies ; histories ; plays of fancy and 'mere foolery'—Shakespeare builds them all, as Mgr. Kolbe points out², round a 'key idea', expressed by one set of words repeated almost *ad nauseam*. A drama has but to be named, and against it flashes up its key idea. In *Julius Caesar*, for instance, this idea is the invincible power of

the noblest man

That ever lived in the tide of times ;

in *Coriolanus*, weakness in strength ; in *Lear*, 'hysterica passio' ; in *Hamlet*, speculation fatally passing into action. The key idea of *The Tempest* is right triumphing over might, good over evil ; of *The Merchant of Venice*, ideal friendship and perfect gentlemanliness.

I

In *Macbeth*, the key word is darkness : *Macbeth* is a drama of darkness.

¹ Cf. A. C. Bradley : *Shakespearian Tragedy*.

² In his *Shakespeare's Way : A Psychological Study*

It opens with the weird twilight scene on the desert heath ; its hero is introduced to us as the shadows fall¹ ; the murders of Duncan and Banquo take place under cover of night ; by night the devilish slaughter of Lady Macduff and her children is planned, if not executed ; it is evening when Dunsinane is attacked² ; and after the 'night' of terror which, in all conscience, has been 'long' enough,³ the play closes with the promise of a new day for the 'poor country' of Scotland. The Weird Sisters, essentially 'black and midnight hags', are not seen except by night, or in the semi-darkness of a stormy afternoon merging into evening.

Darkness is the *leitmotif* which runs through the entire play of *Macbeth*. There are in it fifty-one references—veiled or explicit—to night and darkness.⁴ Of these, thirty-two are absolutely unmistakable. Five occur in Act I ; eight in Act II ; fifteen in Act III ; one in Act IV ; and three in Act V. It is interesting to note that this distribution coincides with the 'Preparation, Climax, Retribution' scheme according to which the Bard of Avon is said to have wrought his tragedies. Were we to include in our computation the indirect references and allusions to sleep and night and darkness, we should find seven references in Act I ; in Act II, ten ; in Act III, twenty-two ; in Act IV, five ; in Act V, seven. Nor is the paucity of references in Act IV surprising. The

¹ 'I have not seen such a day', says Macbeth. This implies that, even if darkness has not already fallen, the day is far spent. Banquo is anxious to reach Forbes—another indication that it is already very late.

² The business of cutting boughs for the entire army at Birnam Wood, and the concerted march of a large body of troops to Dunsinane make it natural to insist that Old Siward's words : 'Do we but find the tyrant's power *to-night*' imply that the battle began in the late afternoon.

³ IV. iii. 239. (References are to the Oxford Shakespeare)

⁴ Act I : i. 5 ; iv. 50 ; v. 32, 51, 69, 70 ; vi. 25. Act II : i. 1, 20, 49 ; ii. 4, 36 ; iii. 42, 60, 62 ; iv. 3, 7. Act III : i. 14, 27, 37, 41, 131, 142 ; ii. 2, 19, 40 sq, 46, 53 ; iii. 5, 9, 16, iv. 118 sq, 126, 142 ; v. 15, 20 ; vi. 5, 13, 33. Act IV : i. 48, 111, 146 sq ; iii. 4, 239. Act V : i. 1, 84 ; v. 11, 19, 49 ; vi. 7 ; (also vii. 103—implied, as can be gathered from the context).—Passages, in which the word *night* occurs, are put in italics.

first glimmerings of the dawn are beginning to appear¹ ; but except in this one scene we are as deep in darkness as ever in the play. Macbeth consults the Witches at the 'pit of Acheron', and the fact that darkness broods over all makes it superfluous to mention the midnight hour ; and the murder of Lady Macduff is a deed so cruel and damnable, that, even if it were performed by daylight (for which opinion there is not an atom of textual support), Shakespeare would surely have us think it a dark piece of work, one that most naturally seeks cover under the pall of night.

If any further evidence be needed to show that *Macbeth* is a drama of darkness, we have it in the significant fact that, of the twenty-seven scenes which constitute the drama, no less than twenty contain at least one reference, overt or implied, to darkness, sleep, or night.²

II

Turning from the story of the play to its characters, we find that Macbeth is first presented in deceptive twilight ; and when, at the end of a hard day's fighting, he is finally led into Duncan's presence³, night is certainly approaching. Again, it is nearing nightfall when Macbeth arrives at Inverness⁴ ; night sees his first crime, and the covering of it by the murder of the chamberlains ; the

¹ i. e., in the long scene in which Macduff and Malcolm resolve to come to the rescue of Scotland.

² Such references are found in 4 of the 7 scenes of Act I ; in all 4 scenes of Act II ; in all 6 scenes of Act III ; in 2 of the 3 scenes of Act IV ; and in 4 of the 7 scenes of Act V.

³ A certain interval must necessarily elapse between (1) the words of the Witch announcing that Macbeth must be met 'ere set of sun', (2) the actual meeting and (3) Macbeth's arrival at Forres. Even if the play opened in the murk of a stormy noontide, night would now be at hand.

⁴ From Forres to Inverness is a distance of about 30 miles. Even granting that Macbeth could not have reached Inverness till the next day, the precipitate action of the play,—so marked in this drama,—would lead the audience (*in whose place, following Mgr. Kolbe, we are striving to put ourselves*) to conclude that the very night of Norway's defeat saw the murder of Duncan.

vanguard of Nemesis¹ approaches by night ; references to night precede and follow Banquo's ill-fated ride ; the murderers Macbeth engages are called as the shadows lengthen² ; one of them reports his deed while the banquet, which Macbeth had announced for 'seven'³, is in progress ; by night Macbeth consults the Witches ; and finally, it is against the flaming sunset, harbinger of the first calm night for months in Scotland, that Macbeth meets his doom.⁴

Macbeth appears in person in thirteen scenes. These scenes contain more than two dozen references—of one sort or another—to sleep, night, and darkness, and of these references more than half are made by Macbeth himself. In Act III, as the climax of the drama approaches with the Banquet Scene, it is not surprising that Macbeth should frequently mention what has by now become a veritable obsession ; we find no less than eight mentions of the word *night* alone, while the 'untitl'd tyrant's' preparations go forward for Banquo's cutting-off, under whose spirit he stands 'rebuk'd'.

In the remaining fourteen scenes of the play Macbeth does not appear in person. In nine of the fourteen he is referred to⁵ in connection with night or darkness. The very name of Macbeth thus becomes a synonym for night and darkness and crimes committed while the whole world sleeps.

After Macbeth, the most important character is 'his fiend-like queen'. She, too, appears towards sundown or in the hours of darkness : when the news of Duncan's

¹ i. e., the Knocking at the Gate.

² As Banquo had already left, it must have been well on in the 'afternoon' (II. i. 20). ³ III. i. 42.

⁴ Against this background, the line 'I 'gin to be aweary of the sun' (V. v. 49) takes on a new significance. The attraction exercised over Macbeth by the darkness of crime has begun to pall.

⁵ Act I : i & vi ; Act II : iv ; Act III : iii, v, & vi ; Act IV : iii ; Act V : i & vi.

coming to Inverness reaches her ; when she receives the royal guest before the castle ; when she urges her husband to commit the crime in face of which he blenches. More than this. During the midnight regicide, Lady Macbeth holds the stage, nor can the Banquet Scene be complete without her as a foil to her husband's 'momentary... fit'¹ ; and just as she had been present at the discovery of Duncan's murder, so, too, she is there to guess the plot against Banquo—that 'deed of dreadful note' which 'must be done to-night'.² Unnerved by crime and consequent remorse she finds her own nights cruelly disturbed ; and it is evening, or nearly so, when, 'by self and violent hand'³, she quits the darkness of her life for that deeper darkness which must needs lie beyond for such as she. Her entire existence, as well as that of Macbeth, is aptly summed up in the lines :

Good things of day begin to droop and drowse,
Whiles night's black agents to their preys do rouse.⁴

And these very 'preys' of Macbeth's 'vaulting ambition' are portrayed in the waning light of evening or the torch-lit darkness of night. It is late afternoon when first we meet Duncan—before the battle against Norway has come to an end ; at nightfall he receives Macbeth and Banquo, his successful generals ; at evening he arrives at Inverness⁵ ; at dead of night he is murdered in his 'innocent sleep'. Banquo—Macbeth's brother-general, and later his hated rival,—appears, at the outset of the play, with Macbeth ; and, therefore, as darkness grows apace.

¹ III. iv. 55. ² III. ii. 44 and III. i. 131.

³ V. vii. 99. ⁴ III. ii. 52, 53.

⁵ The 'temple-haunting martlet', whose 'pendent bed and procreant cradle' Banquo noticed, must have been in evidence. Coming westwards from Forres to Inverness, Duncan and Banquo would see the castle of Macbeth clearly outlined against the evening sky, and looking upwards, attracted by the glow of the sinking sun which lit up the noble pile leaving the rest of the countryside in semi-darkness, they would be more likely than in broad daylight to notice the martlets which are most in evidence at the sunset hour.

When we meet him later, it is, with one exception,¹ by night—at Inverness ; after Duncan's murder ; and when he meets his death. Banquo's sleep is disturbed by 'cursed thoughts' ; and since Macbeth's 'fears in Banquo stick deep', Banquo walks 'too late', and is killed at night. But Fleance escapes—*because the torch was struck out*. This is one of those master-strokes of irony with which the play abounds. Even to do a deed of darkness and do it under cover of darkness, some little light is needed : strike out the light, and the consequent utter darkness ensures the partial failure of the deed it bred.²

The other characters around Macbeth are equally affected by the gloom that broods over the whole play. The Witches—more important than the hero himself in that they determine his career of crime and thus make the action of the piece—naturally appear under cover of night. Ross and the Old Man are obsessed with thoughts of gloom and crime by night and wonders of the darkness ; even Macduff, in distant England, is made to feel the black influence of the tyrant he has left behind ; by night the Doctor sees the agonies of Lady Macbeth ; and even so roughly sketched a player as Old Siward prophesies that 'ere night' the battle against Macbeth will be won—as though afraid that, under night's mantle, Macbeth may somehow snatch another chance. 'Each new morn' tells the tale of some fresh atrocity : murder and Macbeth walk at night : the entire drama is a drama of darkness.

The lifting of this gloom is foretold by Malcolm, avenger of crime and usurpation, personification of right and light as against Macbeth's personification of wrong—

¹ III. i. 11.

² We do not inquire into the vexed question of the Third Murderer. We can only guess—unprofitably—by whom he was engaged. In any case, the striking out of the torch is not (as we might expect) his work, but that of the First Murderer, Macbeth's own man. Another example of the irony of fate.

doing and darkness. 'The night is long', says Malcolm, 'that never finds a day'. But the hope these words hold out, and its fruition, serve the more highly to intensify the shadows and the gloom Macbeth casts about him.

Not only, then, for the many references to night and sleep and darkness, but also because the characters of the play—down to the Porter—move in a sinister and murky haze, is the tragedy of *Macbeth* in very deed a drama conceived in darkness, acted in darkness, and in darkness consummated.

III

As might be expected, the words used to describe night, sleep, and darkness, are, from their very multiplicity, used in widely different contexts—now tragic and burgeoning, as it were, with evil¹; again, tragic only in retrospect; in one context intended to relieve the pent-up feelings of the audience by diverting attention from the main action of the play; and, on occasion, with the most perfect irony.

A single instance of each—the portentous-tragic, the retrospective-tragic, and the side-track reference,—must suffice; to the irony deriving from, and built up about, the word '*night*', more attention must be paid.

1. Of the portentous-tragic, examples abound in the earlier part of the play; perhaps the most noteworthy is the messenger's announcement to Lady Macbeth:

The king comes here to-night,—²

a straightforward statement, if ever there was one. But Lady Macbeth's breathless rejoinder: 'Thou'rt mad to say it', taken in connection with her soliloquy beginning

¹ Among other passages may be noted that in which Duncan in all good faith announces: 'We are your guest to-night' (I. vi. 25).

² I. v. 32. Significantly enough, this is the first explicit mention of 'night' in the play.

'Glamis thou art', implies much more than mere annoyance at having so short a time to prepare for her royal visitor. It is the cry of a soul anxious to commit a crime, yet unwilling to believe that the moment is at hand to pass from intention to action. The Messenger's simple statement echoes and re-echoes in Lady Macbeth's soliloquy : 'Come, thick night', and in Macbeth's 'Duncan comes here to-night', which meets with the instant rejoinder : 'And when goes hence ?' Ominous question, and yet, on the face of it, natural enough, expressing as it does the chatelaine's anxiety to know how long her royal guest will honour her home with his presence. And yet as we hear it we feel that something terrible will happen—perhaps with incredible swiftness.

2. Shakespeare, as we have said, shows how the other characters of the drama are influenced by Macbeth's doings, and how they react to his crimes. By means of retrospective-tragic references, we are reminded that night is murder-time ; that darkness is Macbeth's natural element ; that no mere coincidence can have led to Macbeth's series of crimes by night. Conversing with Ross, the Old Man certainly spoke the bare truth when he said :

'Tis *unnatural* (i.e., the night)
Even like the deed that's done.²

A more pithy condemnation of Macbeth's first crime could hardly be wished for,—a crime, as this whole scene³ reminds us, committed under cover of night, with no one there, alas, who might

peep through the blanket of the dark,
To cry, *Hold, Hold !*⁴

There are naturally many other instances of the retrospective-tragic use of the word 'night' : Shakespeare,

¹ I. v. 16. ² II. iv. 10, 11. ³ II. iv. ⁴ I. v. 55.

dramatizing the career of a murderer-by-night, will not allow us to forget the equation existing in his mind between Macbeth and crime-in-darkness.

3. *Macbeth* is one of the few plays to which Shakespeare has written no under-plot. The interest of the dramatist, as of the audience, is focussed on the devilish central figure, and the *crescendo* and *diminuendo* of the tragedy is unimpeded. Of its twenty-seven scenes, only a portion of one in any way approximates to comic relief. This is the Porter Scene.¹ By this we do not mean to say that the Knocking at the Gate is anything less than the signal of inexorable Nemesis : the devastating effect which the knocking has on Macbeth makes us wonder whether he will be able to bear up under the further crimes he dimly but surely contemplates ; for, at its very first sound, he says :

How is 't with me, when every noise appals me ?²

Yet it cannot be denied that the Porter Scene, abounding in interesting and thoroughly characteristic reflections, serves at once to distract the mind and to inflame its desire to know what is to be. Simultaneously whetting and balking our curiosity, this scene is a supreme touch of the master psychologist. And even here we have a reference to 'night'—what irony !—night, a time of carousal for the Porter ; but for his master, only a few yards away, a season for murder.

4. But for real irony, commend me to Lady Macbeth's command and prophecy :

You (Macbeth) shall put

This *night's* great business into my despatch ;
Which shall to all our *nights* and days to come
Give solely sovereign sway and masterdom.³

Just as Macbeth has aptly described himself and his wife in the passage we have quoted above—

¹ II. iii. 1—47. ² II. ii. 58. ³ I. v. 68 sq.

Good things of day begin to droop and drowse,
Whiles night's black agents to their preys do rouse,—

so, too, in Lady Macbeth's words the entire story of the tragedy is outlined. 'Sovereign sway' is, indeed, the outcome of that night's 'great business'—great in its consequences, great because of the greatness of the man whose murder it saw.¹ But what sovereignty is that which brings in its train the realization of the terrible dream-words: 'Sleep no more'? What sovereignty is that, again, which forces its usurpers to turn day into night², since the hours of darkness bring remorse for the crime they witnessed and

The affliction of these terrible dreams
That shake us nightly?³

How delicate the irony of Lennox's words, when at the sudden end of the banquet he wishes Macbeth a futile 'Good-night'! The irony, too, of Macbeth's adieu to Banquo—"Till you return to-night"⁴, is greatly enhanced by its context; and, connected with Lady Macbeth's prophetic words, like the recurrent phrase of some inspired yet terrible rhapsody, there is the last supreme irony of all: Macbeth's

The time *has been* my senses would have cool'd
To hear a *night-shriek*.⁵

By their ingenious and ironical omission of crime, these words in their very reticence sum up and emphasize the crimes recorded in the play. Continuing his career of blood, Macbeth has, by now, 'supp'd full with horrors'; nothing more affrights him: nay, a grisly midnight consultation serves to inspire him with 'security. . .

¹ Macbeth's own words prove Duncan's real greatness: 'Renown and grace is dead', says the murderer. —Perhaps it may not be out of place to draw attention to the irony of the foregoing sentences: 'Had I but died an hour before this time,' &c.

² III. iv. 126 sq..

³ III. ii 18, 19. ⁴ III. iv. 120

⁵ III. i. 36.

⁶ V. v. 10, 11.

mortals' chiefest enemy'—a security whose foundations have been laid on the shifting sands of regicide. What irony, again, that the very means that led Macbeth to power should bring about his downfall: darkness, and the 'murdering ministers' of night !

Nor is this all the irony of Lady Macbeth's words. Fulfilled in contradiction so far as her husband is concerned, her prophecy recoils on herself, and the touching and terrible scene in which this is portrayed¹ is, with a last ironical touch, closed with the Doctor's innocuous 'Good-night' to the trembling Lord.

Indeed, in these passages, woven of the warp of irony running across the woof of night and darkness, the entire drama is set before us.

IV

Finally, since the very texture of the play is *night*, we shall find that the finest poetry, too, is concerned with night. The passages beginning

Come, seeling night,
Scarf up the tender eye of pitiful day,
and
Come, dark night,
And pall thee in the dunnest smoke of hell,

together with that other which refers to sleep as 'great Nature's second course', are amongst the finest in the language for sheer poetry.

It cannot be a coincidence that both Macbeth and his wife apostrophize Night. On comparing the two apostrophes, we ask ourselves if this is not the best way Shakespeare saw of making his audience grasp at once the likeness and the dissimilarity between Macbeth's character and his wife's. *Her* speech shows her desirous to be unsexed—a demand but partially granted—; it shows her

¹ V. i.

already 'fiend-like', an apt instrument to egg Macbeth on to crime. Macbeth's, on the other hand, betrays the philosopher in him—though his philosophical reflections are uttered only after he has declared that a 'dreadful' (and no longer a 'great') deed is soon to be performed.¹ All but predisposed to evil², Macbeth is dragged down by his wife, who points the way and sets the means of murder to his hand. Sharing their guilty secret, they reach the heights of power—for them synonymous with the depths of degradation. But once they are both engulfed in darkness, it is the woman who first gives way under the weight of hidden crime. Yet Lady Macbeth, consistently with her dire speech in the earlier portion of the play, shows not the slightest sign of repentance. 'What's done is done', she had said before her illness; and the same sentiment breaks from her delirious lips.³ Truly, 'more needs she the divine than the physician.' As for Macbeth, once he has embarked on the sea of crime, he refuses to give himself time to think.⁴ His desperate mind tells him that in reflection lies the seed of sorrow; and from that seed may grow the tree of repentance.

Thus, groping together along the alleys of the dark, Macbeth and Lady Macbeth together reach the abode of darkness ultimate. The wheel has come full circle: begun in the murk of mystery and suspicion, the play finishes in the greater murk of death. But the feeble light kindled by the meeting of Macduff and Malcolm has begun to glow more surely when, at last, the curtain drops to end *Macbeth*, drama of darkness.

Jubbulpore.

¹ Is this because it is Macbeth—and not Lady Macbeth—who speaks? Has Macbeth more 'conscience' than his wife? From this passage it would seem so; and Macbeth's later boast: 'Direness, familiar to my slaughterous thoughts cannot once start me' is evidently only a half-truth (V. v. 14, 15.).

² Cf., I. iii. 133 sq., I. v. 17 sq., I. vii. 35 sq. ³ Compare III. ii. 12 and V. i. 74.

⁴ For instance, in the planning of Lady Macduff's murder (IV. i. 148 sq.).

SOME RECENT BOOKS

EARLY CHRISTOLOGY

•
The Christology of the Apologists. By V. A. Spence Little, M. A., B. Litt.,
Lecturer in New Testament, Leigh Theological College, Sydney. Pp. 250. London :
Duckworth, 1934. Price 5s.

This book deserves to be recommended to all those who are interested in the history of the development of Christian doctrine. Much has been written about the Apologists of the second and the third century ; and their aims and methods, as well as the influence they had on the development of constructive theology, have often been misunderstood. They form a class apart among the early Christian writers : whilst the others generally aim at the instruction of their brethren in the Faith or the refutation of heresies which have arisen in the Christian body, they address themselves to their non-Christian contemporaries, answer the common calumnies against Christianity, and expound the doctrines of the Gospel for the educated men of their time.

The Rev. V. A. Spence Little, in the book under review, considers only one point of their teaching, their views on the nature of the Incarnate Word ; but it is a point of the utmost importance, and one on which their ideas and methods have been most misrepresented. The first chapter of the book gives a summary of the opinions on the nature of Christ which are found in the writings of the end of the first and the beginning of the second century ; then, after a short chapter on an early anonymous work, the *Epistle to Diognetus*, the author devotes the greater part of his work to St. Justin, whom he holds up as representing the typical Christology of the Apologists. He ends with a short study of the other writers who have treated the same question : Tatian, Theophilus and Athenagoras. Mr. Little is well acquainted with the literature of the subject, and gives us frequent references to ancient and modern works. Among these, however, he omits Fr. Lebreton's *Les Origines du Dogme de la Trinité*, where he would have found a masterly and up-to-date study of the question.

But if the author has read much *about* the Apologists, he has evidently read much more the Apologists themselves, and has drawn his own conclusions. He has noted their frequent use of the philosophical terms and ideas which were then in vogue. Some critics have accused these writers of having introduced into the Christian doctrine new elements which were foreign to the teaching of the Gospel and of the early Christian writers, but which finally became part of systematic theology. Mr. Little makes short work of that charge, which according to him 'appears to be neither just nor capable of proof, in view of their simple earnest, evangelical faith.'

He also notes that 'there appears to be no evidence whatever in the Apologists to support the suggestion that any of the basic elements of Christian belief were the result of an evolutionary development from pagan mystical conceptions in conjunction with Christian teaching. And as to the use they make of contemporary philosophy, he shows that it was a natural consequence of the special circumstances in which they were writing, and of the end they had in view : 'as a natural consequence of its spread into the pagan society of the period, Christianity responded to its new surroundings by adapting the terminology used in its preaching to the Gentiles' modes of thought. Graeco-Roman thoughts and words were taken up and incorporated in the missionary propaganda.'

Another reason was that the writers themselves were philosophers : 'But, further, the Apologists had all been trained in the philosophical schools. What, then, could be more natural than that these men should express their Christian belief after the manner of the schools in which they had been educated ?' But the author expresses his firm opinion that the Apologists merely wanted to make the message of the Gospel intelligible to their contemporaries. He does not even see in their works any attempt at systematization, and thinks that 'no evidence can be adduced that there existed any intention on the part of any one of the Apologists to give the Christian teaching a philosophical form. On the contrary, these writers insist that they are merely setting forth the pure Christian doctrine which was inherited from the Apostles and which he thus expresses : 'The Apologists, as early witnesses to the fact of Jesus Christ, God the Son of Christian experience, maintain in most absolute terms His actual Deity. . . So thoroughly convinced are these intelligent, educated men. . . that Jesus is actually and simply God incarnate, the Son of God, that they defy all challenges of their opponents to the contrary.' He is not blind to the defects of their work, and admits that some of their conceptions had to be corrected and to give place to more accurate expressions, especially with regard to the relations between the Three Divine Persons. But he invites his readers to consider not so much these blemishes as the valuable services the Apologists rendered to Christian thought.

These conclusions are set forth, not, as one might expect, at the end of the book, but in the Preface. This unusual procedure has the advantage of preventing a possible misunderstanding, for instance, when the author speaks of the influence of Gnosticism or of other systems on some of the works he examines. Here and there we have found expressions which might be given a meaning not intended by the writer, for instance, when he says that 'Justin's view of the spiritual realm tends somewhat to dualism' (p. 133). It is true that Justin frequently speaks of the activity of evil spirits and describes Christ as having fought and conquered the powers of darkness in their own home. But that is not dualism : for Justin the demons are fallen angels, and he says more than once that the angels are creatures of God. But if such

points of detail may be questioned, they do not affect the good impression which this scholarly, sincere and useful work must make on the unprejudiced reader.

C. Gillet.

Kurseong.

FRENCH IDEALISM

L'Idéalisme Français Contemporain. By A. Etcheverry. Pp. 376. Paris: Alcan, 1934. Price 35 frs.

Idealism is a label for so many complex systems of philosophy that one would like to have a lucid exposition of it. To satisfy this legitimate curiosity Father Etcheverry has brought out a very valuable book on French Idealism. That it has earned for its author a doctorate from the French State University is a sufficient, though by no means its only recommendation.

The title *L'Idéalisme Français Contemporain* clearly points out the scope of the work. The first part, furnished with an almost exhaustive bibliography, conducts the reader safely through the generally little known maze of French Idealism. With a style delightful without being vague, and an erudition deep without being heavy, the author gives a correct account of the doctrine of idealism.

After defining idealism as 'the deepening of an intuition whereby the spirit finds itself, and nature is recognized as a refraction of the spirit', the author gives an historical survey of French Idealism. The starting-point is the two-fold exposition of the idealistic theory by Lachelier: the psychological one based on induction, and the metaphysical, expressed in the formula: 'conscience is the condition of the universe'.

It may be remarked in passing that even in the country of Cartesian clearness the real life of a man can be a glaring contradiction to his thought-life. Thus, while scrupulously holding fast to the Catholic doctrine in all the details of his moral life, Lachelier allowed his mind to give unreserved assent to pantheistic conclusions.

From the master Lachelier the disciple Hamelin took up the thread of thought and wove out of it a remarkably original system of philosophy. The 'integral idealism' of Hamelin, based on the notion of synthesis and relation, is by no means an attempt to create the world, but rather to demonstrate its rational necessity.

True to the almost proverbial disagreement among idealists even on essential points, Brunschvicg not only detects traces of Aristotelian ideas in Hamelin's philosophy, but he sees in his implicit affirmation of virtuality a disguised form of duality. In its place, therefore, Brunschvicg proposes his 'Philosophy of the Spirit'. For him, not dialectics, but history, is the constructive agent of philosophy, for history is 'a methodical reflection of the

spirit upon itself'. The goal towards which Brunschvicg is struggling is the discovery of an intellectual conscience of mankind made up of the past and the present. A philosopher, writes Brunschvicg, taking stock of the countless data afforded by mathematics, physics, metaphysics, ethics and religion, is in a position not only to reconstruct the human conscience, but even to delineate its distinctive theoretical and practical features.

The theories of Parodi, Weber and Leroy are then examined and a masterly attack made on the idealists on their own ground. But Father Etcheverry's refutation has none of that bitterness which is born of prejudice ; it even shows a manifest sympathy for idealism, which in spite of all its quaintness is superior both to materialism and to Kant's phenomenalism.

Still, realism surpasses all other systems of philosophy in its adherence to the *via media* between gross materialism and exaggerated idealism, thus keeping clear of the inherent fallacies of both. Critical realism agrees with idealism in asserting the primacy of thought, but it does not admit the absolute immanence of thought. According to the realist, there is in every act of cognition a necessary contact between the thinking subject and the object thought. The reception of the object in the mind and according to the modality of the mind does not at all destroy the independent existence of the object. The mind knows the object through the mental image, yet this image is not an opaque picture shutting out all view of the external world, but rather a sign-post leading to it ; the mental representation of the object is not a painting to be contemplated, but a transparent window-pane through which the mind reaches out to the object itself.

Realism does not pretend to have removed all difficulties, but at least it gives a rational explanation of the process of knowledge which agrees with the evidence we possess. Idealism, on the other hand, not only gives no rational explanation but is contradicted by the facts of experience. The most formidable of these is the plurality of consciences, with its essential corollaries of liberty and responsibility.

The idealist will deny the realist the right to appeal to the psychological state of consciousness, which in his opinion narrows our mental activity to an unreal world, the world of individual and purely subjective consciousness. But he will find it necessary to transcend our own subjectivity and reach the absolute thought which alone is real and objective. The realist sees in such a process, if not a tacit avowal of ignorance, at least a shirking of the difficulty. If it is the absolute thought that thinks in the individual, the idealist commits himself to the impossible task of explaining the fact of error. To the idealist the only possible explanation of error is the disagreement between the contingent and the Absolute. But this is no explanation, for, since the contingent being does not enjoy real independence, one of the two consequences has to be admitted : that the contingent is incapable of error, which is manifestly false, or that the Absolute errs in the

contingent, which is opposed to the essential nature of the Absolute.

And if intellectual error cannot be explained on an idealistic basis, still less can moral transgression, or sin. The testimony of conscience is too loud to be silenced by an appeal to mystery. Mystery transcends, but does not contradict, reason. Try as he may, a man's moral acts will hang on to him with stubborn persistency as his own, and no effort of his mind can rid him of the grave responsibility of his deeds. He has either to surrender to the voice of his conscience and thus confess that there is duality, or to throw the guilt on the Infinite whose mode he claims to be, and thus make the Absolute the source of all depravity.

Father Etcheverry very appropriately points out that the only key to the solution of the difficulties of idealism is to be found in the notion of creation, which is a relation of dependence of the creature on God 'in being rather than in time'. The argument based on the plurality of consciences, buttressed by that of creation, cannot fail to incline an unprejudiced mind towards realism. Father Etcheverry passes next into the realm of science, and calls Meyerson and others to bear witness to the fact that true science is positively in favour of realism. For it is acknowledged by unbiased scientists that the ultimate analysis of scientific inquiry is always confronted with a residue which cannot be explained by pure thought. A physicist may reduce nature into the tiniest ultra-microscopic particles, but the existence of that ultimate 'something' which is entirely independent of thought he is unable to deny without being insincere to himself. Idealists may in their self-sufficiency deny all reality to the atom, and assert that it is something purely phenomenal. But the question remains whether any science can really separate the atom from its substantial support. Since science is at a loss to give the ultimate reason of things, it is wise and prudent to keep to the beaten path of daily experience, which undoubtedly points to a duality at the bottom of every science and every act of knowledge.

Moreover, the words 'shock' and 'resistance' which find a prominent place in the philosophical speech of the idealists openly contradict the doctrine of unity which they so doggedly uphold. 'Shock' and 'resistance' can have no real meaning in a system of philosophy which denies duality. If the spirit is everything, why should it oppose itself? Of course, Brunschvicg would answer that these words have to be emptied of all positive content. 'Shock' is by no means an opposition or resistance encountered by the spirit from an external agent different and foreign to it. In such a supposition, it would be necessary to admit some kind of quantitative contact between the thing and the spirit. But the world of the spirit is the world of conscience. Hence, according to idealism, the primitive shock implied in the act of perception can have no other significance than an act of the spirit affirming the existence of reality, without opposing to itself something that enjoys an independent existence.

This answer of the idealist is not to the point, for to speak of a spatial contact between the thing and the spirit is to say nothing on the true activity of the spirit. According to its functional laws, the spirit assimilates intentionally and vitally the objects that fall under sense experience.

But even granting purely idealistic representations, how can idealism explain the riddle why only some of these representations have a universal character? Whence comes the universal agreement of minds? There must be some definite norm. But a norm immediately brings us to the affirmation of duality, since the thing to be judged and the faculty by which it is judged cannot be one and the same thing.

Besides the above enigmas which flow from the fundamental assumptions of the idealists, one cannot fail to see the futility of their efforts to come to a common agreement on the essentials of their doctrine. Their continual disagreements and self-contradictions give one the impression of a groping for, rather than a possession of, truth. Brunschvicg is a good instance. While hurling difficulties at the philosophy of Hamelin, he is unaware that his philosophy of the spirit dangerously borders on historical relativism and scientific positivism, both of which discard the noblest aspirations of man—the metaphysical, the moral and the religious. This may, perhaps, be because the idealists in general and Brunschvicg in particular refuse to admit that philosophy is essentially a synthesis of absolute principles, since on the supposition of absolute principles a check would be placed on the unfathomable spontaneity of the activity of the spirit, which is the cardinal point of idealism.

In pointing out the inherent weaknesses of idealist philosophy, Father Etcheverry does not overlook the particle of truth beneath its false reasoning. It cannot be gainsaid that the idealists have scored heavily off the materialists by saying that the universe is founded upon an Idea. The critical realist affirms, with the idealist, that the universe is the symbol, the species of an invisible reality, the mirror that reflects the infinite richness of Creative Thought which is substantially identical with the Absolute Being. But this Absolute is Creator in the real sense of the word. The realist finds in this participation by the universe of the idea of the Absolute the key to the intelligibility of all created beings. This universal intelligibility is a point of contact with idealism. Where, however, realism radically disagrees with idealism is in the latter's attempt to create the world out of human ideas. Had the idealists consulted reason and experience rather than speculation or imagination, they would have easily come to acknowledge that we have not in us the necessary fullness of thought and being to be able to communicate it to others.

We have not exhausted the riches of Fr. Etcheverry's book. Every reader may dive into its pages and enrich himself at will with such information as he finds useful. It may, however, be said in general that the author's extensive knowledge, conveyed in a

clear and sympathetic style, irresistibly invites even those who have leanings to idealism to examine the weighty claims of realism which have successfully withstood the test of time and experience.

E. Gathier

Shembaganur.

GEORGIAN LITERATURE

The Georgian Literary Scene. By Frank Swinnerton. pp. 548. London: Heinemann, 1935. Price 12s. 6d.

This is a Jubilee book. The word 'Georgian' has had a rebirth in the twentieth century: to the Victorians the first Four Georges made up the Georgian age, but the fifth George alone has made England Georgian once again.

Though there are some marks of hurry in the five hundred odd pages of this book, it is a remarkable achievement for a busy journalist like Mr. Swinnerton. No mere Jubilee enthusiasm can sustain a critic through the maze of contemporary English literature, with its often hidden inspirations, its eddying currents, its diverse interests, its absence of common standards and ideals. He has the gift of hitting off the chief virtues and defects of a writer in a single happy phrase often taken out of his own mouth. This gift, which charmed the literary world in his biography of Stevenson, and to a smaller extent in his study of Gissing, now enables him to sum up every poet and prose writer of the last twenty-five years in a couple of pleasant and by no means empty pages. How happy, for instance, is the characterization of T. S. Eliot's peculiar quality, out of one of his own letters to a friend, as 'careful subtlety'! Or the summarizing of all that can be said in praise or blame of Robert Bridges in his own favourite phrase: 'dignified passion'!

Intuition, then, is Mr. Swinnerton's chief gift as a critic. If, as Miss Elizabeth Drew has lately said, 'the function of criticism is to send people to literature', the most precious weapon in a critic's armoury is an unerring instinct—*instinct* is the word, for no mere study can give it—by which he puts his finger on the quivering heart of his author and lays it bare for the reader to examine for himself. Such a critic may have his prejudices, like Dr. Johnson; his premisses may be wrong, like Charles Lamb's; but his conclusions will somehow come right in the end, because the saving gift of discernment is there. Thus, though Mr. Swinnerton has a natural aversion to the denizens of Bloomsbury, he gives a very just estimate of Mr. Lytton Strachey (pp. 377-385); though he finds Aldous Huxley a trifle too contemptuous of modern progress, his sure critical instinct triumphs when he says: 'Though a bookworm, he is a human being: the combination is a rare one' (p. 459).

It is unfortunate, however, that with such a sound judgment there should co-exist such a blind admiration for modernity, or, to

use a new Jubilee coin, 'modn'-ness.' In an otherwise masterly survey of the Georgian Literary Scene, Mr. Swinnerton seems to consider only those writers to be truly Georgian who 'spoke of the present in scathing terms, and of the future as an opportunity for shattering the world and remoulding it nearer to the heart's desire' (p. 10). His heroes are, therefore, Shaw and Wells, whom he calls 'Teachers' of the age because 'they stepped *forward*' (italics ours), and because 'between them, Shaw and Wells have done more than any other writers to create what may be called the modern attitude towards morals and civilization in general' (p. 83).

But every knight must have a dragon to slay. Mr. Swinnerton's Shaw-Wells knight has his counterpart in the 'Chester-belloc' dragon. While the former are for progress, the latter seem to him to stand—inexplicably, for he admires them in other respects—for putting the clock back, not by an hour or a day, but by six centuries. He speaks of 'the nostalgic buglings of Chesterton and Belloc : "Oligarchy ! The Church ! Medievalism !" ' (p. 11). Though they are living in the Georgian age, they are not of it, because 'instead of sounding triumphantly a further charge, these instruments will utter nothing but a retreat' (p. 10). They have, therefore, 'lost pace with the times', and it will take them seventy or a hundred years to be 'edited' or acclaimed as sages.

It is interesting to probe into this curious prejudice against two of the greatest thinkers and writers of our time in a critic of such insight as Mr. Swinnerton undoubtedly is. Perhaps we have a clue in a sentence on p. 84 :

Chesterton and Belloc and Wells and Shaw— the seeds of disbelief in accepted morals and manners were sown by Wells and Shaw, while Belloc and Chesterton fought a gallant but losing fight against the forces of science and economics, machinery and the future, incandescence and destruction.

Again, on p. 98, speaking of their view of history, Mr. Swinnerton says :

And there can be no doubt, I think, that possession of such a view of history has prevented Belloc and Chesterton from capturing the imagination of generations increasingly influenced by scientific and mechanical theory and practice.

From these quotations it would appear that Mr. Swinnerton believes Chesterton and Belloc to be enemies of science and economics and machinery and progress merely because they praise the Middle Ages and their Christianity, and demand the return of Merrie England. He seems to be dazzled by whatever is 'modn' and to be of the same mind as Philip in Aldous Huxley's *Point Counter Point* :

The essence of the new way of looking is multiplicity . . . Multiplicity of eyes and multiplicity of aspects seen. For instance, one person interprets events in terms of bishops ; another in terms of the price of flannel camisoles ; another, like that young lady from Gulmerg . . . thinks of it in terms of good times. And then there's the biologist, the chemist, the physicist, the historian. Each sees, professionally, a different layer of reality. What I want to do is to look with all those eyes at once. With religious eyes, scientific eyes, economic eyes, *homme moyen sensuel* eyes . . .

But Chesterton and Belloc, different as they are in all other respects, have this quality in common that they have found a point of view which reduces all this modern multiplicity to unity and which, without neglecting anything that science or art may contribute to human culture, gives human life a meaning and a purpose. This point of view may be described as 'medieval' and its ideal may be called a 'counter-revolution': but it is the only one which can produce order out of the 'modn' chaos.

We have lingered over Shaw, Wells, Chesterton and Belloc because, though there are other living writers in prose and verse as great as they, there are no greater leaders of thought. And thought is what lasts, even in literature.

But we have perhaps been unjust to Mr. Swinnerton in scrutinizing his judgments in spite of his express injunction in a prefatory Note: 'This book has been written as a whole; and unless that is found intolerable it should be read as a whole'. But is the whole not made up of parts? A study of parts is, therefore, the only way to arrive at a reasonable and correct appreciation of the whole.

Thus studied, *The Georgian Literary Scene* is an interesting book and, when we consider how difficult it is to see one's own countrymen and contemporaries in their true perspective, a fairly accurate study. It may, perhaps, produce the impression of being a series of articles rather than a synthesis of Georgian literary currents. But it has certainly the merit of 'sending people to literature', and is, therefore, a very useful guide to the student of the literature of to-day.

T. N. Siqueira.

Calcutta.

PHILOSOPHY

HISTORY OF MODERN THOUGHT. By MICHAEL J. MAHONY, S. J. Pp. 188. New York: Fordham University Press, 1933.

In the Preface the author says: 'This little book... is not written for professional philosophers but for undergraduate students of Catholic Universities and Colleges', in order to initiate them 'into a knowledge of the fundamental principles of those numerous systems that have contributed to the chaos of modern thought.' The systems dealt with are those of Locke, Berkeley, Hume and Kant.

'This little book' is remarkably well written: the style is pleasing; the exposition of the various systems, except perhaps that of Kant, is just enough for the end in view; the criticism of the various systems is clear and direct.

Its great merit is that it discusses the systems in a wide historical setting. Such a treatment is very instructive. Systems are not merely cold-blooded constructions of thought, but often enough arise out of the stress and strain of the times acting on individual and even national temperaments; and a deeper insight into a system often requires an account both of the thinker's life and of the history of the time in which he lived. From this point of view as also from that of arrangement the three chapters on Berkeley are the best part of the book.

The chapter on Kant, however, does not seem quite satisfactory. The author writes: 'An adequate and detailed examination of Kant is beyond the scope of this little book.' Now it may be asked if any account of Kant which is not to a certain extent adequate and detailed can be satisfactory. And it is doubtful if an undergraduate, reading these twenty pages, will find himself sufficiently initiated into Kant's system.

There is also a point on which it is rather difficult to agree with the author. He includes Kant in the English School. The reasons given (pp. 14, 15) to show that 'Kant belongs to the English School' do not seem to be sufficiently convincing. On p. 150 the author writes: 'His (Kant's) avowed purpose was to refute Hume and to retrieve the fallen fortunes of bankrupt philosophy, and on lines of thought and points of view which no other philosopher in history had hitherto conceived. Kant, then, inaugurates a new epoch in Modern Thought.' There is no difficulty in accepting all this, but then one does not see how Kant can be included in the English School.

W. Utarid.

THE PHILOSOPHY AND PSYCHOLOGY OF SENSATION. By CH. HARTSHORNE. Pp. XIV + 288. Chicago University Press, 1934. Price \$ 3.

This book is an answer to the question: What is sensation? To answer this question by any attempt to find out something more fundamental than sensation in consciousness must be considered a loss of time, if the current theory of sensation is true; for, as William James puts it, 'sensations are first things in the way of consciousness' (Principles).

The author of *The Philosophy and Psychology of Sensation*, however, disagrees with this current theory of sensation. He attempts to analyse sensation into its more elementary constituents and sets forth the theory of 'affective continuum'. According to this theory, feeling is more fundamental than sensation, so that feeling is the 'first thing in the way of consciousness', and when this feeling becomes externally localized in phenomenal space it becomes sensation.

Feeling, then, is the stuff of which sensations are made. From this it follows that there is no distinction of modality between different kinds of sensations. But much more interesting is the hypothesis that 'sound and color are much more alike than different, that indeed a sound may be far more like a certain color than it is like certain other sounds, or than the color is like certain other colors'. Even more than this, the colour itself can become a warm, soft tone, or the tone itself can become red.

A priori there seems to be no difficulty in admitting that feeling may be a more elementary psychical reaction than sensation. If an amoeba has any consciousness, the reaction of its protoplasm to light is more likely to give rise to a confused feeling than to a definite sensation of light. But it is difficult to see how this feeling when objectified can ever cease to be a feeling and become a sensation of light. On introspective grounds, it seems rather difficult to admit that consciousness of redness is not an experience *sui generis*, however much a red colour might suggest a feeling of warmth, or even when it is succeeded by a feeling of warmth.

The philosophical development of this theory of 'affective continuum', as the author himself remarks, is highly tentative. This development is the extension of the fundamental idea so as to embrace the entire content of consciousness, so that every psychical activity is at bottom a feeling, and the mind itself a 'feeling of feeling'. Thus the nature of mind is nothing but a 'potential continuum of affective tones'. This theory of mind seems to differ very little from that of Condillac, the only difference being that here feeling takes the place of sensation.

Whether one agrees with the author's fundamental position or not, the book presents a new point of view in the study of psychology, advantageously emphasizes the concomitant existence of feeling in sense-experience, and provokes thought. It is written in a truly philosophic spirit, the spirit of inquiry in order to arrive at the truth.

W. Utarid.

VARIA

THE DREAM OF THE ROOD. Edited By BRUCE DICKINS and ALAN S. G. ROSS. Pp. 50. London: Methuen's Old English Library. Price 2s.

*The Dream of the Rood*¹ is one of the most pious poems of Christian Britain. It has come down to us in three texts. The earliest is the Ruthwell Cross, a large carved and inscribed cross, about 18 feet high, now preserved in the Church of Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire, and dating probably from the beginning of the eighth century. The most complete text is found on folios 104b to 106a of the Vercelli Book, a manuscript of Old English poetry and prose which has been for centuries preserved in the Cathedral Library at Vercelli, and probably belongs to the second half of the tenth century. The most recent of all is the fragment of two lines from the poem which are inscribed on the silver-work of the Brussels Cross, a wooden relic 14 cm. in height which is now preserved in the sacristy of the Cathedral of St. Michel and Ste. Gudule in Brussels.

There is no evidence to prove that either Caedmon or Cynewulf was the author of the *Dream*. The discovery of a piece of the True Cross by Pope Sergius in 701 may have been the occasion for the introduction of the cult of the Holy Rood in Northumbria. And Abbot Ceolfrith of Wearmouth and Jarrow or one of his fellow-monks may have had the dream of the Rood.

The poet relates how he had a vision in which he saw the True Cross 'reaching to the four corners of the earth as it spread over the sky', and how he was overpowered by its majesty and glory. Then the visionary cross spoke to him: it was once a tree growing in a forest; one day it was cut down and carried away by wicked men to be used as an instrument for torturing malefactors. . . and taken to Calvary, where its own Creator was nailed to it.

I was raised up; I bore the rich King,
Heaven's Lord; I dared not bow to Him.
They drove the dark nails through me; they saw my wounds,
Open wounds of malice—I dared not injure any of them. . .

One would have liked to translate the whole of the Cross's address to the poet, its description of its Master's death, and of His resurrection which was the beginning of its own triumph, for since then it has been no longer an instrument of shame but a shining jewel. But those who are not able to read the original should read at least a translation of this simple but sublime expression of medieval Catholic piety. Though the whole poem is only 156 lines it shows all the advance over *Beowulf* that Christianity had effected in Anglo-Saxon life.

Messrs. Dickins and Ross have edited this gem of Old English poetry with love, and with a scholarship which does not always go with love. They have brought this hitherto inaccessible treasure within the easy reach of the student no less than of the scholar.

T. N. Siqueira.

A WAYFARER IN POLAND. By MORAY MCILAREN, with 18 illustrations and a map. Pp. X+205. London: Methuen, 1934. Price 7s. 6d.

'When a Pole is trying to persuade you to miss a train he is, perhaps, at his most eloquent because it is a subject very near to his heart. He believes that time-tables and trains should be man's servants and not his masters. Trains, buses and aeroplanes are like the waves of an unending sea—there will always be one to succeed the last. Why should one try to catch a train if one doesn't want to? I succumbed at once.' What a strange world it is in which simple common sense like this can be deemed extraordinary enough to have news value! And a common-sense attitude to time and time-tables and locomotion is rare in this speed-maniac, topsy-turvy world. So rare is it that one runs a serious risk of being taken for a freak if one denies some wild statement like: 'It is better to be an hour too soon than to miss one's train'. It is not only absurdly false, in its

¹ Old English *rōd* = cross.

sweeping generality,—as is obvious to any one who will reflect for two minutes—but it is as wild as if one should say : 'It is better to have three legs than to have only one', and so add a third limb to one's body instead of adding a third member to the dilemma.

These reflections are suggested by the circumstance that a genial fellow-traveller and most charming and hospitable hosts combined to rush the present reviewer to Howrah station about an hour earlier than was needful, as if there were not more pleasant places to while away an hour in than Howrah station. It was like balm to my vexed and harried spirit to find in my suit-case a handsome brown volume of Methuen's *Wayfarer* series which told of a people who can consult a railway guide and retain their sanity. To travel across India by a route one has done a couple of times before is not usually a thrilling experience, but to travel with Moray McLaren for a companion would beguile the longest and dullest journey.

From Howrah Bridge one catches intermittent glimpses of the crowded shipping on the Hooghly, and then swiftly one finds oneself approaching the brand-new Polish port of Gdynia : in 1920, half a dozen thatched fishing cottages ; in 1935, 'a miniature New York in the process of construction' with 'white concrete buildings' and 'cranes pointing in all directions', and 'wide new docks', and on the hill beside the town, instead of the statue of Liberty, 'a huge cross flood-lit in the most modern manner', for 'the faith of this modern town is not atheism or agnosticism, it is a fervent Roman Catholicism.' Then one crosses the bay to the Free City of Danzig, which 'has, of course, a certain number of modern buildings, but the eye passes over them and recognizes little but the apparently unending and charming jumble of medieval and eighteenth-century architecture.' At Warsaw, you may see and sample 'bottles of mead that have dreamed for over a hundred and fifty years amidst the dust and cobwebs of Fukier's. . . . They were distilled—or whatever one does with mead—when Poland was still a country. They existed in the darkness and the dust while Poland fell, and thy have lived into an age when Poland has been born again.' Cracow may suggest to you, if you are a Scot, a painted Edinburgh, and Poznan (Posen) may remind you of Oxford, for it 'is essentially a town with a medieval past almost overlaid by an eighteenth-century covering.' One climbs the Tatra mountains and assists at an open-air Mass on the mountainside ; one goes down into a mine and finds oneself in a large church, almost a cathedral, where everything is whiter than in the Duomo of Milan. . . for it is a salt mine. One gets invited to a château in the country and has a day's shooting, returning with a very mixed bag ; one sips—no, sipping is taboo—one drains uncounted little glasses of *vodka* with elaborate ceremony at interminable banquets ; one discusses politics with Poles in the cafés, and then, by way of seeing and hearing the other side, one meets the Jew in his Ghetto, the German in his factory, the Ukrainian on his farm, the Armenian, the Muslim Tartar, the Russian refugee.

The publishers have helped the author by providing a very clear sketch-map of Poland, eighteen excellent photographs, and print that one reads with pleasure even in a train.

J. Lauder.



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THE LITERATURE OF EARLY MONASTICISM

By CHRISTOPHER DAWSON

THE end of history is not the collection of facts, but the understanding of the past. An unattainable end, it may seem, for if we cannot understand the present which we have seen, how shall we understand the past which we have not seen ? But it is equally impossible to collect *all* the facts ; and whereas the process of understanding involves real intellectual gains, that of collecting facts, if it is divorced from the other process, is sheer waste of time. The pure fact is of no value to anybody, for it is only when it is brought into relation to some intelligible principle of order that the pure fact becomes an historical fact at all.

The reason why medieval history was so despised by our ancestors was just that it was for them lacking in any principle of intelligibility. For them the Dark Ages were ages without culture, and consequently the facts of their history meant little more than the blind movements of natural forces or the battles of kites and crows. Of course, their idea of culture was a very limited one. Because medieval culture was not their culture, it was not culture at all. Nevertheless, the difficulty is genuine. For if we have no intellectual or spiritual sympathy with the culture of a past age it becomes extremely difficult to study its history even in the most superficial way. We cannot wait, to understand the mind of a past culture, until we have learnt all the facts of its history ; we need some

understanding of its thought and of its spiritual structure at the beginning of our studies as well as at the end.

This is why the study of the literature of the past is so essential to historical studies in general. Every book is a key to the minds of the men who wrote it and also to the minds of the men who read it, if it was, so to speak, a part of their regular mental diet ; for in that case they assimilated it into their own lives to some extent, though, no doubt, it was also changed in the process of assimilation. For example, the Bible had a very different meaning to the seventeenth century Puritan from that which it had to the post-exilic Jews. Nevertheless, something of the Bible passed into the Puritan mind and thus contributed to the formation of Puritan culture.

We recognize this readily enough in the case of literature that makes some appeal to our own minds. We realize the historical value of great literature—the light that writers like Dante and Chaucer and Shakespeare throw on the culture of their age,—and we write books,—too many of them, indeed,—on ‘Shakespeare’s England’ and ‘the Age of Dante’ and the rest. But we are apt to neglect the books that do not interest us, but which interested the mind of the past often far more than the books which we regard as the great books of the age. Actually it is these secondary books that are the most valuable for historical purposes. We cannot read Shakespeare as his contemporaries read him, for we cannot put out of our minds all that he means to us. But if we take secondary writers like Muretus or Speroni or George Buchanan, who mean nothing to us, we can read them in a really historical spirit for the light which they throw on the mind of the age ; and the very fact that we no longer appreciate them may help us to realize the distinctive qualities of the age and culture that appreciated them so much.

I have quoted these examples from Renaissance literature rather than from that of the age that I am going to write about, because when one comes to patristic literature it is unfortunately impossible to take for granted that *any* books are now well known or read for their own sake. The reading of the Fathers like other things has its booms and its slumps. Thomas Mozley described in an amusing passage of his *Reminiscences* how the Oxford Movement produced a boom in editions of the Fathers. Another and a much greater one occurred in the seventeenth century, owing partly but not entirely to the Jansenist controversy. Now we are down at the bottom of a depression again. Nobody reads the Fathers for pleasure and very few for edification : in fact, very few people read them at all. There is hardly any large body of literature that is more completely neglected by the educated public, though curiously enough the Latin literature of the Renaissance is in much the same case.

This neglect of patristic literature is very unfortunate from the historian's point of view, because there is no literature in the world that has been of greater historical importance in the past, or that has done more to mould men's minds. In the first place, they were the books of ages that had few books ; and, in the second place, they were read not as we read books now, hurriedly, either for amusement or in order to get material for some work we are engaged on. They were read slowly and painfully and lovingly. They were treated as inspired works, as the intellectual and spiritual patrimony of humanity, which could not be added to or improved, but which must be read and commented and copied, until they had become incorporated into the very structure of the medieval mind. Thus what Augustine said was reproduced in a simplified form by Gregory and re-adapted by Bede, until finally it was handed on to the vernacular literatures,

as in the Anglo-Saxon homilies, to become the staple fare of popular religious instruction, and thence finally to re-emerge into later literature as part of the common coin of intellectual currency.

Now many of the books which thus passed into the common stock of Western culture are still comparatively well known, for example, St. Augustine's *Confessions* and *The City of God*, the *Consolation of Philosophy* of Boëthius, and the *Rule of St. Benedict*. But there are others which had no less importance in their time but are now almost forgotten. First among them I would put the collections of the sayings of the Egyptian monks, usually known as the *Apothegmata*, or in the Latin version as the *Sayings of the Elders*. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of these collections. They are to be found in every part of Christendom and in almost every language—in Greek and Latin, in Syriac and Coptic, in Georgian and Armenian. They consist of an immense number of anecdotes, maxims and conversations attributed to the leaders of Egyptian monasticism of the fourth and the early fifth century, and above all to those of the desert of Scetis, the modern Wadi Natrun on the East of the Libyan Desert.

The late Wilhelm Bousset devoted the last years of his life to the study of these collections and came to the conclusion that they represented a genuine contemporary tradition of the school of Abba Poemen, one of the last great leaders of Scetic monasticism, and were finally collected and codified in the later part of the fifth century. The golden age of monasticism in Scetis came to an end with the invasion by the desert tribes early in the fifth century which led to the migration of Poemen, and which is referred to in several of the sayings of the Fathers, as for example in the words of Arsenius: 'the world has lost Rome and the monks have lost Scetis.'

Thus the work has a unique value for the history of early monasticism, since it brings us into immediate contact with a living oral tradition. The other chief sources for the history of Egyptian monasticism, Athanasius, Jerome, the *Historia Monachorum*, Palladius and Cassian are, in spite of their earlier date, comparatively literary and second-hand. They are interpretations of Egyptian monasticism to the cultured Graeco-Latin world. But the sayings of the Fathers are entirely devoid of literary sophistication ; they are the real thing : fragments miraculously preserved from the daily life and conversation of a vanished world which was almost as distant from the world of Graeco-Roman culture to which the bulk of patristic literature belongs as it is from our own.

For the monasticism of Scetis belonged to the native Egyptian tradition, in contrast to that of Nitria and the neighbourhood of Alexandria where Greek influence predominated. As Bousset remarks, the sayings of the Fathers belong to the same oriental world as the Synoptics. The Fathers of the Desert were wont, like Jesus Himself, to speak in parables, or, like the Hebrew prophets, to bring their meaning home to their hearers by symbolic or dramatic actions. Their teaching is embodied, not in sermons or formal treatises, but in the brief pithy apophthegm or *logion* which has given its name to this literature. 'Speak a word to the brethren', 'Say a word that I may be saved',—these are the typical formulas that preface the anecdotes, and the answers were regarded as inspired oracles in the monastic world. Monks would come long journeys to visit one of the 'great old men', as they were called, and would often wait for days until an answer was vouchsafed. We may quote the following anecdote of Abba Pambo as a characteristic example :—

On one occasion certain brethren came to Abba Pambo, and one of them asked him, saying : 'Father, I fast two days at a time and then I eat two bread

cakes ; shall I gain life, O father, or am I making a mistake ?' And another asked him and said : 'I perform work each day to the value of two carats, and I keep a few obols by me for my food, and the remainder I spend upon the relief of the poor ; shall I be redeemed, O father, or am I making a mistake ?' And the other brethren asked of him many things, but he answered them never a word. Now after four days they were wishing to depart, and the clergy entreated them saying : 'O brethren, trouble not ye yourselves for God will give you a reward. The custom of the old man is not to speak immediately, for he doth not speak until God giveth him permission to do so.' Then the brethren went to the old man and said unto him : 'Father, pray for us', and he said unto them : 'Do ye wish to depart ?' And they said unto him : 'Yes.' Then he took their actions into consideration and he put himself in the attitude of one who writes on the ground, and said : 'Pambo, one fasteth two days at a time and then eateth two bread cakes ; shall he become a monk by such things as these ? No ! Pambo, another worketh for two carats a day and then giveth to those who are in need ; shall he become a monk by such things as these ? No !' And being silent a little, he said : 'Thy work is good and if thou preservest thy conscience with thy neighbour, thou shalt live.' And being consoled by these words, the brethren departed rejoicing.¹

It is characteristic of this type of monasticism that there was no rule and no system of organization. The unit was the individual monk and his disciple whom he trained in the ascetical life like the *guru* and his *chela* in India, and the ultimate authority was neither that of the priest nor that of the community, but the counsels of the old men who were regarded as the organs of the spirit.

It was said of a certain great old man that if any man came to ask of him a word, he would answer with great confidence : 'Behold I take upon myself the Person of God and I sit on the seat of judgment. What then dost thou wish that I should do for thee ?'

And they used to say that the face of Abba Pambo was like lightning even as Moses received the glory of the likeness of Adam, and that his face shone and that he was as a King that sitteth upon his throne ; and thus it was with Abba Silvanus and Abba Sisoës.²

Dr. Coulton has¹ written that the essential feature of monasticism is its institutional character and that the monk is the Institutional Christian writ large ; but whatever may be the case in the Western Middle Ages, it was

¹ *The Paradise of the Fathers*, translated by Wallis Budge, II, 84.

² *Op. cit.*, II 188, 144.

certainly not so in this earliest type of monasticism. Its ideal was essentially a charismatic one : that is to say, it was the enemy of set forms and rules and laid emphasis on the all-importance of the spirit.

On one occasion Abba Macarius said : 'Verily, virginity by itself is nothing, nor marriage, nor life as a monk, nor life in the world ; for God seeketh the desire of a man and giveth the spirit unto every man.' And Abba John Kolobos used to say of the monastic life :

The whole company of the holy men is like a garden that is full of fruit-bearing trees of various kinds, and where the trees are planted in one soil and all of them drink from one fountain ; and thus it is with all the holy men, for they have not one rule only but several varieties, and one man laboureth in one way and another man in another, but it is one spirit that operateth and worketh in them all.¹

Even in the matter of the asceticism which was such a characteristic feature of Egyptian monasticism, there is no attempt to lay down an absolute rule. The contemplative life was the essential thing and corporal austerities were secondary. Thus one of the brethren asks Abba Hierax : 'Say a word to me. How shall I be saved ?' And the Abba answers : 'Sit in thy cell. If thou art hungry, eat ; drink if thou art thirsty ; speak no ill of any man, and thou shalt be saved.' And another of the old men says : 'Fasting has its reward, but he who eateth (with the brethren) for the sake of love, fulfilleth two commandments, for he setteth aside his own desire and he refresheth the brethren.'²

On the other hand, there is also a strong aversion to individualism and reliance on a man's own will. 'If thou seest a young man going up to heaven after his own will, catch him by the leg and pull him down again, for thus will a man help him', says one *logion*, and many of the anecdotes describe with considerable gusto how the great

¹ Op. cit., II, 151, 148.

² Op. cit., II, 90.

old men used to score off self-important visitors who tried to impress the solitaries with their excessive piety. Thus on one occasion a certain monk came to visit Abba Sylvanus and he saw the brethren working with their hands to supply their wants, and he said unto Abba Sylvanus boastfully : 'Ye toil for the bread which perisheth, Mary has chosen the better part.' Then Abba Sylvanus said to Zechariah, his disciple : 'Give him a book and take him to a cell where there is nothing.' And when the time of the ninth hour had come the brother looked this way and that way to see if they were going to send for him to come and eat, but no man came to seek him. Then he rose and came to the old man and said unto him : 'Father, have not the brethren eaten to-day ?' And he said unto him : 'Yea.' And the brother said unto him : 'Why have ye not called me ?' The old man said unto him : 'Thou art a spiritual man and hast no need of the meat which is for the body, but we are corporeal beings, and we require to eat, and it is for this reason that we work. Thou hast chosen the good part ; read all day, and do not seek after the food of the body.' Now when that brother heard this he expressed his contrition, and said : 'Father, forgive me', and the old man said : 'Even Mary had need of Martha, for through the labour of Martha Mary triumphed.'¹

One of the most striking features of the *Sayings* is the absence of theological controversies and doctrinal discussions. This is very remarkable when we consider the age from which they date and the prominence which the chronicles of Syrian monasticism give to these questions. The Scetic monasticism, on the contrary, is marked by its predominantly practical and ethical spirit. 'Talking about faith and the knowledge of opinions dry up the heart, but the lives and the words of the Old Men

¹ Op. cit., II, 156

enlighten the soul,' is one of their sayings. And even the reading of the Scriptures was sometimes discouraged for the same reason. 'It is better,' they said, 'to speak of the Old Men than of the Scriptures, for there is no small danger in such things, but silence is best of all.'

But where this literature differs most from the ordinary hagiographical material, both ancient and medieval, is in the comparatively small part taken by the miraculous element. When we consider that the total number of sayings and anecdotes amounts to well over a thousand, it is really astonishing that the section devoted to miracles should contain only fourteen items in the Syriac version and seventeen in the Latin. The diabolical element is much more widely represented, for the ascetical life was conceived essentially as a warfare with the powers of evil, and it would have been regarded almost as an anomaly if a monk had not experienced the hostility of his spiritual enemies. Consequently the existence of this element does not detract from the historical value of the work,—on the contrary, its absence would give a very one-sided impression of the spiritual world in which the Egyptian monk spent his life.

Thus taken as a whole the book of the sayings of the Fathers gives a remarkably faithful and direct impression of Egyptian monasticism in its golden age. It gives us some idea of the originality and spontaneity of the monastic spirit and makes us understand the immense effect that it produced upon contemporary society. To an over-cultured society like that of the Roman Empire, which had long lost all direct contact with realities and which lived on the repetition of rhetorical commonplaces such as fill the works of Libanius and Themistius and Claudian, the sight of these old men of the desert, 'who spoke with authority and not as the scribes', was a new

and impressive experience. It was as though the Biblical world which was so strange and foreign to the mind of Greek and Roman culture had become a present reality, and they seemed to see before their eyes those heroes of the faith of whom they had read—the men 'of whom the world was not worthy, wandering in deserts and mountains and in dens and caves of the earth'.

This impression is reflected in all the contemporary writings on monasticism emanating from the educated world, such as those of Jerome and Palladius, and especially in the prefaces to the *Historia Monachorum* and in the Latin *Dicta Seniorum*, and it sometimes appears in the *Apophthegmata* themselves, especially in the sayings of Arsenius who with Evagrius was the great representative of Graeco-Roman culture in the monastic world. Thus, on one occasion, Arsenius was asked how it was that he who possessed so much Latin and Greek learning should trouble to ask an Egyptian peasant about his thoughts. And he made answer : 'With Greek and Latin learning I am well acquainted, but I have not yet learned the alphabet of this peasant.'

The fact is that Egyptian monasticism created a new type of Christian spirituality : we may almost say, a new type of Christianity ; and this became one of the formative elements in the Christian tradition and one of the creative forces in Byzantine and medieval culture. The humanistic prejudice has become so deeply implanted in the Western mind that we find it difficult to admit the importance of any element in our traditions that is not Greek or Latin, and even when it is admitted, it is regarded as a very damaging admission, as, for example, by Dr. Barnes when he spoke the other day of Catholicism as the embodiment of the religious traditions of the Mediterranean world. We forget that these aborigines were the heirs of a longer and prouder tradition of

culture than either the Greeks or the Romans, and that if this tradition had borne no spiritual fruit in Christianity but had been destroyed by the contact with the new religion, it would be nothing for Christianity to be proud of.

It is true that this Egyptian development is not a cultural development in the ordinary sense. There is little or no direct carrying over of the old forms of Egyptian culture, such as we find in the classical world. It was, however, something much deeper—the preservation of spiritual freedom, which means more to a people than any outward forms. The native tradition of culture had indeed survived right down to Roman times, but it was nothing more than a survival—a cultural fossil which was no longer capable of being made the vehicle of a living religion. On the other hand, the living tradition of Graeco-Egyptian culture, the culture of Alexandria, was a bastard growth like the modern Levantine culture of the Eastern Mediterranean, and it was incapable of satisfying the deeper needs of the Egyptian soul. And hence the living spirit of Egyptian religion expressed itself neither in the one nor in the other. The Egyptian soul left the world of culture and went out into the desert where it could strip off the borrowed garments of Greek culture and establish a direct contact between the elementary truths of Christianity and its own elementary needs.

This return to the desert is characteristic of oriental religion. We find it in the Old Testament where the various movements of prophetic reform were inspired by a reaction from the corruptions of the rich settled civilization of Syria to the spirit of Sinai and Horeb : 'I have remembered thy youth and the love of thy espousals when thou followedst me in the desert, in a land that is not sown.'

And in the same way Egyptian religion turned to the desert as the home of spiritual freedom and the place where a people can recover its lost soul.

On one occasion Abba Ammon came to Abba Sisoës and he saw that the old man was grieved because he had left the desert; and Abba Ammon said unto him: 'Why art thou distressed, O father? What wast thou able to do in the desert in thine old age?' And the old man Sisoës looked at him fiercely and said: 'What sayest thou to me, Ammon? Are not the mere thoughts of the freedom which is in the desert better for us?'

This new spirituality born in the desert from the marriage of Christian and Egyptian traditions made no less important a contribution to Catholicism than the Greek and Latin elements. It is true that its importance is less obvious, since it did not find expression in thought, as was the case with the Greeks, or in action, as with the Latins. It remained a purely and exclusively religious force, but for that very reason its influence in the sphere of pure religion was incalculable.

Nor was that influence limited to Egypt itself; it spread with extraordinary rapidity from one end of the Christian world to the other. The monastic development, which was in its origins purely Egyptian, became an integral part of Christian culture from Ireland to Persia, and wherever it went it carried with it the lives of the Egyptian fathers and the sayings of the 'great old men' of Scetis and Nitria. No literature is more international than the literature of early monasticism, and, on the whole, no literature has been better preserved. The Sayings of the Fathers, Palladius, the life of St. Anthony, the *Historia Monachorum*, the Rules of Pachomius and of St. Basil, the writings of Evagrius of Pontus, Isaiah of Scetis, Isidore of Pelusium and the rest, exist in numberless MSS and translations and adaptations.

It is true that much remains to be done in regard to this literature, and there are still numerous questions of

attribution and authenticity to be settled. It is only during the last few years that it has been shown to be probable, if not certain, that one of the classical documents of ancient ascetical literature, the Homilies of St. Macarius, is the work not of its reputed author but of an unknown Messalian heretic. Nevertheless, works like Dom Cuthbert Butler's edition of Palladius, Bousset's studies on the Sayings of the Fathers, the life of Pachomius and the writings of Evagrius, and Heussl's studies on the writings attributed to St. Nilus, have laid the foundations of the scientific study of the subject, and it is already possible to trace the origin and diffusion of monastic ideals without much risk of serious error.

This is especially the case in regard to the Western development, for here there is no lack of authentic documentation. Above all, we have in the work of John Cassian a direct link between the monasticism of Scetis and lower Egypt and the monastic origins in the West, and it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of his influence on Western monasticism. There is still some uncertainty as to Cassian's own nationality.¹ But there is no doubt that he was a monk of Bethlehem and that he spent a number of years at the close of the fourth century visiting the monks of Scetis and the Delta. Soon after 400 he was ordained deacon at Constantinople by St. John Chrysostom, and shortly afterwards he was sent to Rome as the envoy of St. John Chrysostom's party to the Papacy at the time of his deposition. On leaving Rome about 410, he went to the south of Gaul and became the founder of the great double monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles. Here he was in close relations with the founder of Lerins, St. Honoratus,

¹ According to Gennadius he was a 'Scythian', and this has been interpreted as referring to the district known as Scythia on the Lower Danube, the modern Dobrudja, or by a somewhat strained interpretation it has been taken to mean that he was a native of Scythopolis in Palestine.

and his disciple St. Eucher, and with the monks and solitaries of the islands of Hyeres.

The rocky and barren islands of the Western Mediterranean were the best available substitute for the oases of the Egyptian desert, and as early as the fourth century the islands off the west coast of Italy possessed a considerable number of monks. It is interesting to contrast the description of them given by St. Ambrose in his *Hexameron* with the passionate invective of Rutilius Namatianus some years later. St. Ambrose writes in an almost lyrical strain of these 'islands of God lying like a necklace on the face of the sea where the mysterious sound of waves mingles with the chant of hymns, and while the waters break upon the shore with a gentle murmur the islands resound with the peaceful chorus of the saints.' 'Behold', says Namatian, 'Capraia rises from the sea, an island lousy with wretches who hate the light. They call themselves by the Greek name of monks because they wish to live alone without witnesses. They fear the gifts of fortune as much as its loss. . . What folly of a perverse mind can be greater than to refuse the goods of life for fear of the evil? . . . I ask whether this sect is not worse than all the poisons of Circe. Those changed the body, but these the mind itself.'

So different do the same things appear to men of opposite traditions, and when we consider how alien were the ideals of the Egyptian monk from those of the Roman civic tradition, it is not surprising that monasticism had some difficulty in adapting itself to Western ideas. It was only after it had found interpreters in Jerome, John Cassian and Sulpicius Severus that it struck its roots into the soil of Western culture. Sulpicius Severus in his *Dialogues* and his *Life of St. Martin* was one of the greatest popularizers of the monastic ideal, but his work

is that of the cultivated amateur and does not penetrate very deeply into the essential spirit of monasticism. Cassian, on the other hand, had a real first-hand knowledge of the inner life of the Egyptian desert, and the works which he wrote for the monks of Southern Gaul—the *Institutes*, composed from 419-426, and the *Collations* or conferences, dating from 420-429—are respectively the primer and the advanced textbook of Western monasticism. No books save the Bible and St. Augustine have been read more assiduously throughout the Middle Ages and indeed down to the seventeenth century, and even the unorthodox theological views of their author did little to diminish their popularity.¹ It was one of the very few books translated (at least partially) from Latin into Greek, and highly valued by the Eastern Church. It was regarded as a classic by St. Benedict and Cassiodorus, and was recommended by the former together with the Sayings of the Fathers and the Rule of St. Basil as a book to be constantly read and meditated on. Moreover, it also had a great influence on the development of the Divine Office in the West, and even the presence of the responses : 'O God, make haste to help us', &c., in every Western liturgy seems to owe its origin to the chapter of the *Collations* in which Isaac of Scetis recommends its frequent use.

Thus whoever wishes to understand the spirit of medieval monasticism must know his Cassian from cover to cover, and it would be an interesting study, though one of which I am quite incapable, to trace the influence of his views and the echo of his very words through medieval literature down to Gerard of Zutphen and Denys the Carthusian and even further still to that

¹ An expurgated edition was produced by an African bishop, but it was not very widely read.

Treatise on Christian Perfection by Alfonso Rodriguez which has perhaps done more than any book except the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius to form the spirit of the Society of Jesus.

Nevertheless, it is doubtful how far we can regard the work of Cassian as an authentic document for the history of early Egyptian monasticism. It was written more than twenty years after Cassian left Egypt, and it is not likely that he made detailed notes of his conversations with his Egyptian teachers. His reminiscences differ from the *Sayings of the Fathers* by their length, their homiletic character and the rhetorical elaboration of their style. Yet the underlying material is similar and sometimes actually identical, and we have the impression that Cassian has written up sayings and anecdotes that belong to the same oral tradition as that of which the *Sayings of the Fathers* are the product. But is it possible that these similarities are due to direct literary borrowings? Some of the later material to be found in the *Sayings of the Fathers* is undoubtedly derived from Cassian. On the other hand, there are some parallel passages in which Cassian's version seems obviously a secondary development from the more primitive form of the *Apophthegmata*, and consequently Bousset argues that Cassian already made use of a written collection of sayings and anecdotes which would represent one of the lost sources of the later collection.

I do not feel capable of giving an opinion on this point, but obviously if we accept Bousset's view the antiquity and the historical value of the *Sayings* are even greater than is usually supposed. In any case, there is no doubt that the oral tradition must have been already codified before the sixth century, for the different Latin collections of *Sayings of the Fathers* all belong to that century, and the most important of them—the collection

translated by Pelagius and John, respectively Deacon and Subdeacon of the Roman Church (who may perhaps be identified with Pope Pelagius I and Pope John III, 555-574) is derived from a lost Greek original which was itself based on the alphabetical collection of Apophthegmata that was published by Cotelier in the seventeenth century and reprinted by Migne in the *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 65. Finally, early in the seventh century we have the Syriac version of Anan Isho¹ which forms part of his great collective work on the lives of the Fathers, a work which corresponds fairly closely with the Latin collection known as the *Vitae Patrum* which was the basis of Rosweyde's great compilation.

This was the form in which all the literature of Egyptian monasticism was known to the medieval West, but it is not clear when it was finally formed or how we are to explain its close similarity to the work of Anan Isho, the Nestorian monk. The main difference between the Eastern and Western collections is that Jerome's Lives of the Fathers take the first place in the latter and perhaps give their name to the collection, while in the East it is the Lausiak History of Palladius that has the place of honour and gives its name to the whole work. Nevertheless, some of the Western MSS and the earliest printed edition contain Palladius, while the Eastern collections include the *Historia Monachorum*, which they ascribe to St. Jerome instead of to Rufinus. St. Athanasius' life of St. Anthony is common to both East and West, but the versions of the life of Pachomius which exist in Greek and in Latin are entirely different from the section devoted to Pachomius in the work of Anan Isho, though this also appears to have had a Greek original. On the other hand,

¹ This is the only version which has been translated into English and is easily accessible to the general public.

while the Greek and the Syriac agree in possessing a much more extensive collection of the Sayings of the Fathers than is to be found in Latin, they differ from each other in arrangement and to some extent in material, while there is a remarkable agreement between the Syriac and the smaller Latin collections, from which Bousset concludes that it is these (rather than the Greek collection and the larger Latin collection which is related to it) that represent the oldest and purest tradition.

The earliest MS of the Western collective work mentioned by Rosweyde is the MS of St. Florian, transcribed in the year 818 by a monk who accompanied the Emperor Lewis the Pious in his expedition to Dalmatia.

'Hic liber fuit inchoatus in Hunia in exercitu A. D. 818. Non. Jun. et perfinatus apud S. Florianum II id. Sep.' This contains St. Athanasius' life of St. Anthony, Jerome's lives of Paul, Hilarion and Malchus, the *Historia Monachorum* and the lesser Latin collections of the Sayings. Thus the collective work dates back at least to the Carolingian period in the West, and it would be interesting to know whether its composition was influenced by the existence of older Greek and Oriental collections or whether the resemblance is simply due to a parallel process of compilation. In either case, it is a remarkable proof of the uniformity of the monastic culture that this great collection—the Bible of the Monks—should have developed on such similar lines in Eastern and Western Christendom; in fact, the same books, the same stories and the same sayings were read not only in Germany and Italy and Asia Minor and Russia, but far away in the Nestorian monasteries in the interior of Asia, may be as far as China, and in the Monophysite monasteries of distant Ethiopia.

Skipton.

THE GROWTH OF THE POLITICAL CONSCIENCE IN CEYLON

By S. J. K. CROWTHER

CEYLON is India in miniature. In this island of 25,000 square miles and a population of 5,300,000, mainly descendants of early settlers from India, are reproduced as in a microcosm many of the elements of India's problems. The caste system prevails in Ceylon, though it is not the grim reality that it has become in India. Cleavages of race and religion exist, but they are not so deep-seated as they are in India. For these reasons the development of political responsibility in Ceylon is of some interest, because, *mutatis mutandis*, Ceylon has recently made trial of some of the expedients and experiments which are proposed for India.

EARLY YEARS

On January 1, 1802, by virtue of the Peace of Amiens, Ceylon became a British Crown Colony. Its government was carried on by a Council consisting of the Chief Justice, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Chief Secretary. This Constitution held good till 1833, when an Executive Council and a Legislative Council were set up, the former consisting of five senior officials and the latter of ten other officials. In 1837 the first signs of popular representation appeared with the addition of two unofficial members to the Legislative Council. In 1845 the number

of unofficial members was increased to six, and in 1889 to eight.

No change was made in the Constitution during the next twenty years, but the ineffectuality of the Legislative Council as a vehicle of public opinion was emphasized more than once when the opinion of the unofficial members was unceremoniously brushed aside by the Governor. This led to a mild and spasmodic agitation for a less irresponsible form of government. As a result the Council was remodelled in 1910 so as to consist of eleven official and ten unofficial members. On this occasion the elective principle appeared in the Legislative Council for the first time. Of the ten unofficial members four were elected, two to represent the European, one the Ceylonese, and one the Burgher community.

The election of the Ceylonese member was remarkable for the manner in which the newly enfranchised voters used their opportunity. The electorate was a small one, less than 3,000. The candidates were the late Mr. (later Sir) P. Ramanathan, who had, after a brilliant career at the Bar, retired from the office of Solicitor-General, and Dr. (later Sir) H. M. Fernando, an eminent physician and Fellow of University College, London. Ramanathan was by religion a Hindu, by race a Tamil, both minority communities. Fernando is a Sinhalese, belonging to the majority community, and a Catholic. Ramanathan was a brilliant speaker and a redoubtable fighter, and the Sinhalese so overwhelmingly supported him against their fellow-Sinhalese that 1,645 votes were cast for him as against 981 for Dr. Fernando. In this contest the personal factor decided the issue, and neither race nor religion counted.

With the entry of Ramanathan into the Legislative Council, Ceylon politics assumed a new phase. True to his reputation as a fighter, Ramanathan espoused the

popular cause with a vehemence that brought him into frequent conflict with the Government. A matter of acute controversy at this time was the Government's excise policy, which, it was believed—mistakenly, as events proved later—, would flood the country with drink. Buddhism, which had been under an eclipse with the decline of Sinhalese sovereignty, had begun to revive under the inspiration of Colonel Olcott. The leaders of the Buddhist revival saw in the excise controversy a chance shaped to their ends. The temperance cry raised by them swept the country and stirred up opposition to the Government's excise policy in the Sinhalese districts.

The War supervened at this stage, tending to produce a panic mentality among the British officials who were resentful of the success of the temperance movement. In 1915 a riot occurred in an up-country town between some Buddhists and Muslims in connexion with a dispute over a mosque. Owing to weak handling in its initial stages, the riot quickly spread over the Sinhalese districts. Some Muslims were killed, more were injured, and considerable damage was done to their property. The Government, believing the worst, proclaimed martial law, threw hundreds of Sinhalese into prison,—among them three of the Ministers of to-day and the Deputy-Speaker of the present State Council,—and inflicted such ruthless punishment on the Sinhalese generally that it swung popular feeling violently against the Government.

THE REFORM MOVEMENT

The opportunity was cleverly seized by the most adroit politician of modern Ceylon, the late Sir P. Arunachalam. This younger brother of Ramanathan was one of the few Ceylonese of the early days to

enter the coveted ranks of the Civil Service. A man of ability and determination, he rose to be Registrar-General and a member of the Executive and Legislative Councils. As an official member of the latter, in defiance of the rule that officials must always vote with the Government, he on one occasion in open Council asked for the Governor's permission and voted against the Government. On his retirement, he had just begun to devote himself to social service when the aftermath of the riot soon brought him to the fore. His brother, Ramanathan, had already gone on a mission to Whitehall, crossing the torpedo-infested seas to plead the cause of the Sinhalese people. His object was to secure the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the cause and the quelling of the riots of 1915. He was supported in this mission by Mr. (now Sir) D. B. Jayatilake on his release from prison, and by Mr. E. W. Perera, who narrowly escaped arrest. They had the generous financial support of the three Senanayake brothers who were prominent among the riot prisoners.

In Ceylon Arunachalam organized a political campaign which swiftly gathered strength and prestige. His contention was that so long as the government was not responsible to the people, the latter were inevitably exposed to such experiences as they had recently suffered. A repetition of unsympathetic and autocratic methods of government could be prevented only by responsible government. Having inside knowledge of its machinery, he was able to build up a formidable case against the Government, which he charged with keeping down the people in order to further the interests of British commerce.

His campaign met with unexpected success, and for the first time Sinhalese and Tamils made a united demand for political reform. A lofty idealism inspired the move-

ment. On the theory that, despite communal differences, there existed a Ceylonese nation, Arunachalam and his followers pressed for the abolition of communal representation in the Council. They also asked for a widening of the franchise and the replacement of the official majority in the Council by a majority of elected members. Proposals were also made for the reform of the Executive Council. Another notable demand of these politicians, who belonged mostly to the moneyed classes, was for the imposition of an income-tax with a view to relieving the burden of indirect taxation which, they insisted, pressed heavily on the poorer classes. This was the contribution of the mild Sinhalese leader, the late Mr. (later Sir) James Pieris, who had sacrificed a career at the Bar to devote himself to social and political work.

The campaign coalesced in the Ceylon National Congress with Arunachalam as President and Pieris as Vice-President. The Government grudgingly yielded—to a point. An Order-in-Council was passed abolishing the official majority in the Legislative Council and reconstituting it with 14 official and 23 unofficial members, of whom eleven were to be elected on a territorial basis and eight others to represent special interests and communities. Though the official majority was thus to disappear, the balance of power was so cleverly adjusted that the Governor's will was bound to prevail. To make assurance doubly sure the Governor was also given the power to declare a measure 'of paramount importance' passed, notwithstanding the opposition of the unofficial members, if it had the support of the official minority.

The manner in which these reforms were introduced without consulting public opinion in Ceylon, and on some points in opposition to it, provoked a furious outcry. Then, for the first time in Ceylon politics, the Island consciously copied Indian methods of political agitation.

This was another noteworthy trait in the development of Ceylon's political conscience. Till the riots of 1915 opinion in Ceylon was by no means sympathetic to Indian political aspirations. Indeed, so imperialistic a temper governed Ceylonese public opinion that irreproachable Indian patriots like Gokhale were branded as 'seditionists'. Its point of view was that of the Anglo-Indian press. The man who began the task of teaching the Ceylonese to think differently was the late Armand de Souza, Editor of the *Ceylon Morning Leader*. An Indian by birth, he had settled in Ceylon and by sheer ability with his pen had become a power in the land. The educative process begun by de Souza was completed by the sufferings endured after the riots. The Ceylonese began to think differently of Indian affairs and they were fired by Mahatma Gandhi's *Satyagraha* campaign. When, therefore, the Order-in-Council of 1921 was promulgated over their heads, the Congress, following the Indian model, launched a boycott of the Council on the ground of the inadequacy of the reforms granted.

The Governor diplomatically compromised. Calling the Congress leaders, he promised to submit their suggestions to Whitehall with a view to further improvement of the Constitution. The boycott was called off and the Congress leaders entered the Council and made their proposals which formed the basis of the Order-in-Council of 1923.

DISINTEGRATION

The boycott of the Council and the Governor's capitulation marked the highest achievement of the Ceylon National Congress. Flushed with this success, the leaders of the Congress quarrelled over the distribution of political power among themselves. A miserable

dispute created a split in the Congress and, most unfortunately, the split was on communal lines, between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. The Sinhalese believed that the Tamils were demanding, as the price of unity, more than their due number of seats in the Legislative Council. The Tamils believed that the Sinhalese had used them as a pawn so long as it suited them to make a show of unity to impress the Government. How far these charges were true will probably never be determined. Amid mutual recriminations Arunachalam, to whose dynamic personality the success of the Congress was largely due, retired in dudgeon and without a seat in the Council. Brooding over his grievances he came to the conclusion that though he himself had preached against communal ways of thought, the people were not to be weaned from thinking communally. He, therefore, organized a communal association in opposition to the Congress. He did not, however, live long enough to carry out his plans. He died while on a pilgrimage in India.

His elder brother, Ramanathan, who had never shared Arunachalam's democratic ideals, continued to propagate the gospel of communalism. He felt himself the more free to do so because he was now in the Council returned by a purely Tamil electorate. He was, moreover, out of sympathy with the younger politicians whose accession to power was keenly resented by this veteran of forty years' experience of the Council.

The Council of 1923 consisted of 12 official and 23 unofficial members, of whom 34 were elected and 3 nominated by the Governor. Of the 34 elected members, 23 represented territorial constituencies and joint electorates. The remaining elected members represented special communities and interests. The franchise was confined to males possessing an income of Rs. 600 a year or immovable property worth Rs. 1,500. The income quali-

fication for members was Rs. 1,500, and the property qualification, Rs. 5,000.

The constitution of this Council was an uncompromising surrender to the Ceylonese demand for an effective say in the conduct of Government. There was no pretence at preserving the balance of power which had definitely passed into the keeping of the representatives of the people. But power is one thing and responsibility is another. And power divorced from responsibility creates irresponsibility. This truth became very quickly apparent as the new Council proceeded to function.

The elected members with their preponderant majority were able to pass or to obstruct every measure as they desired,—without, of course, ever being held responsible for the consequences. The temptation to misuse their power was always present. The Government, on the other hand, striving hard to avoid open discomfiture in the Council and loss of prestige, sought to compromise with the elected members. Government policy thus tended to become a matter of bargains struck between the Government and the Council. It was a policy that held no attraction for Sir Hugh Clifford, who had returned to Ceylon in 1925 as Governor. Thirteen years previously as Colonial Secretary of Ceylon he had shown no inclination to favour the political aspirations of the Ceylonese. He now found a profoundly different set of conditions. Despite his repeated professions to the contrary, Sir Hugh, who had been schooled as boy and man in the Crown 'Colony form of Government, could not endure the new order of things. He asked the Colonial Office to transfer him to his old love, Malaya, where he had begun his remarkable career. Before he departed, he also advised the Colonial Office to send a Commission to inquire into the form of Government in Ceylon.

THE DONOUGHMORE REFORMS

The Commission came in 1927. Its members were the Earl of Donoughmore (Chairman), Sir Geoffrey Butler, Sir Matthew Nathan and Dr. Drummond Shiels. The Commissioners spent several agreeable weeks in Ceylon and heard the evidence, mostly self-contradictory, of all sorts and conditions of people. Their conclusion naturally was that the Ceylonese were not yet fit for responsible government. As a step towards this end they recommended a new constitution which is a disguised form of dyarchy, although the Commissioners protested in their report that they did not favour a dyarchical form of government. The chief features of the new constitution are the abolition of communal representation and the enfranchisement of all males and females above the age of 21 without any literacy or property qualification.

Under the new constitution introduced in 1931, the Legislative Council was replaced by a State Council having both legislative and executive functions. The State Council consists of three official members, fifty elected members, and eight members nominated by the Governor. The three official members, styled Officers of State,—namely the Chief Secretary, the Attorney-General and the Financial Secretary,—have seats on the Board of Ministers as well as in the State Council, in both of which they may speak but cannot vote. The Chief Secretary, the head of the Civil Service, is the Chairman of the Board of Ministers as well as of the Public Service Commission which is in charge of appointments, promotions and transfers. He is also the Minister in charge of Defence and External Affairs. The Attorney-General is the Minister in charge of Law, and the Financial secretary is head of the Treasury and in charge of Finance.

All the other departments of the Government are under the control of seven Standing Committees to which the members of the State Council are assigned in equal numbers. The chairman of each Committee is the Minister. There are thus seven Ministers in charge respectively of Home Affairs ; Agriculture and Lands ; Local Administration ; Health ; Labour, Industry and Commerce ; Education ; and Communications and Works.

Before the new constitution was accepted, there was much agitation about its inadequacy. The Legislative Council was vigorously canvassed to reject it, but by a majority of one the Council decided to accept it.

Four constituencies in the Northern Province populated by the Tamils alone succeeded in boycotting the constitution, but other considerations than the inadequacy of the Constitution are said to have influenced this action.

Elections were held in all the other constituencies. A total of 1,577,932 voters (978,548 males and 599,384 females) had registered themselves, and in those divisions where contests were held sixty per cent of the voters went to the poll. On the whole the contests were fairly fought and there were only one or two cases of appeal to religious prejudice. On the other hand, the people's freedom from racial prejudice was shown in the election of two Europeans and two Indians. For though the Indian immigrant voters, who were the main support of three out of these four candidates, had much to do with their elections, yet it is admitted that on the whole the Sinhalese voters rose nobly above prejudices. This was particularly noticeable in the election of two women as members of the Council.

Though in Ceylon women enjoy a larger social freedom than in India, they had hardly taken any interest in politics till the arrival of the Donoughmore Commission. On a hint from the commissioners a women's

political organization was formed almost overnight and appeared before the Commission asking for the vote. The commissioners recommended a restricted franchise, but the Secretary of State extended it to all women above 21 years of age.

The first woman to be elected was one who had played no part even in this limited political campaign. She was elected by an electorate in which men predominated. The second woman member's election was even more significant. She was elected by one of the Colombo constituencies in which neither those of her sex nor those of her race predominated. Both ladies have given a satisfactory account of themselves in the Council.

THE STATE COUNCIL

The State Council entered on its duties under the worst of auspices. The Depression lay heavy on the land. Tea, rubber and coco-nuts, the main agricultural products, had slumped disastrously. The public revenue had declined so seriously that the first budget presented by the Board of Ministers revealed a serious deficit.

Thanks to these difficulties, the State Council was able to take two steps which had long been overdue. It imposed an income-tax and it set about reducing establishment charges, the personal emoluments of which in particular had swallowed up more than half the public revenue. The imposition of income-tax showed the extent to which power had passed to the people since the last constitution. In the old Council an Income-Tax Ordinance prepared on the basis of a report by an Income-Tax expert from England had been thrown out at the third reading, largely owing to the influence of vested interests. In the State Council the same influences backed by money

were at work, but they could not prevail. A local Commission, appointed at the same time, recommended in addition to a temporary levy the payment of salaries to future entrants to the public services on a rupee basis with an overseas allowance for European officers.

The State Council has happily survived its early crisis. It has just completed its four-year span of office and should have been dissolved in June, but its life has been extended so as to obviate certain difficulties in the preparation of the budget of the new Council. The judgment of impartial observers is that on the whole the State Council has been a success. In estimating its work, allowance must be made for the inexperience of most of the members as well as for the novelty of the constitution. Within the limitations of a constitution which admittedly withheld full responsibility from them, the Council has done well. A great land reform has been instituted by the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. D. S. Senanayake), whose aim is to settle the people on the land which was in danger of passing into the hands of absentee capitalists. Out of consideration for the poorer classes the State Council, while adopting a scheme of Imperial Preference, refused to sanction the restriction of imports of Japanese cloth by means of a 'Quota'. The 'Quota' had thus to be imposed by Order-in-Council. At the instance of the Minister of Labour, Industry and Commerce (Mr. Peri Sundaram, an Indian), Sir S. Pochkhanawala, Managing Director of the Central Bank of India, came to Ceylon, and as Chairman of a Commission has issued a masterly report on banking in Ceylon. The Commission has recommended the establishment of a State-aided bank to meet the needs of the Ceylonese who have long complained against the policy of the existing banks. Preparations are on foot for the establishment of the bank.

These are some of the outstanding achievements of the Council. Its one serious blunder was the passing of a Bill for the relief of Judgment Debtors. Passed during the worst phase of the Depression, it bore evidence of the prevalent panic. The Bill, had it become law, would have done much harm to the credit of Ceylon. The Governor, on instructions from the Secretary of State, has, therefore, withheld his assent from it.

On another matter the Governor and the Council come into conflict once a year,—on the vote for leave passages and holiday warrants of Government employees. The Commission which reported on the reduction of establishment charges recommended a modified scheme for the granting of leave passages and holiday warrants. It suggested that holiday passages, applicable to European officers, should be granted once in five years. The Secretary of State has held that the practice of granting leave passages once in four years should continue because the Constitution requires that the conditions of employment of public servants which existed at its inception should not be altered.

This is one of the grounds on which a section of the State Council is pressing for the withdrawal of the special powers vested in the Governor. From the point of view of this section of the House, who are all Sinhalese, the Governor's special powers are an intolerable restriction of the Council's freedom of action. The rest of the Council, consisting of members representing all the other communities, regard the Governor's powers as highly necessary safeguards to protect the minorities from domination by the majority. When the matter was debated in Council two years ago, the division showed a sharp cleavage, all the Sinhalese members voting on one side and all the other members voting on the other. This is symptomatic of the lack of confidence between

the majority and the minority communities. On the strength of this feeling an effort has been made to revert to some form of communal representation. These endeavours are no more likely to succeed than the faint-hearted efforts for the removal of the safeguards contained in the Governor's special powers.

It may safely be said that so long as the present lack of confidence continues, there will be no further advance towards responsible government. This feeling of distrust has recently been strengthened rather than weakened by two acts of religious favouritism shown by certain of the Buddhists in the Council.

On a large view of the situation, the atmosphere of veiled distrust prevailing at present in Ceylon, far from being an obstacle to further advancement, should serve as a challenge to statesmanship. Ceylon has hitherto advanced by means of reforms imposed on her from above. She has now the chance of advancing, by means of a reform from within, the evolution of a spirit of nationhood which, overleaping all differences of race and religion, will weld all the several communities together. This appears to be the special task of the Sinhalese people, the majority community, who number nearly three and a half millions of the total population of 5,300,000.

Warm-hearted and easy-going, though hot-blooded and impetuous, the Sinhalese are heirs to a great culture and an ancient civilization. They have it in their power to win the trust of their numerically smaller neighbours and make of Ceylon a single, solid, well-contented entity. It is a process that will involve generosity and a measure of self-denial. The sacrifice is, however, well worth the prize—a self-governing Ceylon in every sense of the term.

Colombo.

THE BRILLIANT S. V. BEDE

BY J. P. DE FONSEKA

IF Bede¹ had been a distinguished writer of our time he would have been referred to in our leading journals as the brilliant S. V. Bede (meaning, of course, *Sanctus, Venerabilis*). His works would have been published with fine distinction by, let us say, Mr. Jonathan Cape (unmindful of propaganda), just as Mr. Belloc's works are published with equally fine distinction by Mr. Jonathan Cape (equally unmindful of propaganda). His books would have been chosen by the Book Society and the Book Guild and all other book societies and guilds and the fact announced on a special wrapper with select, advance press opinions imprinted on the jacket proper. The works would have been promptly reviewed, and out of courteous, careful and commendable recognition of the author, by no less an authority in the same direction than, say, Professor Trevelyan. Mr. S. V. Bede's great work on the Ecclesiastical History of England would have been as wonderful a best-seller as Mr. H. G. Wells's *Outline of History*, and its author, being admittedly a senior in age among us and obstinately attached to a beard and an unbending desire to teach his countrymen the very truth, would have been quite as unmistakable and important a prophet as Mr. Bernard Shaw. And the wide popularity of his publications would have been testified by the publisher's splendid enterprise, in response to an insistent public clamour, of a Bede Omnibus, like the Beverley Nichols Omnibus.

Then Press representatives would have searched him up and down the country for interviews on his celebrated writings and for his opinion on all manner of things, like the return to the long skirt, or more and better hiking, or the spread of cocktails, or the latest pronouncement of His Lordship of Birmingham ; but very specially, in the beautiful journalistic cult of reciprocity in our time, for an opinion on Professor Trevelyan's latest historical

¹ This year is the twelfth centenary of the death of St. Bede.

disquisitions. This is, however, not the place to record the brilliant Mr. S. V. Bede's opinions thereanent ; but the Press representatives (even if they were Northcliffe's young men, now slightly older) would have found it a truly difficult business to get at their author. Whence would have sprung up the familiar lamentation that the famous historian of England's Church History was as unobtrusive, shy and retiring as the dramatist who wrote the plays of Sir James Barrie. It is quite conceivable that a good deal of adverse criticism of Mr. Bede's book would have come from other Catholic historians, Catholics having the strange habit of agreeing with one another only about Catholicism and nothing else. It is quite conceivable that Mr. Belloc would have fired a broadside at Mr. Bede for not sufficiently stressing and developing the part played by the Roman Republic (e. g. the Roman roads, &c.) in the establishment of the English Church, and particularly for not dragging in by way of a digression and making it clear beyond doubt to people who would never read the book that Columba was not a Pope with a special commission given unto himself from on high. The latter rectification would have even resulted in a fresh and rather acrimonious controversy with Mr. John Buchan, M. P., but Mr. Belloc would still have objected. In any case, it is indubitable that the National Government, undisturbed by such points of method or by any charge of sectarianism, would have recommended to the King that there be conferred upon the well-known historian the signal honour of the Order of Merit.

Then there would have been other changes in the biography of Mr. Bede, the whole consistent operation of *mutatis mutandis*. To call him a Doctor of the Church would have been unintelligible ; he would be, to his greater credit in our time, a University Doctor, the holder of several honorary academic doctorates, Litt. D. (Cantab.), D. C. L. (Oxon.), D. Litt. (Edin.), &c. The Church announces her Doctor on an obsolete occasion called the Introit (that is to say, entrance) with the now effete phrase : 'In the midst of the Church he opened his mouth.' This would have to be properly rendered in keeping with modern ideas, and the Announcer, standing before the microphone, would (opening his mouth) announce Dr. Bede's entrance into Savoy Hill to fulfil his item on the programme : 'Dr. Bede, Litt. D. (Cantab.) &c., the popular and world-famous historian'. The Church continues in the quaint old style of the Golden Book of Saints : 'The Lord

filled him with the spirit of wisdom and understanding. He vested him in the raiment of glory.' This, being so inadequate a description of a successful author with sales touching record heights and with close on half a million pounds or so made by his pen, would have to be rewritten as an entry for the Golden Book of Shareholders : 'The Rt. Honourable Lord . . . filled him *in* with the spirit of understanding and wisdom. He has invested in The Raiments of Glory (the Super Silk Syndicate).'

Then, again, to make a few trifling but very pressing modern changes, Mr. Bede would have the services of a nice little typist, rattling with her flying fingers on the keys all that he ever wanted to write ; he would have been spared the laborious business of transcribing himself, or the much more unromantic one of engaging the services of some foolish, rude and unkempt monkish copyist. Dr. Bede would without any hesitation have become Lord Abbot of Jarrow, (or Chairman of the Board of Directors of Wearmouth & Jarrow, Ltd.) ; he would not have refused on the plea that 'the office demands household care, and household care brings with it distraction of mind, which hinders the pursuit of learning', since a good vacuum-cleaner in the hands of a bonny tripping maid and the Window Cleaning Co., and the Carpet Beating Co., and the Supply Companies, would have left him all the leisure he ever wanted for scholarship. The gentleman who was his guardian in youth, the Reverend Benedict Biscop, would never have needed to make that long journey to Rome five times over in search of books for him ; all he need have done was to have signed as householder a recommendation to the British Museum and asked his promising charge to apply for a Reader's Ticket. Young Bede would have read in the Reader's Room until his sensational leap into fame, like Mr. Arnold Bennett or Mr. R. C. Sherriff. He would by then have had an acquaintance with the great work of his distinguished predecessors, his Lordship John Bishop Burnet, the Rt. Honourable Edward Hyde, the Earl of Clarendon, Edward Gibbon, Esq., Gent., Professor James Anthony Froude, Professor John Richard Green, and other notabilities. His estimates of these authorities have here with regret 'to be held over', as the journals of our time put it.

But there must remain some few things which cannot be changed in man ; so there is every possibility that this brilliant writer and resurrector of the dead past would still have 'never

dared to transcribe what he had written without the most careful examination of witnesses'. This absurd caution the Press reviews would have gracefully explained away as a slight eccentricity easily pardonable in so profound an authority. And Mr. H. G. Wells and Professor Julian Huxley (who had just made a best-selling volume of true history called *The Science of Life* without ever examining a single witness) would have been quietly amused at this slight oddity in their distinguished contemporary; but their large, generous and sincere recognition of his genius in every other respect would have finally smoothed the matter.

The rest would have been plain sailing. An immensely popular writer like Dr. Bede would doubtless have written beautiful English like that of Mr. Norman Douglas. Great portions of the famous Ecclesiastical History would have been reproduced in all the modern Prose anthologies and great Specimens of Modern Style, and even serially in journals and magazines Mr. James Douglas, in his own indefatigable and most commendable endeavour to lead the young of our generation back to the sweet unspoilt simplicities and to the downright plain religious sense and emotion of their fathers, would have summoned the invaluable co-operation of Dr. Bede, and reproduced every Sunday those noble and inspiring episodes of Augustine (who came so generously to revive an existing *Anglican* Church) and Paulinus and Chad and Aidan and Cuthbert and Oswald the King and John of Beverley, and likewise those moving stories of the *non Angli sed Angeli* at the Roman market-place, and of the great untaught poet Caedmon and the Abbess Hilda. Mr. Douglas himself would at this stage have supported the very last excerpt with a powerful leader by himself pointing to one of the good old ideals of womanhood in Hilda and lamenting the evil day of the lipstick and the service flat. It is also conceivable that, as Dr. Bede has written such exquisite commentaries on the Greek and Latin Fathers, the *Daily Express*, falling into line would have sought his permission to feature choice passages from these works in its issues under the caption: 'The Fathers Day by Day'.

Another interesting event in the great writer's life would always be remembered by everyone: Professor Einstein's visit to London, during which the Royal Society would have entertained the great savant to a banquet. Dr. Bede, himself the author of a modern treatise on Time and another on the Nature of Things,

would, in graceful acknowledgment be invited to the banquet (attending it, presumably, under nothing short of an order from the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster), and a very brotherly meeting, very affecting to the beholders, would have taken place between the great German scientist and the famous British historian. The latter, it should be added, would have been accomodated between Lord Rutherford and Sir James Jeans and have taken that opportunity to discuss with them his own theory of the origin of the universe, and he would have found his two eminent neighbours willing enough to concede the principle. Learning of this circumstance, Mr. H. G. Wells would have made his friendly remark now so familiar : 'Well, I never ; that's dear old Dr. Bede all over.'

There is no doubt whatever that the services of this brilliant historian would always have been of invaluable help and always ungrudgingly given to his countrymen. For instance, the nation has expressed itself in favour of a fixed Easter and spoken through its sovereign spokesman, the House of Commons. Dr. Bede, who had taken so important a part in the celebrated Paschal controversy and supported his case with such irrefragible logic, would be indispensable to the Commission about to be appointed, and his erudition and versatile mind would mitigate the labours of that strenuous inquiry. He has, as everybody would know, vast stores of learning in Latin, Greek and Hebrew and in the whole field of history and ecclesiology ; his contribution to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, on many of those topics would be instantly recognizable on perusal, even without signature. Being, however, unobtrusive, shy and retiring, like the author of the plays of Sir James Barrie, he would have preferred not to affix a signature at all. Indeed, this wish of so notable an authority would be respected by the Editorial Board of the *Britannica* and his name omitted from the index of learned contributors to each volume, a very exceptional editorial departure.

It would be superfluous to prolong this sketch. The discerning reader will find all he cannot find here on the subject in the column and a half which ought to be in *Who's Who*. *Vide (op. cit.)* Bede, the Reverend, Dr., Sanctus, Venerabilis, &c.

Colombo.

AN AMBASSADOR OF CHINA

By H. C. E. ZACHARIAS

IT is Chesterton, I think, who has said that the greatest difficulty one has to overcome in trying to realize an historical event is that, all unconsciously, one is apt to project one's knowledge of the consequences of that event into the thoughts of the actors of the time, to whom these subsequent developments were as much of a book with seven seals as the future is to us. In other words, does one ever realize, when one is witnessing an event, that it is going to make history? I was asking myself this question during the ordination of Dom Peter Celestine Lou, Benedictine monk of St. Andrew's Abbey near Bruges in Belgium. I had the odd feeling of being present at the conversion of Constantine or some such turning point in history. Before Constantine's conversion the Church had been the Church of the Roman Catacombs; after that event she became the Church of the Roman Empire. Will future historians of the Church say that June 29, 1935, marks her transition from a mainly Occidental to a fully Universal epoch?

It is not my intention to exaggerate the importance of any human actor. The grace which God offered to Constantine He must have also offered to a long line of Roman emperors before him, Nero and Diocletian included; the difference lies, not in God alone, but also in Constantine. Constantine responded—imperfectly, no doubt, but still he did respond—and rendered possible the

operation of grace upon the State and civilization of Rome. Like the rulers of pagan Rome, the rulers of pagan Asia (and more particularly of China) have had innumerable calls from God to perfect their people and their culture in Christ ; but there has hitherto never been any adequate response to them. To myself, who have lived longer in Asia than in Europe, it was not till June 29, 1935, at Lophem that it really seemed as if an entire sub-continent of Asia, a whole nation of four hundred millions, a millenia-old civilization, was stepping forward to grasp the hand held out from Heaven. . .

The reader must know something about the human instrument which God has employed in this stupendous affair.

Lou Tseng-Tsiang was born in 1871 at Shanghai, the son of a Protestant convert, and received his education at a school maintained by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for prospective candidates for a diplomatic career. In 1892 he was sent as an interpreter to the Chinese Legation at the Czar's Court. China's Minister at St. Petersburg was Mr. Shu King-Chen, a perfect type of the old-world Chinese gentleman and high Imperial functionary. Mr. Shu took a liking to young Lou and became his *guru* in the full Indian sense of the term. For six long and precious years the eager *chela* had his character moulded and his mind trained by this remarkable man, whose love of truth and justice, however, led to his execution in 1900 as a victim of despicable court intrigues. Sent in 1898 as Minister to Berlin to sign the Sino-German Treaty, which ceded Kiachow to Germany, Mr. Shu was afterwards recalled to China and there shamefully executed as a scapegoat for the sins of others. The devoted disciple saw in his master's heroic end the seal of all the wisdom he had taught him. Mr. Shu died

a non-Christian, but he had realized that, if China was not to perish, she had to adapt herself to the new thought that was pouring in from the West, in spite of the old Empress-Mother trying to keep the country hermetically sealed. More remarkable still, Mr. Shu told his young attaché that the secret of the surprising power and success of the West was not its military and industrial equipment but something far deeper ; and he charged 'little Lou', as he affectionately called him, to study the spiritual foundations of Western civilization down to the most ancient institutions. Mr. Lou piously treasured up all his master's sayings, though for the moment he could do little more than discharge most conscientiously the duties that fell to him in his diplomatic career.

After being attaché, secretary and counsellor at the St. Petersburg Legation, he was appointed Minister at the Hague in 1906, and in 1911 came back to the Legation at St. Petersburg, but this time as its head. In the meantime he had married Mlle Berthe Bovy, a young Belgian girl whom he had met in high circles at the Russian capital. Mrs. Lou was a devout Catholic, and after ten years' married happiness her husband also became a Catholic.

In 1912, when China declared herself a republic, it fell to Mr. Lou to advise the Prince-Regent to abdicate on behalf of the boy-emperor. This he did in a telegram which has since become a Chinese classic, the last old-style memorial addressed to the throne. Mr. Lou was the only imperial functionary to be employed by the Republic, and he became its first Minister of Foreign Affairs with the duty of creating in China a modern diplomatic service after the Western model. He remained at the head of his country's foreign affairs from 1912 to 1920, and for three months, in 1912, even acted as Prime Minister.

Mr. Lou led the Chinese Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference (1918-1919). Having represented his country at the first Peace Conference at the Hague in 1907, and being himself a lover of peace, his collaboration towards a peace-treaty must have been of the highest value. Everybody is aware to-day how little the Treaty of Versailles has furthered the cause of peace, and few of those who took any part in drawing up that document now care to be reminded of it. Amongst these few is Mr. Lou, who alone of the representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers refused to put his hand to the Treaty : modest, quiet, unassuming Mr. Lou—still very much Mr. Shu's 'little Lou' in appearance—stood out against 'the Tiger', Clémenceau, and against all that immense pressure which a whole world, still aflame with war-lust, brought to bear upon him. Mr. Lou proved adamant : as Germany's rape of Kiachow twenty years before could not be put right but was merely perpetuated by Japanese occupation, he could not advise his Government to be a party to the Treaty as drawn up ; so on the fateful 29th of June, 1919, when the world gathered in the Hall of Mirrors in Versailles Palace, the place reserved for China's signature remained blank.

Mr. Lou returned to China ; and there was an attempt to make a scapegoat of him for his failure to obtain the retrocession of Kiachow by Japan, much in the way his master Shu had been made to suffer—curiously enough, also over an affair of Kiachow. But the ferocious days of the Manchu Dynasty were past, and after some procrastination he was offered the Legation of Paris or of Brussels. Mr. Lou, however, refused, as he felt he needed a rest ; and so he returned with Mrs. Lou to Locarno in Switzerland ; but when the Chinese Legation in Berne fell vacant in 1922 Mr. Lou accepted it. He remained Chinese Minister in Switzerland from 1922 till 1927,

when he retired, not only from Government service, but also from the world.

His wife had died in 1926 and as he had no children Mr. Lou felt that he had done his part in this world as a *grihastha*, and that he could now devote the rest of his life to preparation for the next as a *san̥nyāsi*. Eight years after *not* signing the Treaty of Versailles, he entered the Belgian Benedictine Abbey of St. André-lez-Bruges, where he received the religious name of Peter Celestine—after the Benedictine saint of that name who, after sitting on the throne of St. Peter for some months, had resigned it and reverted to his simple monk's cell. Another eight years—to the day—and Dom Peter Celestine Lou is admitted to the priesthood.

Very interesting, no doubt, and very edifying, you will say, but what has all that to do with Constantine ?

The *conversio morum* of Dom P. C. Lou was an event startling enough for the world in which he had hitherto moved. Amongst the Chinese diplomats a few were Christians, no doubt : but their religion was their private affair and it had never obtruded itself one way or the other on the attention of their friends. But this business of Lou Tseng-Tsiang shutting himself up behind the walls of a monastery was different. One could not help being struck by it. Of course, if a Westerner had done it its effect would have been very slight—these people are a curious lot and their customs more curious still : one can never understand them. Probably this is all a Chinese would have thought. But Lou a Christian monk ? Was there so much in Catholicism, so much life and reality, that it could make a man like Lou, used to soft and even luxurious comfort, prefer the hard asceticism of the cloister ?

More startling still was the fact that Lou was one of

themselves, in fact their old chief, belonging to the élite of the *literati* class, the Brahman of China. Not one of those poor, unlettered, famine-stricken peasants who form the bulk of the Catholic congregations in China, but one of themselves! Besides, they all knew Lou as a very shrewd man and a diplomat, practical and matter-of-fact, anything but a mystic or an enthusiast. And to such a man, bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh, his faith had meant so much that at the age of fifty-six he had put himself below the youngest novice, had renounced his will and made a holocaust of all his natural desires and habits!

A disturbing fact—but a fact. One could watch what would be the outcome of it all. At first one had said nothing. Little by little, however, as one or another of his old friends passed near Bruges, he would visit Dom Peter Celestine: and he would find him changed, and yet not changed. He would be most courteously received at the monastery and get a by no means unfavourable impression of this Christian monasticism. Dom Lou certainly had not ceased to be Chinese; he had not even ceased to be a Chinese patriot and to take an interest in the fate of his country. He remained in touch with his former associates by sending them now and then a line or two of greetings, or some book or little picture. He was no longer of the world; but he still seemed very much *in* the world.

Meanwhile China had passed through a fiery time. There was the first phase of alliance with Soviet Russia which had led to the revolutionizing of the whole of China. The peasantry rose against their age-long agrarian grievances: the educated youth, and especially the students, were in open rebellion against all authority; war-lords with their hungry armies were fighting each other and pillaging the countryside. China was a prey

to universal anarchy and seemed only fit to become a Muscovite province. The gospel of Communism had been tried and found utterly wanting.

So diplomatic relations with Russia were broken off, the Russian 'advisers' went home, and the uphill work of stamping out revolution and reducing the country once more to order was begun. China had no wish to become Russian ; it meant to remain Chinese, though the China of the future could not remain a mere replica of the China of the past. A Chinese Renaissance was needed. Hitherto Western agnosticism and materialism had seemed the best, because most 'scientific', basis for all such reconstruction : but the experiment with the Marxist panacea had left a very bad taste in the mouths of all thinking Chinese. Students were told to show their patriotism, not by noisy demonstrations, but by serious study ; the economics of Sun Wen's *Triple Demism* were proved to be the antithesis of Bolshevism ; a crusade against all superstition, especially Buddhist, was waged, and Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek became a Protestant Christian.

At the same time Japanese pressure had been intensified. The destruction of Shanghai, the rape of Manchuria, the ceaseless advance into Northern China, are common knowledge. To defend China by superior force of arms had proved impossible. Resistance must be by non-military means—a resistance, not of the armour-plate variety which can be shattered by a sufficiently high-powered shell ; but a resistance of rubber blocks which seem to yield at once and harmlessly embed the bullets fired into them. But how can China be turned into a solid mass of four hundred million rubber blocks ?

Once more it was found that patriotism 'is not enough'. A moral discipline of the highest order seemed called for ; but where was it to be found ? The old religion, the old traditional Confucianism, had decayed

and seemed incapable of inspiring that 'New Thought', that 'New Life', which seemed so necessary and so urgent. Why not, then, a Neo-Buddhism, such as Japan had found so useful? The Japanese would have liked that very much indeed: was it not one of their twenty-one Demands that Japan should be recognized by China as Protector of all Buddhist Missions? Shintoist nation-~~worship~~ would perhaps produce a national discipline resembling the one which flourished in Japan, if only it could be grafted upon the Chinese body politic; but was such grafting possible? And if possible, would the result not recall the foolish young lady of Riga who rode a tiger?

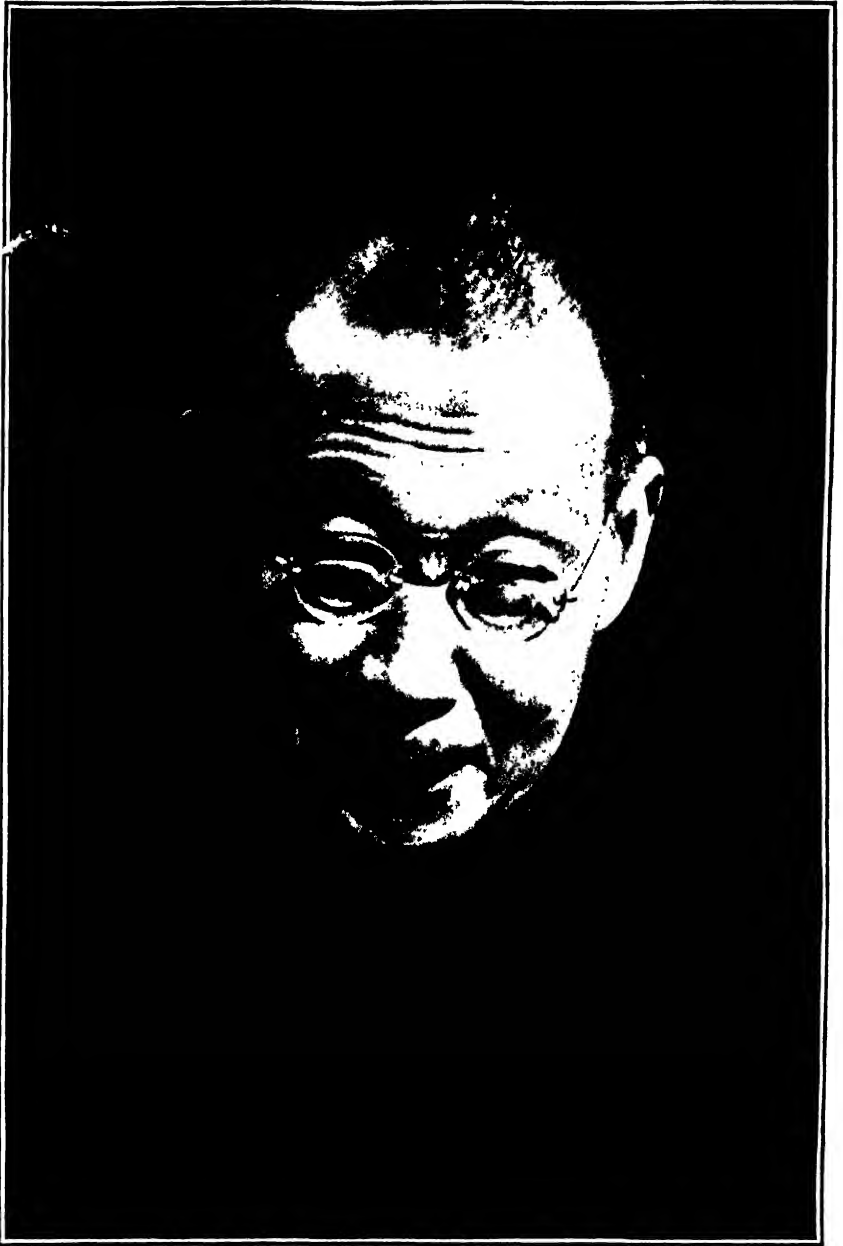
There was also the teaching of Christian morality, the inspiration of the Christian faith, the discipline of the Catholic Church, a church neither Russian nor Japanese, English nor French, but universal, a church aflame with an unworldly love, and yet very much of this world, a church with a Pope Pius XI at its head, who, in August, 1928, had dared to send that magnificent message to the Chinese nation,—a true father of all Christendom, at whose court the threads of all the world seemed to be gathered up; the Vatican and its world-wide diplomacy, which did not seek material advantages for this nation or that, which had no army and wished to annex no territory. And then there was that case of Dom Lou . . .

Last year the news spread in China that Mr. Lou Tseng-Tsiang was about to be ordained a priest of the Catholic Church. Here surely was an opportunity to show this wonderful old man the admiration and gratitude in which he was held by high and low, by Christian and non-Christian alike! The response indeed was nation-wide and soon innumerable gifts began to pour in at St. André. When the day of ordination drew near,

those scrolls of honour—the typical Chinese form of offering one's homage and felicitations—had been used to decorate the inside of the abbey church. Huge as the latter is, these scrolls covered the whole of its walls : and yet half of them had not found room !

In fact there had arrived no less than 260 of them, and such as could be utilized had been disposed in so clever a manner that the church seemed to have been designed and built specially for them. Over the door was the sumptuously embroidered scroll in gold and white silk sent by the President of the Republic, with the four monumental characters : 'Rejoicing in the truth and loving mankind'. Below, Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek, China's 'Dictator', offers his homage in the words : 'Your virtue is exalted ; your life is unblemished'. On the wall opposite are displayed two scrolls of Mr. Sui She-Chang, who was President of the Republic when Mr. Lou Tseng-Tsiang was Prime Minister ; on another wall that of Mr. Wang Ching Wei, the actual Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs ; the first reads : 'Venerating Heaven and propagating religion', and the second : 'Burning torch, illuminating the world'. The members of the diplomatic service had sent no less than three sets of offerings : eight scrolls on an olive-green ground, covered with a description of their old chief's work, twelve in vermilion, and sixteen in imperial yellow. Some scrolls were written in the archaic, lapidary style. Indeed, the calligraphy (a very important point in Chinese art) was as varied as the donors.

Besides these, there had been sent many Chinese paintings, all of traditional symbolism and deep meaning. The Catholics had offered magnificent chasubles and other sacred vestments in Chinese silk and of Chinese artistic inspiration. A chalice was prominent—being a close adaptation of the *kow*, a Chinese bowl of libation, the



Dom Peter Celestine Lou, O.S.B.

use of which goes back three or four thousand years,—which had been presented by a former colleague who happens to be the first person Dom Peter Celestine had the happiness to baptize. . .

The sixty Chinese seminarists at the Propaganda College in Rome had obtained a huge photo of His Holiness the Pope, on the right and left of which they had ~~written~~ written congratulatory messages in Chinese script, and underneath the Holy Father had signed his name, adding in his own hand and in large letters : 'Peramanter perque libenter in Domino'.

In fact, the Pope seemed very much present. For no less an ecclesiastic than Mgr. Celso Costantini, titular Archbishop of Theodosia, famous as the first Delegate Apostolic in China, had come to ordain this illustrious son of his beloved China. The Government of the Republic was officially represented by the Chargé d'affaires at Brussels, who had received special instructions to that effect from the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Nanking. In addition there were present His Excellency Mr. W. W. Yen, now China's ambassador in Moscow, the Ministers of China at the Hague and in Madrid, and the Chargé d'affaires in Paris. Fr. J. Tchang, a professor from the Propaganda College, was also present ; likewise four other Chinese priests, from Paris, Louvain, Lille, and Fribourg.

At all events, the abbey church was crowded at the ordination service ; and at the subsequent dinner offered by the community seventy guests sat down in the abbey refectory. Mgr. Costantini, in an after-dinner speech, gave expression to his love of China, his hopes for the future of the Church in that country, and his faith in the contribution the Chinese people were yet called upon to make to the world's progress. The Abbot's speech contained a significant passage, that 'the Holy Father had only this year expressed to Dom Lou his hope for the

founding of a Benedictine abbey in the very heart of the Chinese fatherland, so that St. Benedict's Rule might contribute its silent force and beneficent influence to the work of the Church in China'. And he continued : 'If Dom Lou is called to a career which places him in the service of Holy Church, we hope that she may bring to his country and its government the benefits of peace and progress which she has promoted wherever she has been able to introduce the principles of the Gospel of Christ.'

Dom Theodore Nève had just come back from a six months' tour in China, where as Dom Lou's abbot he had received a welcome in official circles which is vouchsafed to few travelling ecclesiastics. His further words, addressed to the representative of the Chinese Government, therefore carried special weight : 'I have recently witnessed the great efforts made by your Government to fill the people of China with a sense of their national calling, their duties and their responsibilities, and to lead them on to the peaceful pursuit of the great future that awaits them. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek has again and again said that the practice of the Christian religion is the most powerful lever for bringing about a popular realization of every cultural ideal. We on our part have no dearer wish than to aid the Government in this noble task of spreading throughout Chinese society a clear notion of their religious duties, convinced as we are that such knowledge will necessarily lead them to a higher understanding of their personal, their family and their civic life.'

But the crowning event, of course, was the reply of China's official representative, Mr. Ling Ki-Han, who said he had been 'charged by the Prime Minister to express the gratitude of China to her former statesman, now a man of God.' Mr. Ling, who is a non-Christian, did not hide his emotion at the thought of 'the honours

of a long and brilliant career given up for the quest of God.' And turning to Dom Peter Celestine he added : 'You, my Reverend Father, have not ceased to be our ambassador by entering the cloister : you represent our people before the throne of God, and the ceremony of your ordination to-day was the ceremony of presenting your 'credentials to the Almighty.' Alluding to Dom Lou's biographical sketch of Paul Sin Kong-Ki, the great Catholic statesman of 300 years ago, whose portrait in his scarlet court dress, embroidered on a silken scroll, hung next to the consecrating prelate's throne, Mr. Ling greeted in Dom Lou a Paul Sin *redivivus*, and 'in the name of the Government of the Republic and in that of all the Chinese diplomats wished him a long, happy and prosperous life in religion.'

Then turning to Mgr. Costantini, China's spokesman recalled his twelve years of Apostolic Delegation, 'which had constituted a triumph for Catholicism in China,' and said that he saw in his presence there that day 'a new proof of his vigorous optimism regarding the future of China and of the Catholic Church in China.' In conclusion he quoted the recent words spoken by Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek in connection with the *New Life Movement* promoted by him :

'The Christian Doctrine can give us a powerful aid in realizing my plan of reconstruction, since it alone contains in itself and can communicate to others the moral force necessary to bring about a spiritual regeneration and re-orientation of my poor fellow-countrymen.'

The reader will now understand why I had the impression of living through times strictly analogous to those of the Emperor Constantine as I sat in that monastic refectory and watched the high table, the composition of which in itself was an historic event : the

Abbot, the official representative of the Chinese Government, the Abbot President of the Belgian Benedictine Congregation, Mgr. Costantini, Dom Peter Celestine Lou, and H. E. the Ambassador Yen. At the conclusion of the function the whole monastic community rose and intoned the ancient *Laudes Hincmari* adapted to the occasion : thanks to the Pope, to the Chinese Republic 'millenaria vitalitate renascenti, cuius hodie filius ac moderator ad altaria Altissimi honorifice ascendit,' to Mgr. Costantini, to Dom Peter Celestine, and finally to the illustrious *corps diplomatique* of China, 'e cuius sinu Deus sacerdotem sibi eligere voluit.'

The next morning Dom Lou celebrated his first Mass, and in the course of the day despatched the following circular telegram to the Press in China : 'Eight years of religious life have led me, however undeserving, to its summit, the priesthood. At my first Mass I have prayed quite specially for my dear country ; for all my fellow-countrymen, living, dead, and yet to be born. As long as I breathe I shall pray God to send down His blessings upon that New China whose task it is to renew its government and reconstruct its society upon the principles of justice and charity. May there result a new era of prosperity which will enable China, in close co-operation with the other nations of the world, to make its contribution towards the maintenance of universal peace and happiness. Such is the prayer of Lou Tseng-Tsiang, Benedictine monk and priest, which he wishes to bring to the notice of all his countrymen.'

Thus ended that unforgettable feast of SS. Peter and Paul, 'per quos Ecclesia religionis sumpsit exordium'.

Fribourg.

THE FIELD

BY R. GONSALVES

SURVEY No. 49. Village Bomegav, Taluka Chankapur, District Renapur ; area, six acres and fifteen gunthas ; tax and cess, Rs. 15, as. 10, pies 8 ; bounded East No. 48, West No. 37, North No. 56, South by the Mula River ; possessor, Gopa Rama Jadav, by right of sale deed from Maipati Ganpati Vaghmare.' Such was the description of the field in the village Register of Rights—which is the lineal descendant of the Domesday Book, the Survey of Rajah Todar Mal, the Assessment of Malik Ambar and the Revenue Settlement of Mr. W. K. McKenzie, I. C. S., C. I. E. But locally the field was known as 'Rhombad'. Nobody knew what that word meant. It may have been a relic of pre-Aryan times, or it may have been a corruption of 'rhomboid' as heard from some Government surveyor or map-maker.

The present owner, Gopa, had purchased it for a mere song ; Rs. 500 cash down, the cancellation of a pro-note, face value of Rs. 200, and a cow. The field had a *pukka* built well, and a *kutchra* built stable, which had cost the grandfather of the seller fully Rs. 400. But it was known to be unlucky, and the village was of opinion that young Gopa was a fool to have bought it. For the above-mentioned grandfather had been found dead one morning in a corner of the field. It is true he was a decrepit old man, and the night had been very cold. But still he had not died in bed ; and what was worse, he had had no opportunity to tell his two sons where his savings were

hidden. He was known to have had a *handa*-full¹ of gold and silver ornaments as he had always been friendly with the local Bhils.² When they were in prison he had generously supported their families ; and he was not a man to be generous for nothing. The sons dug up all the likely places, but no treasure was brought to view—to public view, at least. Each son strongly suspected that the other had discovered it and had spirited it away. So the relations between them became strained.

One of them died within a month suddenly. 'The ill-luck of dishonestly acquired wealth,' muttered Ganpati, the survivor, as he drove his brother's widow out. The fact that she left peacefully confirmed his suspicions. Then a Bhil who was prowling about the field in the dark—he said he had only come to ask for a match-stick—was bitten by a snake and died. All the local infallible antidotes availed him not. How could they when it was not a real snake but a *jadoo* one ? So said the village. A bullock died in mysterious circumstances ; a child fell from a tamarind tree and broke his arm ; a hay-rick caught fire. The man-servant was supposed to have set fire to it and run away. But the Police, who came nosing about, discovered charred bones amongst the cinders. The unfortunate Ganpati had to pay Rs. 200 to make them keep quiet. However, the old grandfather of the missing man raised such a hubbub that the higher authorities stepped in. The chief enemies of Ganpati now eagerly came forward to give evidence. They stated that Ganpati had suspected the man of serious misbehaviour, had struck him dead with an axe, and put his body in the rick. One witness happened to be passing by ; another happened to be peeping through the hedge on the other side ; a third had heard the angry

¹ A *handa* is a big brass pot.

² The Bhils are a 'criminal tribe.'

preliminary dialogue from his field half a mile away. When the case came up it was easy for the defence counsel to rebut such evidence. But he charged a fee of Rs. 500, and Ganpati had to mortgage a couple of fields to raise the amount. His misfortunes preyed on his mind ; after his release he began to decline. Another theory was that his wife had put some slow poison in his food to avenge her murdered lover. Within a month he too was dead.

His son, Maipati, worked hard to retrieve the family fortunes. The rains were good. The Rhombad had been well tilled, well manured and well watered. She seemed now to have put aside her ill-omened widow's weeds and put on the brilliant green *saree* of a *suvasin*, with a border patterned with the gaudy red of the chillies and the deep purple of the brinjals. Maipati's deep bass singing to his bullocks as he drew water from the well, his wife's shrill soprano singing to her grinding stones, had both a new lilt of joyousness. The children shouted merrily everywhere. Even the deep low of the cows had a note of contentment rather than of hunger. They had their fill of green lucerne every day, a welcome change from the dry and stringy *kudbi* or *sarmat*.

But in one night all was changed. The Rhombad had removed the green veil from her head and showed her sinister face. The wild wailing of a terrified woman soon joined by the hoarse howls of strong men, the shrieking of frightened children, the lowing of disturbed cattle, and the fierce barking of the watch-dogs at unknown danger, disturbed the silence of the night. By the dim moonlight two white forms could be seen struggling near the well. By some subtle telepathic force the same thought sprang up in every mind : the murderer and the murdered. Hurriedly untying the cattle they all decamped, dragging their children after them. No more

Rhombad for them. The growing crops were left to the mercy of the goats. The sheds were dismantled, and only the four walls of the stable remained. Weeds and brambles soon covered it, and the Rhombad now had a ghostly, ghastly appearance. The cowherds became afraid to enter it even in broad daylight. Only the *kumbar*, or village potter, one of those weak silent men who are more numerous than the other kind, could perhaps have thrown some light on the whole affair. But he was averse from making a fuss, and raising discussions, and contradicting his betters. So he told nobody about his two donkeys having broken loose that night and having come back in the morning with full stomachs. After all, it might not have been they. Night is so full of ghosts, and why should two stray donkeys get all the blame ?

Now men spoke of the Rhombad in the same bated breath as they spoke of the broken-neck *Oda* or the gallow-tree *Neem*. Maipati began to look for a purchaser. Just then Gopa, the son of old Rama Mahar, happened to come on a visit to his paternal hut. He was known in Bombay as Mr. G. R. Jadav. He was a clerk on the railway earning Rs. 60 a month. Rama, seeing his son in coat and trousers and boots and waterproof, jingling in his pockets the savings of ten years' hard work and one lucky season at the Races, blessed the day when he had taken him away from amidst the goats and sent him to a mission school. Young Jadav announced his intention of joining the ranks of the landowners of his native village. Maipati entered into negotiations with him. Half the village came forward to act as intermediaries. To Jadav they said : 'He is asking too much. Don't buy the field. It is unlucky. None of your children will live. . . But perhaps he may give it for a couple of hundreds.' To Maipati they said : 'Are you going to give the field and well of your ancestors to a Mahar—and for so little ?

He has much money. Perhaps he will pay a couple of thousands. These Bombay-wallahs are such fools.' After days and days of haggling the price was fixed. Both the parties went to the office of the Sub-Registrar, and the deed was done.

As soon as Gopa's relations learnt that he had bought a field and a well he was inundated with offers to work it for him. An uncle-in-law said : 'Don't you worry. I shall do the ploughing and all free. Only lend me money to buy a new pair of bullocks.' A cousin said : 'Other people take fields on a fifty-fifty basis. I shall be content with 33 per cent.' So they went on with their various proposals and proportions. It ended with Gopa leaving the field in his father's charge and returning to his work in Bombay.

The old man's idea of agriculture was to just scrape the surface of the field—two meagre bullocks drawing a kind of magnified safety razor after them did it in a couple of days,—sow the ordinary millet and leave the rest to nature. If the rains were good you got enough of grain to last the whole year. If the rains were bad you did not lose much. Whilst if you ploughed the field, and dug out the roots, and manured it, and weeded it, and then the rains failed, you had all the trouble and expense for nothing. That was his philosophy. His son often wrote to tell him that he should work the well and plant some profitable crops, fruit trees, sugar-cane, vegetables, &c. The old man decidedly refused. 'Too much trouble. I am too old now.' So at last Gopa made an agreement with his maternal uncle. The latter was to have all the work and management and get 33½ per cent of the profits.

This uncle was an ambitious man. He suggested sugar-cane—expenses would be Rs. 300 and profit Rs. 1000; or potatoes—expenses Rs. 50, profit Rs. 200 ; or sweet-

limes or cabbages. He was not averse from experimenting at his nephew's risk. But old Rama insisted that one-fourth of the field should be reserved for millet for his daily bread. So the well was put into working order—Rs. 10 to half a dozen men for risking their heads by going in and removing all the accumulation of silt and rubbish ; Rs. 5 to the mason for repairing the stone work and the channels ; Rs. 3 to the carpenter for putting up the scaffold for the *mot*, or big leather bag ; Rs. 15 to the *chambhar* for the *mot* ; Rs. 3 to the *mhang* for the ropes. Gopa paid the bills. Then manure and seedlings, carts and ploughs. Then repairs again. Then a bullock died. Then more manure was needed. Then weeding by two dozen women. So the bills began to come merrily in. A good half of Gopa's pay began to go into the field. Sometimes he was forced to borrow money to meet the demands. But somehow the profits never came up to expectations. One thing or another seemed to affect the crops : too much water, too little water, heat, frost, plant lice, root worms, thieves, depressed market. But the uncle was always full of glowing hopes for the next year. After a year Gopa's old father died, and now there would be no control at all on his uncle. So he decided to resign his job and come and look after the field himself.

Another thing decided him. His only son, after twice failing in the Matriculation and being dismissed from two jobs and leaving the third himself, was idling his time away with the local loafers. Late hours and too much smoking of cheap cigarettes had given him a hollow chest, a persistent cough, and other signs of incipient T. B. A taste of village life would do him good. So one day Gopa descended on his ancestral village with his wife and son and two daughters and three cart-loads of luggage. It created a sensation. Such clean shirts, and well-ironed coats, such creaking shoes and curled hair, such cups and

saddlers, chairs, almirahs, cots, &c., had never been seen in the Rhombad before. You could see them at your ease now, since, the family hut being too small to contain them all, most of the things had to be stacked in the village *chavdi* till Gopa built a new house in the Rhombad. When it was built the villagers called it a bungalow, but Gopa's son and daughters spoke of it as 'a wretched shed'. The uncle went back to his village, loudly protesting that he had worked four years for his nephew for nothing. Gopa hired a couple of men and started managing the field himself.

Now Mr. Jadav or Gopa was a Protestant, but prided himself on not being attached to any 'Mission' in particular. When he received a good offer of marriage for his daughter, although the young man was a Catholic, he consented. He had no objection to his daughter becoming a Catholic herself, and sent her to my church for instruction. Later on I had to go to celebrate the wedding in his village. It was to be quite a civilized wedding. Invitation cards printed in gold and blue and red were issued. The time mentioned was 5-30 p.m. I was present at 5 o'clock. But the bride-groom's party, belonging to the older civilization, took their own time. I had to wait a long time. Mr. Jadav came and sat with me and aired his long-disused English. So I heard at length all about the Rhombad and its history. He took me round his farm. It was a poor affair. There were a few sweet-lime trees in one corner looking rather unkempt. There was a plot of chillies looking the worse for weeds, flanked by some lucerne in the same condition. The rest was covered with millet and was not worth much. The cattle were lean, the hens scraggy. There was a dunghill which had burst its bounds and spread itself all over the clearing in front of the house. I hinted that an educated man like him should try to improve his surroundings.

Then he came out with his tale of woe. He had put thousands into his farm and still got very little out of it. He had brought Government specialists to advise him about the soil and the crops. He had bought books on agriculture. Still the farms of his ignorant neighbours were ten times better. The reason was simple. There was a curse on the field. It was haunted. At first he had not believed it. But now he was convinced. Would I kindly bless it and his house ?

When I entered the house and saw his family I almost got a shock. The son was a curled and scented Bombay dandy. The women were elegant ladies. Their conversation was full of regrets for the city life they had left behind. Then they spoke with a shudder of the hardships they were undergoing here. I tried to console them and hinted that a village life had its good points, and one must accommodate oneself to circumstances. Then the marriage intervened.

The next time I visited that farm was for the christening of the new grand-daughter. To my surprise it was flourishing. The crops were beautifully green. Where weed-covered vacant spots had offended the eye before, all sorts of vegetables were neatly planted. The cattle were stout and clean. And best of all, the manure heap had been removed and a small flower garden glowed in its place. Had my blessing exorcized the ghost ? Had my advice been taken to heart ? After the usual greeting I ventured to inquire the reason of the change. The old man—he was grey-haired now—pointed to a stick in the corner and said : ‘That.’

‘What do you mean ?’, I asked.

‘After the marriage,’ he replied, ‘I found I was in debt. All my savings were gone. If we wanted to live we must live not only *on* but *by* the field. The next morning I dismissed my two servants. I took off my

coat and made my son take off his. The same with our shoes. I put them in a heap. I took my daughter's umbrella and broke it and threw it there. Also our two deck-chairs and a number of knick-knacks. I set fire to the whole. 'If we do not want to be Mahars again and beg broken bread in the village, we must be *kunbis*—farmers, field workers. Come along now!' At first we could hardly handle the plough and furrow, or drive the bullocks, or weed, or do anything. But I took the stick in hand. No shirking or malingering was allowed. After a month everybody was enthusiastic about it. Now see the result. Not only has the field improved but all of us too. We are now healthier and sturdier ; being occupied the whole day, we take no notice of small complaints, we have no time to quarrel, we have good appetites and can eat heartily of the simple food we ourselves produce. The curse on the field has been expelled by a higher curse—the curse of Adam.' 'Which,' I remarked, 'is really a blessing in disguise.'

Valan.



BESCHI THE TAMIL SCHOLAR AND POET

BY THOMAS SRINIVASAN

(Concluded)

THE POET

THE third class of Beschi's writings, and the one by which he is best known, are his poetical works.

In the order of merit the least among them is the *Kitheriammál Ammānei* (The Song of St. Quitteri) in 1,100 lines. The *Ammānei* is a popular metre of the nature of the ballad with a lilt which makes it easy to learn and pleasant enough to hear recited. Into this form had been thrown many a story from epic and *purāna* which to this day earns many a wandering minstrel a living. Beschi had only recently introduced the devotion to the Portuguese saint among his people, and was now enlisting on the side of her cultus the powerful engine of popular instruction. At the same time he was supplying one great desideratum of the Catholic religion—popular poetry.

Another piece in verse is the *Annaialungal-andādhi* (The Sorrows of Our Lady) which contains a hundred verses in the *Andādhi* metre, in which the last syllable of every verse is taken up as the first syllable of the next. Religious dramas had always been popular among Tamil Catholics, the first such play having been staged at

Candalûr, near Trichinopoly, in 1653. Beschi's *Andâdhi* was apparently written on the occasion of some such Passion play as we witness even to-day. Other short pieces are the *Adaikalamâlai*, in 120 lines, the *Kalippâ*, in 100 lines, dedicated to Our Lady, the *Thevâram*, in ten stanzas, which is sung as a dirge, and ten verses in *Sandam*, an extremely difficult metre.

The most noteworthy among the shorter pieces is the *Thirukavalûr-Kalambagam* in honour of Our Lady of Elâkurichi. It was usual among Tamil devotees, Saivites as well as Vaishnavites, to go on pilgrimage to sacred places and sing in honour of their god at each shrine. Beschi was, therefore, following them in dedicating the poem to his favourite shrine at Elâkurichi. But the *Kalambagam* is a difficult form in which the poet uses all the metres at pleasure. In the hundred verses he has given at least one specimen of each of the Tamil metres. Taste had considerably degenerated in Tamil poetry by Beschi's time, and poets had come to be judged by the jingle of their alliteration, the acrobatics of their metre, their endless puns on words, and foolish 'conceits'. Beschi never quite yielded to this facile temptation, but in the *Kalambagam* he shows himself equal to the cleverest versifier of them all. What imparts the additional quality of greatness to this *tour de force* is the loftiness of his ideas, his majestic cadences, and the purity of his literary manner.

It is unwise to choose where everything is beautiful, but a few specimens will illustrate the thoroughness with which Beschi had imbibed the tradition of the Tamil *Alwârs* and *Nâyanârs*.

Why was it not my good fortune to share with the crescent moon the honour of carrying her lotus feet? I should envy the bee singing her praises as it dives for honey among the flowers in her hair. I would willingly become the grass in her fields if she,

the deer that bore the Lion who destroyed our sins, would come down to browse there.

This verse is far too reminiscent of one of Kulasêkhara Alwâr's moods¹ to be a mere coincidence. Or again :

O Shepherdess of bewitching eyes and honeyed words, thy wiles are wasted, for here has her temple the daughter of Annamâl (St. Anne), who true to her mother's name² has the rare gift of detecting the water in your milk and showing up your deceit.

But, excellent as Beschi's minor poems are, his reputation as a Tamil poet stands or falls with the *Thembâvani*—The Garland of Sweet Verse. It is an epic in honour of St. Joseph in 36 cantos, which are arranged in three books and contain 3,615 lines. It is based on the Scripture account of St. Joseph, which is very meagre, and on some works of tradition, both amply enriched by the poet's fancy.

The poem opens in the usual manner of the Tamil *Kâppiams* (Skr. *Kâvyas*) with a *pâyiram* or exordium followed by two cantos describing the country of Palestine and the city of Jerusalem. A couple of cantos follow on the birth and upbringing of Joseph. The fifth canto deals with the marriage of Joseph and Mary. From the sixth to the ninth canto is a description of the life of married continence they led, and contains some idyllic scenes of domestic bliss. The tenth canto describes the Nativity, the eleventh the visit of the three Kings, and the twelfth the Presentation in the Temple. This concludes the first *kânda* or book.

The journey to Egypt takes up the ten cantos from the thirteenth to the twenty-second. The next seven cantos deal with the life of the Holy Family in Egypt.

¹ The fourth 'ten' or *padigam* in the *Perumâl-Thirumoli* of the *Nâlayiram* collection.

² *Annam* is the Tamil word for the *hamsa*, the flamingo, which is reputed to have the gift of detecting water in milk.

The thirtieth is concerned with the return journey from Egypt and the next describes the missing and finding of the boy Jesus. Then follow a couple of cantos on the last days of Joseph. Canto XXXV takes us to the limbo of the fathers where Our Lord appears after His resurrection. Canto XXXVI is a superb paean of triumph celebrating the ascent of the patriarchs with Christ at their head into heaven. Joseph, the faithful guardian of the Virgin and of the Incarnate God, is crowned as the head of the saints and the king of men. The poem concludes with an account of how Leopold of Austria, Holy Roman Emperor, dedicated his kingdom to St. Joseph in gratitude for his wonderful escape through his intercession from a dangerous conspiracy.

At first sight such jejune material looks unpromising stuff out of which to weave an epic, even when amplified by the loving hand of tradition. But nothing can excel the skill with which Beschi has made his work an epitome of sacred history, Christian theology and apologetics in the face of Hinduism. Thus he has woven into the texture of the poem no less than a hundred and twenty episodes from the Old Testament. In tracing the ancestry of Joseph he takes the occasion to tell the history of David. In describing the journey to Egypt he recalls great scenes of Israelite history like the Exodus and the victory of Josue. The history of John the Baptist is brought in as a corollary to Herod's persecution. After describing the overthrow of the gods of Egypt, the poet makes the deposed deities hold council in hell with their infernal leader. This is an opportunity for him to denounce the obscenities of idol-worship. One result of their deliberations is that the fallen angels make war on Joseph ; but they are compelled to retire discomfited.

In Egypt, again, Joseph is portrayed as an apostle before Christ, pointing out to his neighbours the errors

of paganism and the excellence of the unique way. Thus Canto XXVII is concerned with refuting the assumptions of Hindu metaphysics, and shows the thoroughness of Beschi's Indological equipment.¹ On the return journey from Egypt Our Lord describes as in a prophecy the ascetics that will one day convert the desert into a vestibule of heaven. At Nazareth, again, Jesus predicts how the house they live in will one day be transported to Loreto in Italy, and incidentally traces the spread of the Faith in European countries. In an enthusiastic vein the poet now throws aside his reserve and concludes with three beautiful verses on Italy, 'she that gave birth to me.' Of his own province of Venice he says that she is 'surrounded by the low sea that brings her tribute from every land.' A score of verses in the thirty-fifth canto deal with the Life and Passion of Christ, His Resurrection and Ascension.

The first impression that the poem leaves on the mind is its utter naturalness. It is Indian, and Tamil, from the names to the entire atmosphere and background. The rendering of Latin or Hebrew names by translation was an old habit in the Madura Mission which had much to commend it. So in the poem Joseph the hero becomes Valan, the other Joseph of Egypt being called Anaran; the Baptist is called Karunaiyan, Isaac becomes Nakulan, and the Egyptian interlocutor of Joseph is called Sivāsivan.

So also in the descriptions with which the poem abounds like every other work in Tamil, Beschi has followed the accepted canons of the language as laid down in the 'Poruladikāram' of the *Tholkāppiam*. One of these

¹ Canto XXVII gives another example of Joseph's evangelical work. A warrior and a confirmed sensualist called Vāman is converted by his preaching about retribution and the life after death.

was to divide all scenes according as they were *marudham* or city, *kurinji* or mountain, *mullai* or forest, *neidhal* or seacoast, and *palai* or desert. Hence descriptive passages in the best Tamil works are apt to pall, because they are too conventional and standardized. Beschi had hitched his waggon to the star of the *Jivaka Chintamani*, a Jaina romance of more than three thousand verses dealing with the life and marital adventures of Jivakan. This poem had become the standard and the thesaurus of all descriptive Tamil poetry of the erotic or naturalistic variety. Beschi had dived deep into that sea, and his descriptive pieces are bold, picturesque and full, while all the time they conform to the accepted standards. The grave author of *The Comparative Grammar* accuses him of having falsified the geography of Jerusalem. With due deference to Caldwell, however, we may doubt the poetic propriety of introducing the fauna and flora of Palestine into a Tamil poem intended for the Tamils. Beschi knew better, and his landscapes, while they abound in the *asoka*, the *hamsa*, the *kókila*, the bounding monkey and the lordly elephant, show no trace of the clumsy camel and the arid desert palm.

One or two specimens from the large number of such verses may help to give some idea of his method :

The sowers were scaring away from the fields the *hamsa* birds that had drunk the milk of the big buffaloes which were spontaneously shedding their milk at the thought of their absent calves. (Canto 12, v. 50)

The peacocks dashed at the open flower of the *kritika*, taking it to be the outspread hood of the cobra, and retreated in confusion on realizing their folly. The bees ran away from the *kasa* flowers, thinking them to be the necks of hidden peacocks, whereat the *mullai* creeper laughed, showing the teeth of its buds. (Canto 30, vv. 53-54)

A distinctive mark of Tamil verse is its use of initial rhyme. The poet, therefore, must have a vast vocabulary

at his command to find the words that will rhyme perfectly without spoiling the sense. But here the lexicographer in Beschi came to the rescue of the poet. Thus in Canto 12, v. 21 we have :

The mountain was adorned with the flower-bearing *punnais* as an elephant is adorned with its temple pendant. From its top rushed a river, heavy with the weight of precious stones and carrying fertility like the *Veda* of Christ, whose spray covered the top of the hill as the stars cover the sky.

Here the first foot in each of the four lines is *Nāga*, but it is used in the four different senses of elephant, *punnai*, mountain and sky.

According to definition, a *Kāvya* should contain matter that will promote the four-fold *purushārthas* of Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Moksha. The Jaina ascetic, Thiruthakka-dēvar, had been taunted with the absence in Jaina works of the third element, the *sringāra-rasa* or erotics, and amply vindicated himself in the *Jivaka Chintāmani* which abounds in the most sensuous scenes. Beschi has just enough of this manner to show what he could have done in it if he had wished. A good example is the incident of Neepakan's temptation in Canto XX, which is said to be modelled on Tasso. But his priestly calling and the majesty of his theme prevented him from exploiting this rich vein of Indian poetry.

He took his revenge, however, in the excellence of his moralistic verse. Such poetry has always been highly esteemed by the Tamils, as the religious honours paid to Thiruvalluvar, the author of the *Kural*, show. The Christian poet was not to be outdistanced in this sphere, and many of his verses are strikingly original :

Selfishness is only cured by asceticism, even as the snake sloughs by squeezing itself between two stones. (Canto 26, v. 122)

In adversity, stand steadfast like the mountain. Run after God ceaselessly as a river runs towards the sea. Avoid sin as if it were

fire. Rate all earthly good as the foam in flood-water. Seek after salvation as intently as a swimming man strains after the other bank. (Canto 30, v. 8)

Life is the axle of the cart which is the human body, charged with the precious load of soul and intellect and making for the goal of salvation. Avoid, therefore, the rut of sin and the bog of temptation, for once broken this axle cannot be mended or replaced. (Canto 28, v. 158)

Besides, there are numerous verses brimming over with devotion and couched in the language of Hindu piety.

In such a great master of verse it would be an endless task to look for instances of vast learning. Beschi had studied the Tamil language critically and with enthusiasm. He had dived into the depths of its literature and emerged, as far as that was possible, a Tamil and a poet. Thus fragments of famous poets constantly come back in his poetry, almost in spite of himself. He has, again, a way of recalling some verse of a master and tacking a part of it on to his own, thus vindicating the truth of Mirabeau's great saying that originality consists in knowing how to make use of other people's work. A cursory reading is enough to show three such verses bodily taken over from the *Chintāmani* but fitted into a new context. Thus verse 14 of Beschi's Canto 1 is nearly the same as Canto 1, v. 24 of the *Chintāmani*. Again, verse 112 of Canto 4 of the Jaina romance is the prototype of Canto 26, v. 61 of the *Thēmbāvani*. Lastly, most of the words in Canto 12, v. 11 of Beschi are the same as Canto 11, verse 4 of the *Chintāmani*, except that Beschi has deftly applied to a hill a description in which his Jaina predecessor portrayed Court women. Extending the same inquisitiveness to other authors, it is easy to discover that the model for verse 4 in Beschi's Exordium is verse 2 in Kampan's Exordium to his *Rāmāyana*. Many of the descriptive sketches in the *Thēmbāvani* are reminiscent

of the same poet, who has been called the Kalidāsa of Tamil and the emperor of Tamil poets. This is especially true of the battle-scenes in Book II which recall, by the vigour of their movement and the picturesqueness of their detail, the famous scenes of Kamban's 'Yuddha-Kānda.' But Beschi had a special predilection for Thiruvalluvar, he of the divine muse, and his *Kural*. Thus he has incorporated in his own verse more than a score of Thiruvalluvar's incomparable epigrams.

Considering the mass and the quality of Beschi's work his place in Tamil literature is assured on the heights. Tamil prose has never been simpler or clearer, reflecting every shade of abstruse sense and responsive to every change of mood, than when Beschi wielded it. As for his poetry, Caldwell, on the estimate of impartial native critics, assigns him 'the first rank among the Tamil poets of the second class,' and proceeds: 'The first rank comprises only three or at the utmost four works—the *Kural*, the *Chintāmani*, the *Rāmāyanam* and the *Nāladiyār*.' No well-read critic of Tamil literature will accept this judgment. The *Kural* and the *Nāladiyār* have neither the beauty of form nor the emotional glow of true poetry, and however excellent as moral aphorisms can hardly be classed as works of art. Some of the lyrical gems in the Sangam collections, the *Aham* or *Puram*, for instance, have a far better claim to be considered as genuine poetry, by their simplicity, their directness, and the universality of their themes,—love, war, sport and friendship. The *Silappadikāram* (The Story of the Anklet), which possesses all these merits in an eminent degree besides the architectonic quality of its construction, will certainly be considered the finest work of imagination in Tamil. Then, and then only, come the *Chintāmani* and Kamban's *Rāmāyana*, brilliant but overwrought, with

many of the characteristics of great poetry but with none of its restraint. In the fervour of his *bhakti* Beschi finds his place with Nammâlvar and Mânikkavâsagar. In pressing poetry into the service of religion and metaphysics he recalls the Buddhist epic *Manimêkhalai*. In the purity and range of his diction, the variety and harmony of his verse, the splendour and truth of his descriptions, Beschi challenges comparison with Kamban and Thiruthakka-dêvar. No impartial critic who has read all the three will hesitate to place Beschi alongside of the Vaishnavite Bhakta and the Jaina ascetic. His poetry is as good as that of any poet subsequent to the Sangam epoch, far more true than that of the elegant versifiers who wrote *purânas* in plenty, the best perhaps that any man ever wrote in a language not his mother tongue. Stephens, Beschi, Hanxleden,—all three Jesuits and poets; but Beschi's place is as much the more conspicuous as Tamil is more difficult than Konkani or Malayalam,—the most difficult of Indian languages after Sanskrit, and proud in her ancient literature and in the self-sufficiency of her vocabulary.

But it cannot be pretended that Beschi has had anything like justice done to him. His own contemporaries gave him the full measure of that romantic, semi-religious admiration that the Tamil world has always extended to its creative artists. Tradition has it that he was admitted as a member of the Sangam—which did not exist—and was allowed by his colleagues to add to his name the prefix 'great', *honoris causa*. The first generation of Englishmen who set themselves to the study of Tamil realized his value as a guide to the language. Thus Babington of the Madras Civil Service edited and translated the story of Guru Paramârtha and the Grammar of Sen-Tamil. Ellis made a hobby of collecting manuscripts

of Beschi's works. The Grammar of Kodum-Tamil was printed thrice in the first forty years of the last century. As recently as 1870 the Madras Government Press issued a dictionary 'based on that of Beschi'. The linguistic work of Beschi has suffered the fate of all pioneer attempts—its very effectiveness has been the cause of its partial effacement.

But not so his poetry. *Odium theologicum* prevented the Protestant missionary, though he were a scholar, from seizing the true worth of Beschi's poetry. Pope's remark that the *Thēmbāvani* is 'monotonous' is tragic in its self-revelation. But the Tamil world, where art and poetry have always been the handmaids of religion, has no such excuse for its scant recognition of the work of one who loved it so sincerely and served it so diligently. This is, however, only to be expected when the patronage of Tamil studies is in the hands of academic bodies with their artificial enthusiasms and their ancient prejudices. Beschi will no doubt come into his own when there is a popular revival of interest in the language. Whenever that may be, Tamil Catholics will have the least excuse of all if they fail to appreciate him. They still frequent in their thousands his Conānkuppam and his beloved Elākurichi. This is their half-unconscious tribute to the memory of one who covered their religion with glory in the eyes of their countrymen and enshrined in forms of lasting beauty the truths by which they live. Only by entering into his great legacy, by enriching and carrying it forward, will they be able to vindicate their religion and their capacity for culture. Thus alone will the literature of India be enriched with gifts that are at once Catholic and Indian.

Trichinopoly.

THE STATE AND AGRICULTURE IN INDIA

BY M. ALOYSIUS

THE increasing activity of the State in the economic life of many Western countries is a fact too well known to need elaboration. In striking contrast to the principles of *laissez-faire* which held sway throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century, we now see the policy of State control followed in practically every phase of national life. Its keynote is a cautious but clear and determined attempt to aid economic development. A reference to the progress made by Germany in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, by Russia with its recent five-year plan, and by Italy under the present régime, and to the phenomenal rise of Japan at the beginning of this century to the position of a leading industrial nation, is sufficient to show the value of Government initiative and direction in procuring a balanced economic development.

It must be said to the credit of the Government of India that they have not been slow to understand this value and have, especially since the War, followed a policy of active intervention in the economic life of this country. A critical review of the measures adopted by them will help to indicate not only the main tendencies at work but also the value of the results so far achieved.

India is predominantly an agricultural country. The bulk of the people, representing nearly 90 per cent of the population, are connected with land and live directly or

indirectly by the pursuit of agriculture. Hence the development of agriculture in this country is of paramount importance because with it is bound up the well-being of millions of Indian cultivators.

The British rule in India has indirectly had a far-reaching influence on agricultural development. The establishment of peace and safety within the country, the evolution of a system of land tenure which gives a greater measure of security to the peasant, the development of irrigation resulting in millions of acres being brought under cultivation, the pursuance of a sound famine-relief policy, and the improvement of the means of communication both to prevent famine and to provide facilities for cultivators to find suitable markets for their produce,—all these constitute a record of which any government may be proud.

The beginnings of direct help to agriculture may be traced to the thirties of the nineteenth century, when agricultural farms and botanical gardens were started to study the acclimatization of useful exotics like cinchona and tea. Again, after the great Bengal and Orissa Famine of 1866, the Government contemplated the organization of an agricultural department; but when it was realized that as a preliminary to this important step statistics relating to agricultural matters should be collected, systematized and made available both for study and reference, this was accordingly undertaken. The next step was made when, acting on the recommendation of the Famine Commission of 1880, the Government organized agricultural departments in the various provinces of India for the purpose of 'agricultural inquiry, agricultural improvement and famine relief.' Thus by the end of the nineteenth century the foundations had been laid for the establishment of an agricultural department on approved modern scientific lines.

But it is in the twentieth century that we first see real progress, for it was only then that Government adopted a definite forward policy in scientific agriculture. In the first place, in 1901, in order to co-ordinate the activities of the various provincial agricultural departments, they appointed an Inspector-General of Agriculture, 'who was to act as an adviser in agricultural matters both to the Imperial and the various Provincial Governments'. Again, in accordance with the recommendation of the Famine Commission of 1901 and of the Irrigation Commission of 1903, the Government of Lord Curzon brought out a scheme for the establishment of a Central Research Institute at Pusa in the Province of Bihar. The establishment of this Central Institute marks the beginning of really organized agricultural research in India. About the same time, the Co-operative Credit Act of 1904 was passed. The expansion of both Imperial and Provincial Agricultural Departments followed as a matter of course. Appreciating the real needs of the people and realizing the value of research for a country like India, Lord Curzon spent the larger part of a generous donation by an American philanthropist to promote agricultural research. A great impetus to the development of the agricultural department was also given by the decision of the Government in 1905 to set 20 lacs of rupees apart every year for the development of agricultural research, experiment, demonstration and instruction.

The establishment of a Central Institute at Pusa with a large staff of experts has had far-reaching effects on agricultural progress. Besides this, there are also other Imperial Institutes, Cattle-breeding Stations and Agricultural Farms in different parts of the country which are doing very useful work, at Bangalore and Coimbatore in the South and at Muktesar in the North. Government

have also been generous in their grants to these institutions. It was also part of their plan that in every province there should be well-equipped agricultural colleges and research institutes.

In the early stages, the Inspector-General of Agriculture, besides being of much assistance to the Provinces in the formation of their departments, had a considerable responsibility in connection with the development of the Pusa Institute. The years following 1910 witnessed some administrative changes. The post of Inspector-General for agricultural guidance and improvement was abolished in 1911, and in his place an Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India was appointed who was at the same time to act as Director of the Central Research Institute at Pusa. In addition to the duties formerly discharged by the Inspector-General of Agriculture, he was to visit the provinces and give advice on such agricultural questions as might be referred to him. 'With the transfer of agriculture under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1919 to the control of popular Ministers, the association between the Provinces and the Central Institute tended to grow considerably less and less.' The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India recommended, in 1928, that the post of Agricultural Adviser should be abolished, that a whole-time Director should be appointed for Pusa, and that to bring about co-ordination between the Provinces and the Central Institute an Imperial Council of Agricultural Research should be started. In a Resolution issued on May 23, 1929, the Government of India accepted the scheme and set up the council which now constitutes a separate department of the Government of India. Its duties comprise (a) promotion, guidance, co-ordination of agricultural and veterinary research so as to link it with agricultural research in other parts of the British Empire and in

foreign countries, (b) training of research-workers, (c) collection and dissemination of information, and (d) publication of scientific papers,—work which had till then been carried out by the Imperial Agricultural Department. The Council is financed by a fixed minimum annual grant of £55,000. Its chairman is the member of the Governor-General's Executive Council in charge of the portfolio of agriculture.

The combined effect of the creation of these several agencies on actual agricultural development may be illustrated with reference to particular crops. Under cereals, rice stands first in importance and is a vital factor in the welfare of the land. In regard to this crop, research and experimentation has chiefly been directed to the selection and evolution of better varieties, suitable for export and free from the usual defects of inferior kinds, such as the presence of red grains, lack of uniformity in the size of the grains, excessive breakage in milling, and the presence of awns. Again, under wheat, better types with high yielding, rust-resisting and standing powers have been evolved.

Under fibres, cotton may be taken as typical. Better types of cotton of a high-ginning and long staple quality suitable for Indian soils have been successfully put on the market. There has also been a considerable increase in the area under cotton. Scientific problems relating to cotton culture are also being investigated by the Provincial Agricultural Departments. Careful selection and breeding has resulted in new and better strains of jute being extensively cultivated in preference to the older varieties.

Similar gratifying results have also been obtained in regard to the evolution of hardy hybrids to supplant the present inferior local sugar-canes, especially in

the Coimbatore Cane-breeding Station. The varieties which have been evolved there are doing remarkably well, and we may confidently say that if the present rate of progress is kept up and sugar-cane cultivation is adopted on a more extensive scale India may at no distant date produce all the sugar needed for her consumption. She is at present importing 800,000 tons, as against 100,000 to 120,000 tons of home production.

These examples are typical of other crops, such as tobacco, where the same rate of progress is observed. We have, indeed, reached a stage when more attention has perhaps to be given to the popularization of the fruits of scientific research than to the discovery of new varieties of crops or implements or methods of cultivation.

Other directions in which the Government have contributed to agricultural progress may be briefly mentioned. Attention has been directed to the improvement of live stock by better feeding, selective breeding, and crossing with select English breeds ; in the dairy industry, experiments in the sterilization of milk have been successfully tried ; new types of scientific agricultural implements have been introduced, and investigations have been made with regard to the reclamation of saline lands, the conservation of soil moisture, the efficiency of different methods of green manuring, and the control of insect pests and diseases among crops. Powers have also been obtained by legislation to regulate the transport of raw cotton and to prevent the adulteration of long staple cotton by the admixture of coarse varieties and also to control gins and presses with a view to preventing malpractices. . Tenancy legislation to secure the tenant against eviction also exists in almost all the provinces.

The co-operative movement in India, started and consolidated by the Acts of 1904 and 1912, is sufficiently important to deserve more than a passing mention.

In regard to agriculture, its main services have been in starting Credit Societies, societies for the distribution of seed, the co-operative purchase of manures and implements, cattle insurance, promotion of lift irrigation, and the marketing of agricultural produce. The most important of these are undoubtedly the Co-operative Credit Societies. It is estimated that the annual saving effected in the interest paid by the agriculturists on loans all over India has been between 40 and 50 lacs of rupees. The movement has no doubt disclosed certain serious defects, such as heavy overdues, unpunctuality in repaying loans, and embezzlement and illiteracy and lack of education on the part of cultivators ; but these need not cause alarm. It may be hoped that with the combined efforts of non-official workers in the field and of enthusiastic Registrars of Co-operative Societies, it will before long be established on a healthy basis.

The other kinds of agricultural societies in India are also doing considerable good ; as one of the best means of popularizing scientific agriculture, they have vast potentialities for the future.

All these constitute a considerable achievement. But there is still a feeling in some quarters that the progress achieved has been inadequate. Criticism centres round the pressure of land revenue, tariff, and agricultural education. The first is an uncertain factor. How far land revenue impedes agricultural progress is extremely doubtful, as we have no reliable data on which to base definite conclusions. But in the sphere of tariffs and of agricultural education the agricultural policy adopted in India has fallen short of that adopted elsewhere. Hitherto the tendency has generally been to tax through

import duties everything that the agriculturist needs, without any compensating advantage for agricultural production. But there are already hopeful signs that the interests of agriculturists will in future be safeguarded, as is evident from the discussions in the Legislative Assembly over the Steel Industry Bill of 1924, when a proposal for an extra protective duty of 10 per cent was rejected because it would expose the poor ryot to serious hardships and even penalize him. As regards the spread of agricultural education, a good deal certainly yet remains to be done : but if deficiencies still exist they must be largely ascribed to the lack of necessary funds. Those who talk lightly of educational uplift appear not to realize that India is a vast subcontinent, and any scheme intended for the country involves an enormous expenditure. But with the existing resources at its disposal the State has started agricultural schools and colleges in all the Provinces to impart instruction in modern scientific methods. Agricultural education is a peculiarly difficult problem in India. Education in India has been largely literary and has therefore inevitably alienated the sympathies of the agricultural classes from practical farming. Hence, to arouse greater interest in land and its cultivation, a system of practical education must be introduced, so that young men, instead of struggling for a mere pittance as clerks, may be induced to set up as practical farmers and contented landlords. The introduction of Nature Study in all English and Vernacular schools, as has been done in Travancore, may help in this direction. As to the scheme of agricultural education which is best suited to this country, the Agricultural Commission, after examining various schemes, has recommended for adoption the system followed in the Punjab. The chief feature of this system is that not only is theoretical instruction in agriculture imparted,

but it is reinforced by the inclusion of practical agricultural training. To every school is attached a small farm for practical work, so that what the pupils learn in the class-room is demonstrated and supplemented by practical work carried out on the land under the supervision of a specially trained teacher.

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Among other suggestions put forward, there are two or three which aim at bettering the condition of agriculturists, and therefore deserve examination. The first is that in view of the poverty of the masses in India the Government should adopt a measure of protection by imposing restrictions on the export of agricultural produce; but it may reasonably be asked whether such a course of action will not deprive the cultivator of a powerful stimulus to reap the profits resulting from exporting his produce to distant markets.

Another suggestion put forward is that Government should encourage the development of agricultural by-industries. There is certainly great scope for the development of rural industries, but it may be found at present difficult to get the necessary technical skill for the purpose. Breeding and rearing of live stock and sugar and dairy industries have been suggested as useful supplementary and paying occupations which might be tried on an increasing scale in this country.

Another suggestion relates to the use of electric power for the work and management of farms, as in Denmark. In regard to the development of cheap electric power the potentialities of India are vast, and when the Pykara and other schemes are completed it may be possible even for remote villages to have cheap electric power which can be applied to production and home industries. It is, however, open to doubt whether the use of electric power would be practicable in all parts of the country,

for even in some Western countries where this has been tried it is still largely in an experimental stage.

This brief sketch of agricultural progress in India may be concluded with a reference to some other recommendations of the Royal Commission which deserve careful consideration by the Government. The Commission recommended the appointment of Research Committees in the Provinces. Such Committees, working under the general direction of the Central Council of Research, will certainly act as a welcome agency in tackling problems which are peculiar to each Province. The readjustment of railway freights on fodder, fuel, timber, agricultural implements and manures, legislation designed to promote the consolidation of holdings, and the establishment of regulated markets for the sale of agricultural produce, are other recommendations which are indisputably useful. The carrying out of these, however, requires the co-operation of Provincial Governments, of railway agencies, and of the public ; but 'at no time has there been a greater need than at the present moment for co-ordinated effort directed towards the solution of agricultural problems. Only by increased efficiency in production can India meet the situation caused by low prices for agricultural commodities and the intensive competition in world markets arising from production in excess of effective demand.'

Madras.

SOME RECENT BOOKS

LANGUAGE

Language. By Leonard Bloomfield. Pp. 566. London : Allen & Unwin, 1935. Price 15s. •

Language is as fundamental as man himself : it is the distinctive prerogative of man, and like him it is essentially composed of a spiritual and a material element. Only an intelligent being can think, and only a bodily being can speak. The problems connected with human language, therefore, go down to the very foundations of man's dual nature, and can be solved with only partial success so long as that animal called man is a little less than the angels.

Professor Leonard Bloomfield is not afraid of grasping this nettle of a subject, and he is fully competent to grasp it. For both in the *Introduction to the Study of Language* which he published in 1914 and in the revised version of it which he has now brought out under the title of *Language*, he has shown himself eminently qualified to discuss some of the most elementary, and therefore the most difficult, questions that can be asked. How does man invent words to express his thoughts? What is the relation between the thought and the word? How does syntax arise? Why do different classes of the same nation use different words and expressions and even sentences to convey the same ideas? What is the psychological explanation of idiom? Is there such a thing as 'the inevitable word'? How do dialects arise? Is there any causal connection between geography and language?—These are only a few of the numberless questions connected with this interesting subject which it is easier to ask than to answer.

But Professor Bloomfield, though he does not pretend to have said the last word on these problems, certainly discusses them with an impartiality and a depth and a modesty worthy of a scholar. In his previous book he had adopted Wilhelm Wundt's theory of the psychology of language; in this book he is wiser and contents himself with exposing both the mechanistic and the mentalistic systems of psychology, without basing his own conclusions on either of them. For language is a deeper thing than the psychology of language : explanations of facts are liable to error, but the facts remain.

It is impossible to give even a summary of the wealth of this book, for such close and scientific reasoning cannot be summarized. We shall, therefore, refer to only one section of it which is of interest even to the general reader : the comparative method in the study of language. Professor Bloomfield's scholarship is best seen in the way in which he judges the value of this method of solving the question : Does a similarity of words prove the common origin of those who use them ?

Some languages resemble each other to a degree that can be explained only by historical connection. Some resemblance, to be sure, may result from universal factors. . . Other features. . . are not universal, but still so widespread that better knowledge will doubtless some day connect them with universal characteristics of mankind. Many features that are not widespread. . . are found in distant and wholly unrelated languages. . . (p. 297)

The poise of these judgments on a subject where fools are so easily tempted to rush in is a mark of rare scholarship. After explaining the older *family-tree theory* and the more recent *wave-theory* of linguistic relationship, he thus sounds a note of caution :

The comparative method, then,—our only method for the reconstruction of prehistoric language,—would work accurately for absolutely uniform speech-communities and sudden, sharp cleavages. Since these presuppositions are never fully realized, the comparative method cannot claim to picture the historical process. (p. 318).

These remarks are equally true of the comparative study of languages and of the comparative study of religions. In both the temptation is to argue from similarities to borrowings or common origins, and the danger of yielding to the temptation is equally great—in religion it is even greater, for the subject is of much more serious importance.

Another common pitfall against which Professor Bloomfield puts us on our guard is the exaggerated claims of the grammarian. The sudden rise of the middle class to affluence in the last two centuries led to their desiring to rise also in the standard of their speech. They, therefore, went to school with the 'grammarians', who taught them to suspect everything they said to be incorrect or at least non-standard speech. Thus, when there are two equally genuine forms like *it's I* and *it's me*, or *the house he lived in* and *the house in which he lived*, they are taught that one of them is English and the other is not. Professor Bloomfield rightly insists that both are equally good, for the obvious reason that both are used in upper-class standard speech, and grammar must follow, not lead, usage.

These are a few of the many interesting problems connected with language which are discussed in this book. It is a useful book of reference and is equipped with scholarly notes and with a complete bibliography and index. Teachers of English as well as students of philology will find it a well of information from which they may draw at pleasure and always thirst for more.

T. N. Siqueira.

Calcutta.

EINSTEIN

The World as I See It. By Albert Einstein. Translated by Alan Harris. Pp. X + 214. London : John Lane. 1935. Price 8s. 6d.

This book is a selection of articles, addresses and pronouncements of Professor Einstein made, as the compiler declares, with a view 'to give a picture of a man.' Moreover, the book is intended

as a 'plea' for the belief 'in humanity, in a peaceful world of mutual helpfulness, and in the high mission of science'. It is divided into five parts : I. The World as I see it ; II. Politics and Pacifism ; III. Germany in 1933 ; IV. The Jews ; and V. Scientific.

Einstein repudiates the notion of free will. He has a firm conviction in the existence of 'a superior intellect revealing itself in the world of experience', which is his conception of God. This belief he calls 'pantheistic' (in Spinoza's sense). 'Religious truth', (by which he evidently means revealed truth), 'denominational traditions', 'moral truths', bear for him no special significance. Survival after death is beyond his comprehension. He is a determinist, but he believes in the 'rationality or intelligibility of the world', that is, in what the Scholastics termed 'finality'. As regards the question of the 'meaning of life', his answer is : 'We exist for our fellow men'. His ideals have been Truth, Goodness, Beauty ; and in his solitudinous heights he contemplates 'the mysterious unity of nature'. He declares that the 'mysterious' is the 'fundamental emotion in true art and science, and that it is this emotion that engendered religion'. He attempts to outline the genesis of religion first from Fear, next from the Social Feelings, and lastly from the 'Cosmic Religious Feeling', which is apparently its highest form. The last he defines as the desire to 'experience the universe as a significant whole'. The great work of the teacher is to arouse this feeling.

However much we may disagree with Einstein, we see in all this the normal outcome of a life devoted to certain special branches of science, unequipped with any deep purely philosophical training, and entering into questions which every mind must eventually consider, and which inevitably lead into the domain of metaphysics. As he himself deplores, owing to the limitations of the human intellect specialization in the intellectual sphere has become a necessary evil. It can very easily happen, therefore, that a specialist in one subject is only a novice in another ; wherefore we should not take the utterances of such a one seriously when he comes out of his element. We cannot fail to detect, however, a lovable character in the man. His disinterested pursuit of knowledge, his love of all nature encompassing even Man and inspiring that fellow-feeling which he bears towards all human beings, coupled with a strong sense of justice and of indignation at the unreasonable curtailment of the rights of the individual and of minorities ; his utter detestation of war, his abhorrence of militarism, his desire for bettering the condition of the poor, his contempt for wealth, his anxiety for a friendly understanding between communities and peoples, his sorrow at the petty nationalism and prejudices that undermine the 'community of the intellect' ; his high opinion of the noble mission of science ; his modesty with regard to his own knowledge and achievements :— all these traits are strongly borne out by his utterances. While deploring the work of the press, of the schools, and of some governments in fostering the communal spirit, he still believes in the inherent good of individuals. He would keep aloof, for all

that, but he is forced by circumstances to enter into matters of public interest.

When dealing with political and economic topics Einstein is guided by his general principles of love and trust. That his proposals regarding Disarmament were received with deference and admiration we can well believe ; but the failure of Einstein and others like him in connection with Disarmament and the League of Nations was inevitable. He himself resigned his place in the Commission for Intellectual Co-operation instituted by the League. His analysis of the economic crisis is a commonsense one, but the remedies he suggests are idealistic. He acknowledges possible deficiencies in his proposals, but urges that the object he has at heart forces him to enter into these questions.

But he is sometimes inconsistent. While denouncing 'denominational traditions', he still takes a pride in Jewish ones, and exhorts young Jews to keep them alive. He abhors the national spirit, but he attempts to inculcate a national Jewish pride. He deplores class distinctions, but for Jews he feels they are necessary to preserve their integrity. He detests 'militarism' and preaches the 'Cosmic Religion', but he suggests the use of force in coercing a recalcitrant nation. His Cosmic Religious Feeling is felt, as he declares, by all great scientists, but in reality he finds the great scientific academies moved by petty feelings of national pride and jealousy. He himself, a cosmopolitan by choice, was born a Swiss, became a German, was known as a Jew, and finally finds himself an Englishman. He avows optimism, but his failures and inconsistencies disclose a disillusionment with regard to that Truth, Goodness and Beauty which he hoped to see in all nature, man included ; for man has thrown a dirty smudge on that beautiful picture of harmony that his study of the World-without-Man had painted.

These inconsistencies and failures, however, are attributable to the fact that, although he has studied the machines of nature, he has left out of consideration that most important tenant of the world—man. He strove to formulate a theory of the universe ; but his universe was only an insignificant part of the whole, for that part of it which is capable of thought and will was left out. For Einstein man must fit in with the harmony established among the rest ; in short, man is a machine ; the 'freedom' of man, his aspirations, the possibility of another life, do not count at all. He does not supply a solid basis for his ethical adage : 'we live for our fellow beings'. His religion is too vague ; at the most it is a sentiment. There is in it no real foundation for rights and duties. His 'meaning of life' does not go deep enough. His Cosmic Religion has no soul, because for him man has no soul. It is a 'feeling' experienced only by the select few ; it is not suitable for all intellects. No wonder, then, that it cannot be put in practice, as he expects, by all !

Part III gives the correspondence leading up to and consequent on his withdrawal from the Prussian Academy and from the Bavarian Academy of Sciences.

Part IV consists chiefly of a series of utterances in connection with the establishment of the Jewish Colony in Palestine : an opportunity, as he views it, of setting up, not a nation, but a centre of culture.

In Part V we have several of his scientific speeches. Here and there they touch on philosophical points ; but their chief interest, we believe, lies in the scientific plane. He is at great pains to disclose the nature of the work of the theoretical physicist. His summing up of the development of theoretical physics from the state in which Newton left it, and even from 'pre-scientific' days, up to his General Theory of Relativity, is admirable. This theory is presented as an 'organic development of Newton's ideas'.

The influence of Clerk-Maxwell, of Lorentz, and of Niels Bohr, is estimated with masterly precision. As regards Relativity, it is always refreshing to hear it expounded by Einstein himself. Although he gives only the bare outlines of the theory and briefly indicates the lines of thought leading up to it, one feels inspired by his work. Repetitions are frequent in the different essays, but this is hardly regrettable on account of the novel manner of expression that he uses and the different point of view that he takes each time he says the same thing. It is a pity, however, that the compiler has not affixed the dates to the several speeches ; for then we should have more clearly followed the evolution of the Einsteinian mentality. The last two articles, one on Beer's Law on the erosion of rivers, and the other on the Flettner ship, seem to have been inserted merely to show that Einstein could sometimes come down to a lower plane and help in the propagation of knowledge. Indeed, even his public lectures on Relativity are an attempt to make abstruse problems intelligible to the ordinary man. By philanthropists, by scientists practical and theoretical, by the people who sense the Cosmic Religious Feeling, and even by idealists and materialists, this little book will certainly be appreciated, although it will meet with different degrees of appreciation. One point calls for comment, namely that Einstein considers an 'abstraction' as a 'fiction' ; but in the space at our disposal this is not possible.

J. B. Freeman.

Bangalore.

FREUD

Freud. By Edoardo Fenu. Pp. VII+208. Brescia : Morcelliana, 1934. Price L.8.

In the first of his twenty-eight introductory lectures on psycho-analysis delivered at the University of Vienna in two winter sessions, 1915-1917, Freud told his hearers that he would show them how the whole trend of their training and their accustomed modes of thought were calculated to create in them a hostile attitude towards psycho-analysis, and how many difficulties they

would have to overcome in their own minds in order to master this instinctive antagonism. And such are the feelings inspired in most people, not by psycho-analysis proper, but by *Freudism*; that is to say, psycho-analysis as interpreted by Freud, psycho-analysis distorted by the Viennese professor and his disciples, psycho-analysis disfigured to such an extent as to cause Frederic Schlegel to exclaim: 'Is man then merely a sensual being?'

Psycho-analysis was originally the name of a therapeutic method laying down a systematic treatment for those suffering from nervous disorders. From being thus initially confined to the study of the neuroses, it gradually extended its field of investigation to the subject of normal dream life, to the processes underlying the production of wit, and to the development and variation of the instinct of sex. Next, its inquiries had for their subject various deviations from the normal, such as criminality, certain psychoses, failures in mental functioning with healthy people, and the nature and origin of sexual perversions. Nor did it ignore the more normal manifestations of intellectual activity; and in course of time it considered the source of literary and artistic inspiration, the evolution of language, the structure and meaning of religious, mythological and superstitious belief, and the sources of many other human interests and activities, encroaching thus in ever widening circles on the domain of normal psychology, until at last psycho-analysis also became the name of a science, the science of unconscious normal processes.

The division of mental life into what is conscious and what is unconscious is the fundamental principle on which psycho-analysis is based. Investigations on neurotics have convinced the analyst of the existence of the unconscious. This 'unconscious', as psycho-analysis has revealed it, has nothing to do with the term as employed in ordinary speech, where it stands for 'unintentional', 'involuntary', or for the psychic elements of which one has not then thought but which are accessible to consciousness and can be every time reproduced by concentrated attention. The Unconscious, in the Freudian sense, is that indefinite mass of mental processes which either never were in consciousness, or, having previously been in consciousness, have been repressed. According to Freud and his followers, the elements of the unconscious system are active constituents of mental life. Indeed, psychoanalysts are convinced that the somatic and emotional effects of the unconscious are far more powerful than those emanating from consciousness. The unconscious is essentially dynamic and capable of profoundly affecting conscious ideational or emotional life without the individual being aware of its influence. On the other hand, the conscious is that part of mental life, proportionately infinitesimal, of which the individual is aware at any given time. Consciousness is not the essential part of life but only one property of it. Thus, willy-nilly, psychoanalysts are led to admit that every action and thought is the infallible result of a series of previous actions and thoughts, and that there is no free will: a conclusion which leads us to the parting of the ways.

The analysis of dreams affords one of the best evidences of unconscious mental activity. Every dream has a double content, one manifest and the other latent. The manifest content is all that is directly known and recalled by the dreamer ; in many ways it appears absurd and confused. Psycho-analysis, by free association, discovers the latent content, an underlying mental structure, of which the manifest dream is nothing but a distorted, abbreviated and misinterpreted translation, and usually a translation into visual images. The latent content or inner meaning of the dream is so disguised by the symbolism of the manifest content as to be hidden from the dreamer. But the meaning is not hidden from the analyst who is in possession of a remarkable technique for the interpretation of dreams, an indispensable part of the psycho-analytic therapy. Of the many weak points exhibited by Freudism this is by far the weakest ; of its many unscientific sides this is the most unscientific. Freud was indeed an artist endowed with a most extravagant imagination ; and for him the vast majority of the symbols of dream life are sexual.

Despite his assertions to the contrary, Freud ascribes a sexual meaning to all dreams. Both he and his adherents have recognized that the main opposition to, and, according to them, the fundamental misunderstanding of, psycho-analysis lies in the extensive use of the word 'sexual' ; and they have time after time endeavoured to define what is meant by it in psycho-analysis. We may, then, admit that Freud's conception of sex does not limit itself to gross sexuality, but that it is very broad, as broad as the English word 'love'.

What the dream is to the sleeper the nervous disease is, at least in many respects, to the waking man. The nightmare of sleep corresponds on the whole to the anxious condition of the waking neurotic individual. In other words, the neurotic is living in a kind of dream. It is not, therefore, a matter for surprise that Freud should have extended to the treatment of neuroses the psycho-analytical technique which he used for the elucidation of dreams. The therapeutic aim of psycho-analysis is to replace the unconscious by the conscious. In addition to the analysis of neurotic individuals, character analyses and training analyses are also frequently undertaken : the former have reference to the so-called 'neurotic characters' ; the latter refer to the fact that the chief requisite for practising analysis is a personal analysis of the would-be analyst.

The artistic temperament is closely related to the neurotic ; the poet, both in the mechanism and in the ultimate tendency of his creations, stands very near the psycho-neurotic, and it is only by the aid of his artistic talents that he protects himself from neurosis. What first led Freud to resort to the principles of psycho-analysis in order to understand the mind of the poet was the use of the dream-problem-solution to interpret Shakespeare's *Hamlet*—an interpretation which induced him to point out, in connection with the *Oedipus* of Sophocles, a masked form of the universal incest-complex. Later Freud

published a psycho-analytical study on the peculiar mental physiognomy of one of the greatest artists, Leonardo da Vinci, and gave an analogous example of the influence of psycho-analysis on biography replete with infantilism and sexuality, which are disclosed by the Freudian investigations to be the chief components of the neuroses, and which show themselves to be also the directing streams in the development of every character, exceptional or normal.

Further, Freud has endeavoured to illuminate religion from the psycho-analytical standpoint on the basis of certain apparent similarities between definite acts of those afflicted with obsessional neurosis and the forms of religious customs; and he has come to the conclusion, on the ground of certain agreements and analogies, that the obsessional neurosis is a pathological counterpart of the religious structure: the neurosis being an individual religious practice and religion a universal obsessional neurosis. The root of the belief in God, according to Freud, is the father-complex: the personal God is psychologically no other than an enlarged father, and psycho-analysis brings daily before our eyes how youthful persons lose their religious faith as soon as the authority of the father is broken in them.

Such are the main topics discussed by the author in a most vivid and cogent way. He considers Freudism under its various aspects and tactfully points out its defects—which are many—, without ignoring its merits—which are few. The book is meant for the man in the street, that he may not lose his way in the maze of psycho-analytical ways and by-ways; for the believer, that he may be confirmed in his faith; for the scholar, that he may be induced to look deeper into the subject.

It is written in Italian, by an Italian, for Italians. The realm of the unconscious is necessarily obscure, but psycho-analysts have taken a positive delight in peopling it with shadows; Freud and his followers have been neologists to excess; some of their theories are fantastically bold; not a few Freudians are fanatics. These aspects of Freudism are naturally repugnant to the Italian mind, which loves clarity and good sense, and is humorously sceptical.

J. F. Caius.

Bombay.

RURAL LIFE IN NORTH-EASTERN CHINA

La Chine, le peuple, sa vie quotidienne et ses cérémonies. By Fr. Arthur Segers. Pp. VI+242. Plates 160. Editions 'De Sikkel', Antwerp, 1934. Price 250 French francs.

The majority of our readers would probably feel considerable difficulty in saying off-hand where the town of Chao-yang-fu may be found on a map. As a matter of fact, it lies a little over two hundred miles north-east of Peking, half way between the capital

of China and Mukden, the capital of Manchuria. It is situated outside the great wall of China in territory half Chinese and half Mongolian. There Father Arthur Segers laboured for many years as a missionary. After his retirement he set himself the task of giving a description of the life of the people in that remote Chinese province which his profession enabled him to study down to the most intimate details. Father Segers is not only a man endowed with considerable powers of minute observation and vivid yet simple description, but he is also an excellent photographer. During long years he recorded features of life in the land of his labours under the most various aspects, seizing every chance to obtain photographic illustrations of every phase of modern Chinese society that came within the sphere of his activity. Returning to his Belgian home he has put his notes in order, selected his photographs, and published the results in the volume under review.

What strikes us about this work is its Homeric objectivity. There is no comment, no praise, no blame, throughout the narrative, however much one might feel that certain customs, practices and incidents recorded naturally call for them. The plan of the work is well thought out. In the first chapter, entitled 'Travelling', we are introduced to the roads, vehicles, landscape in winter and summer, brigands, bridges, inundations, and the birth and death of villagers. After having read this vivid chapter and consulted the illustrations pertaining to it, we feel almost at home in this strange and remote country. We then pass on to the inns and their keepers, their guests, their kitchens, lodgings, and pastimes. Without these inns we could not move about in this primitive land of which the roads make the author exclaim : 'O, these roads, these roads !' The inns allow us to visit the villages of which we learn the construction, the houses, the architecture, the customs, the farms, the cattle, the life and the labour. Next we naturally pass to agriculture. This chapter gives us a picture of the community and then proceeds to the personal life of the family. Its foundation being marriage, this is described in full. We assist at the betrothal and the marriage feast and unhappily witness elopements, polygamy and adultery, ending in a story of two heads cut off from a guilty pair and 500 strokes with the rod administered to the avenger. The next chapter, on the family, is less dramatic, but contains poignant details ; a sub-heading, following that on 'the daughter-in-law', is entitled 'suicide'. 'Domestic economy' is a chapter which describes the home budget, clothing, food, famine, labour and beggars. Next we come to birth with its superstitions, its feasts, its hygiene and its cares. From there we proceed to the school, not without a certain amount of grim humour which transports us back to the Middle Ages. All this brings us naturally to sickness, doctors, death and burial, and to the imposing and elaborate coffins. We finally pass on to the Mandarins and their tribunals, with gruesome pictures of prisons and torture and decapitation. Much that is related is sad and primitive.

All this is rural. A short chapter is added on town life. Finally, a chapter on the habits and beliefs in the family circle closes this extraordinarily vivid description.

It is on the whole a very crude life that has been pictured here. Yet many of the illustrations bear evidence of gentleness and attractiveness. The book is very informative, and through its objectivity and absence of comment a source-book for the student of sociology. Two remarks, however, must be made. Not only is the description internally objective, but it makes no attempt at perspective. Is this description of the life in the rather primitive countryside of north-eastern China representative of the life of the whole of China? Does it bear an intimate relation to the life of cultured and well-to-do China? We think not. It is an aspect, not the whole. Secondly, does the record need modification in consequence of recent political developments in China? Is it more generally true of life in China some decades ago than of the life of China to-day? The omission of preliminary explanations in this regard is perhaps not very important, yet it should be noted.

Johan Van Manen.

Calcutta.

THE COSMOS

NEW PATHWAYS IN SCIENCE. By SIR ARTHUR EDDINGTON. Messenger Lectures, 1934. Pp. X + 343. Cambridge University Press, 1935. Price 10s. 6d.

The philosophical views of Sir Arthur Eddington are already known to English readers through his remarkable book on *The Nature of the Physical World*, which first appeared in 1928 and has gone through seven impressions. The six years that have elapsed between the publication of the Gifford lectures and the writing of *New Pathways in Science* have not changed the author's fundamental outlook on scientific philosophy. Through the conceptions that underlie the new physical theories, Sir Arthur aims at reaching the more recondite developments in which the greatest philosophical conceptions are to be found. And the general spirit of his inquiry leads him to views clearly opposed to the materialistic conception of the universe and contrary to scientific positivism. In connexion with his sound attitude towards the existence of objective reality we like to recall that the idealistic tinge in his conception of the physical world arose out of his mathematical researches on the theory of relativity.

New Pathways in Science, based upon the Messenger Lectures delivered at Cornell University in 1934, is in more than one sense a sequel to *The Nature of the Physical World*; and it may be said in favour of the solidity of Sir Arthur's philosophical outlook that the views expressed in the former are of the same complexion as those already formulated in the latter. Although not a systematic introduction to modern scientific thought, the present book contains a variety of chapters on modern science and on the philosophical conclusions to which it has led. Sir Arthur's constant aim is to explain the scientific view of the physical world as it stands to-day, and, where it is incomplete, to judge the direction in which modern ideas appear to be tending. Far from pretending to give a definite view on the way modern physicists conceive the object of their science, Sir Arthur not only interprets these new tendencies in the physical theory, but also indicates how he himself has evolved a philosophical attitude in the light of recent scientific developments. These great changes in scientific thought, which were mainly wrought by the relativity theory, the quantum theory and the progressive principles of thermodynamics, are novel and complicated material for the philosophers.



[By courtesy of the Cambridge University Press

Sir James Jeans lecturing at the Royal Institution, London

¹ It is beyond the scope of this review to study the reaction produced on religion in general by these recent scientific achievements, and to inquire into the attitude taken up by modern scientists towards traditional religious views when projected against this new background of science. The modern scientific philosopher acknowledges that God is not the Matter of the universe, but its Creator and Controller. Sir Arthur contends that modern science spontaneously directs our mind towards the idea of a Demiurge, supremely intelligent, a master pure-mathematician, who has modelled the universe on the abstruse laws of nature, according to a mathematical pattern ascertainable, no doubt, by calculation, though irreducible to our imaginative forms of time and space. And Sir A. Eddington's worthy hero in the new pathways of science,—Sir James Jeans, concludes that the universe is the effect of an act of thought, and thus by its order and harmony shows the evidence of a designing and controlling Power, Who chose the material quantities wisely to the end.

Another remarkable conclusion is that the physical laws of nature appear in a new light. Far from being rigorously precise and fatalistic, they have no other certitude and necessity than belong to the laws of probability and of great numbers. They contain, in other words, a certain amount of free play. This novel conception of the natural laws upsets the old idea of physical determinism which many scientists of the past thought to be inconsistent with a moral and religious order in the world. For in their mind the determinism of physical science left no place for free will.

Among other questions treated we may mention the principle of indeterminacy and the quantum theory, probability, the constitution of the stars and nebulae, subatomic energy, the theory of the expanding universe, the significance of the constants of nature. In spite of Sir Arthur's efforts to simplify things, some chapters are a heavy strain on the reader. This inconvenience is, however, more than compensated for by the genuine interest that centres round the ideas of one of the foremost scientific philosophers of our day. Besides, what makes the reading of this book so attractive is its easy conversational style together with the author's happy way of illustrating the most abstract conceptions.

A. Schelvis.

THROUGH SPACE AND TIME. By SIR JAMES JEANS. Pp. XIV+224. Cambridge University Press, 1934. Price 8s. 6d.

We have already¹ reviewed Sir James Jeans's *The Universe around us*. It presents to the educated public in ordinary language the modern astronomical problems which he treated in more mathematical language in his monumental work *Astronomy and Cosmogony* (C. U. P., 1928). Sir James has now come a step lower to popularize modern astronomy, and by so doing has raised himself in the estimation of his many readers, by writing a delightful little volume for them, which contains in substance a series of lectures delivered at Christmas time, 1933-34 at the Royal Institution.

Sir James takes us on the longest journey in the whole universe, 'so far through space that our earth will look less than the tiniest of mores in a sunbeam, and so far through time that the whole of human history will shrink to a tick of the clock, and a man's whole life to something less than the twinkling of an eye.' As we travel through space, Sir James draws a picture of the universe as it now is :

'Vast spaces of unthinkable extent and terrifying desolation, redeemed from utter emptiness only at rare intervals by small particles of cold lifeless matter, and at still rarer intervals by those vivid balls of flaming gas we call stars. Most of these stars are solitary wanderers through space, although here and there we may perhaps find a star giving warmth and light to a family of encircling planets. Yet few of these are at all likely to resemble our own earth ; the majority will be so different that we shall hardly be able to describe their scenery, or imagine their physical condition.'

And as we travel through time, he unrolls before our eyes a moving picture of the past, present and future of the Universe :

¹ *The New Review*, May, 1935.

'We shall see the sky as it was a million years ago, a thousand million, and possibly even a million million years ago ; we shall watch vast colonies of stars, each like the sands of the seashore in number, being born, living their lives, and finally dying. As one tiny incident in the great drama, we shall watch one inconspicuous grain of sand—our sun—being broken up in great turmoil and finally producing a family of planets. We shall watch one of the smaller of these planets—our earth—coming into being as a globe of hot gas which gradually cools, and ultimately becomes a suitable abode for life. In due course we shall see life appearing, and finally man arriving, taking possession of this tiny speck of dust in space, surveying with astonishment the strange universe in which his life is cast, and looking wonderingly and perhaps anxiously and fearfully into the future.'

Such is the outline of this wonderful journey through time and space. One would like to quote more from this first-rate popular book, especially the last pages where the author sums up in his masterful way his final impressions of the universe of our travels. Comparing the phases in the history of the world to the ticks of an astronomical clock, Sir James starts an original train of thought that makes us see things in a new light—in the light of the astronomical time-scale. Looked at in this light man is a recent apparition on the earth. And in all probability the life ahead of the human race must enormously exceed the short life behind it. Thus, in terms of astronomical units, humanity may be said to be at the beginning of its existence. Man has only this moment become conscious of the vast world outside himself : he is learning only just now to focus his eyes on distant objects, and his awakening brain is beginning to wonder what they are. As Sir James told us on a more serious occasion and in one of his brilliant moods, let us suppose that the human race can only expect to survive for two thousand million years longer—a period about equal to the past age of the earth, and about seven thousand times the age of man— ; then, 'regarded as a being destined to live for threescore years and ten, humanity, although it has been born in a house seventy years old, is itself only three days old. But only in the last few minutes has it become conscious that the whole world does not centre round its cradle and its trappings, and only in the last few ticks of the clock has any adequate conception of the size of the external world dawned upon it. . . . A minute and a half ago the distance of a star was first measured and provided a measuring-rod for the universe. Ten seconds ago Shapley showed how the peculiar stars known as Cepheid variables provided a longer measuring-rod, and taught us to think of distances so great that light takes hundreds of thousands of years to traverse them. And with the very last tick of the clock, Hubble, using the same measuring rod, has found that the most remote objects visible in the biggest telescope on earth are so distant, that light, travelling 186,000 miles a second, takes about 140 million years to come from them to us.'

And yet the big telescope of Mount Wilson Observatory shows us only a fraction of space so small that it may perhaps bear the same relation to the whole of space as the Isle of Wight does to the surface of the earth. But space is not only inconceivably large, it is continually expanding, and with every tick of our astronomical clock, its diameter increases by at least several hundreds of thousands of miles. At this rate, the linear dimensions of space are doubled in about every 1300 million years. And this means that there is already eight times as much space as when the early radio-active rocks solidified, and perhaps more than a hundred times as much as when the earth was torn out of the sun. What strange surprises the next tick of the clock will have in store for us !

A. Schelus.

SOCIAL REFORM

VILLENEUVE-BARGEMONT. *Precursor of Modern Social Catholicism*. By SISTER MARY IGNATIUS RING, S. N. D. Pp. XXXIV + 298. Milwaukee : Bruce, 1935. Price \$ 3. 50.

Jean Paul Villeneuve-Bargemont (1784-1850) was almost continuously from 1813 to 1848 Prefect of one province or another of France, and so conscientiously did he perform his duties that Louis XVIII once said of him : 'If I had eighty

Villeneuve-Bargemonts I would make all of them Prefects of my eighty provinces.' France, in those days, was being industrialized and beginning to experience the sorry consequences of *Laissez-Faire*: 'A handful of very rich men... able to lay on the masses a yoke little better than that of slavery itself' (*Rerum Novarum*). Villeneuve-Bargemont recognized this fact and, as a preliminary to a spirited (and to a degree successful) advocacy of beneficial labour legislation, instituted one of the earliest systematic surveys ever made of poverty, first in his own Department of the North, then in France as a whole, and finally in all Europe.

The results were set forth interestingly in four maps, which are reproduced in the present volume. The eighty provinces of France were found to have paupers in number varying from 1 in 6 to 1 in 58 of the population, while beggars varied from 1 in 36 to 1 in 675. When the study was extended to Europe as a whole the paupers were found to number from 1 in 6 in England—the Netherlands were next worst—to 1 in 100 in Russia (Turkey being next best). As regards beggars, the same positions were kept by Russia and Turkey, the respective figures being 1 in 1,000 and 1 in 666. But this time the unfortunate distinction of heading the list went to the Netherlands—1 in 102—, while England, with 1 in 117, came second. France stood fourth in number of paupers—1 in 20; Germany having the same figures also—, and seventh in number of beggars, 1 in 166. But Villeneuve-Bargemont's survey did not seek merely to count heads; it also inquired into the causes of poverty. As a result, 15 major and 20 minor causes were discovered. Of the 15, unemployment, low wages and want of instruction were among the most frequent, while drunkenness, misconduct and improvidence were the least frequent.

The results of his survey Villeneuve-Bargemont then published in three large volumes. In them this 'apostle of the rights of the downtrodden', as Blanqui styles him in his *History*, launched a bitter attack on the sociology of Adam Smith and his school. 'We find the poor', he wrote accusingly, 'in precisely those localities where the English theories of political economy are accepted and applied on a vast scale.' Following this accusation, Villeneuve-Bargemont entered into a minute and merciless analysis of *The Wealth of Nations*, criticizing its doctrines from various points of view, from his own survey data, from his wide reading in the field of political economy, and from his ardent and highly intellectual appreciation of Catholic social principles. This last, as was to be expected, brought down on him the wrath and contempt of his non-Catholic contemporaries, and in 1837 Blanqui wrote: 'Political economy has received no new light from that eloquent lamentation wherewith Villeneuve-Bargemont has deplored all the sufferings of human society without proposing any efficacious remedy for them.' We are at this later day in a position to judge more correctly of the truth and value of his convictions than those who had to bear the brunt of their onslaught. As the most interesting chapter of the present book shows—we refer to 31 pages of parallel quotations from Villeneuve-Bargemont and *Rerum Novarum*,—this French Prefect well deserves not merely the title of 'apostle of Political Economy' (*Dictionnaire de l'Economie Politique*), but also of a precursor of Leo XIII and of the awakened Catholic social programme so masterfully depicted in *Rerum Novarum*.

P. Dent.

LES SOEURS DES PRISONS. By JEANNE ANCELET-HUSTACHE. Pp. 314. Collection, 'Les grands ordres monastiques et instituts religieux'. Paris: Grasset, 1934. Price 15 frs.

Few readers of *Les Soeurs des Prisons* would for a moment share Madame Ancelet-Hustache's impression that she has written a sad story. The seamy side of life which as a faithful observer she vividly portrays serves but to diffuse the white radiance and warmth of Christian charity displayed by the devoted Sisters of Maric-Joseph.

Appropriately enough, their humble beginnings were cradled within the chill walls of a prison. But the name of the person with whom the idea first originated of a life dedicated to the service of prisoners in France, has, strange to say, been entirely forgotten. A frail little serving-maid, charged with the 'crime' of having distributed pictures of the Sacred Heart in the streets of Lyons, was imprisoned in the year 1795 during the dark days of the French Revolution. Eighteen years before Elizabeth Fry beheld for the first time the horrors of Newgate, this brave

girl was inspired with the desire of consecrating her life to the task of improving the unhappy lot of prisoners in France. Soon after her release she became the leader of a group of girls imbued with the same lofty ideals as herself. From this heroic band were recruited the first members of the Congregation, in which there are at the present moment four hundred members unevenly distributed among the twenty-four Communities that have charge of Prisons, Asylums, Refuges, Houses of Detention and Orphanages.

Women and children, more sinned against than sinning, are the special object of the Sisters' prayerful pride and predilection. The Recording Angel alone can tell the numbers of young lives that have been saved from utter ruin by the gentle ministrations of these silent workers, 'the world forgetting, by the world forgot' behind prison walls. A hurried glance at the history of these 'imprisoned' nuns would be enough to make the social worker in India grow green with jealousy. The second city in the Empire glories in the possession of one solitary Lady Probationary Officer under whose surveillance, for better or for worse, in virtue of the Immoral Traffic Act, more than a hundred minor girls are confidently placed. Here in India, as elsewhere, the one great obstacle in the path of social reform is officially labelled financial stringency. But all the fabled wealth of Golconda would not buy services such as those that are portrayed in *Les Soeurs des Prisons*. Each is an act of supreme worship, for 'I was in prison and you came to me. . . As long as you did it to one of these my least brethren you did it to me.'

L. H. Dodd.

UNTOUCHABLE. By MUKL RAJ ANAND. With a Preface by E. M. Forster. Pp. 232. London: Wishart, 1935. Price 7s. 6d.

This is not a novel in the true sense of the term, for there is little plot and not much development of character in what is merely a description of a day in the life of one of the Untouchables of India. But in its picture of the mind of a member of this numerous community and its reactions to social surroundings, it forms a terrible indictment of this outstanding institution of Hindu society. The Untouchable whose day of life is depicted is a scavenger. Not a typical Untouchable—for his calling accounts for some of the disgust which his neighbours or fellow-townsmen feel for him. The indictment would have been even more terrible if the Untouchable chosen had been an agricultural labourer and his troubles at the hands of Caste people painted with Mr. Anand's artistic skill.

No doubt, he lays his brush on a bit thick; but it probably had to be done to bring to the notice of the world this strange and unique evil. How one human being can pollute another even by casual, superficial touch, how one of God's creatures can desecrate a temple by a timid entrance within its precincts, how such human relationships as love and friendship can be spoiled by such taboos, can be learnt by a reading of the sensational and dramatically depicted episodes of this story. The 'encircling gloom' of the horror of this story is relieved here and there by the occasional sunshine of more human manifestations of Hindu social practice. The boyish, unsophisticated friendship of Ram Char and Chota, the courageously human behaviour of Havildar Charat Singh, the democracy of army life teaching this Hindu soldier what all the secondary and university education in India would not have taught him—another argument for throwing military service open to all castes and classes—burst like rays of sunshine through dark monsoon clouds.

What is the way out of all this morass of Indian social life? Christianity as represented by an untypical teacher, a Salvation Army Colonel, Gandhian intuition and emotion have, in the author's view, to give way to Western machinery in the form of the flush-out latrine as a means of abolishing the untouchability of the scavenger. It may be this particular piece of Western progress may abolish the scavenger. But will it abolish untouchability? One form of untouchability may disappear, but the *spirit* of untouchability may yet remain. One spirit can be exorcised only by another. It is no criticism of Mr. Anand's novel to say that he has not divined that spirit. But India will be thankful to him for burning into the minds of the leaders and general body of Hindu society the horror of this system. '*Posh Posh*, the untouchable is coming',—the cry of Bakka the

scavenger as he walked the streets of Julhunder, will haunt our minds as long as we have minds to think and consciences to moan over India's woes.

M. Ruthnaswamy.

THE TRAGEDY OF GANDHI. By G. BOLTON. Pp. 326. London : Allen & Unwin, 1934. Price 10s. 6d.

Where does the tragedy of Mahatma Gandhi lie ? No direct answer is given to this question in this attractive study of his career. But enough is told, and in impressive fashion, of the great events of his life and of the evolution of his political thought and action to make us regret that there is not enough analysis and critical study of that thought and that action. The narrative, though it does not end on a note of failure—for the end is concerned with an account of the Poona Pact and his campaign against Untouchability—yet describes at length his many political failures, especially the most remarked by the world at large, the failure at the Round Table Conference.

But his political failures are not the greatest nor the most tragic in Mr. Gandhi's career. The failure of Mahatma Gandhi's life is that he has not attacked the foundations of the evils political and social that he has found afflicting his people. 'To Mr. Gandhi', says Mr. Bolton, 'belongs in ample measure the credit for having undermined the foundations of Untouchability.' Does it ? Mr. Gandhi has delivered shrewd and mighty blows at the fortress of untouchability, he has effected a few breaches here and there, he has thrown down a wall or two, a bastion or two. But the foundations he has left as they were, so that others will come and close up these breaches and build up these broken walls and bastions. For Gandhi has done nothing to undermine the foundations of untouchability—which are Caste and Karma.

Early in the book Mr. Bolton seems to have suspected the cause of Mahatma Gandhi's tragic failure when he says : 'More than once Gandhi has faced the task which it seemed to be his destiny to fulfil, and then having faced it, he has withdrawn, seeking shelter in mental flight, in renunciation and—is it unfair to add ?—in the courting of imprisonment.' If Mr. Bolton had written on this thesis he would have brought out the full force and pathos of the 'Tragedy of Gandhi'. But we must be grateful for this most sympathetic study of the most remarkable Indian of modern times.

M. Ruthnaswamy.

LITERATURE

THE FORTY DAYS OF MUSA DAGH. By FRANZ WERFEL. Pp. VIII + 824. New York : The Viking Press, 1934. Price \$ 3.

History, which loses none of its interest for being grim and cruel, forms the background of this novel. Bitter hatred had long surrounded the Armenians in Turkey where they were wholly outnumbered and encompassed. Christian blood had flowed, and mass murders were not unknown. So it came about that while the cannon of the World War crashed out in deafening thunder, Enver Pasha, Turkey's greatest general, planned with suave ruthlessness the annihilation of this Armenian people. They must be deported from their homes to the desert of Deir ez-Zor, there to sicken and die, if indeed they reach it at all. Carrying what they can, they march under a guard of *saptiehs*, whose characteristic virtues are avarice, cruelty, cowardice and lust ; their routes are carefully mapped out and the number of days allotted for their journey and every other detail precisely foreseen—except the commissariat. Starving and cruelly treated, very few convoys reach their destination.

These deportations, which begin at Zeitun, are stringently enforced all over the country. Pastor Aram, his wife, his sister, together with an outcast orphan and a half-wit, are the only ones who escape to arrive in the valley of the seven villages which lie in the shadow of Musa Dagh. These Armenian villagers are roused from their stupor and despair to heroic activity in defence of their lives, their honour, and the priceless inheritance of their Christian faith. From the beautiful, naturally fortified plateau of Musa Dagh they hurl defiance at their

oppressors, and sustain a long but hopeless struggle under the brilliant leadership of Gabriel Bagradian and of their chief priest, Ter Haigusun. The sequel makes one of the grimmest tales of the War. Time and again the Turks are beaten back, yet with every victory grows unbearable suspense ; a successful sortie seems almost regrettable : after all, is it not merely postponing the inevitable ? While harred, famine and treachery are destroying the camp within, large numbers of Turkish regulars and mountain artillery contend for the mastery against a weary, ill-armed band of civilians-turned-soldiers who are sunk in the lethargy of starvation and despair. A fire has just razed their poor huts to the ground : homeless, impoverished and sick at heart, expecting the Turks that very day, they await the end. Nor have they long to wait. The blaze of their huts attracts a mixed English and French squadron to the spot. The end comes at last,—not death, but resurrection from death !

Such is the nucleus of this story of indomitable courage and of a love 'true to the kindred points of heaven and home'. Based on an episode of actual history,—the defence of Musa Dagħ in 1915,—it moves with an irresistible eagerness, a wealth of detail, a human appeal, an ardour and a pathos that command attention. It is possessed of an intensity of dramatic fiction, a compelling power of narration, and a fluency of diction (all the more admirable in a translation) that certainly bid fair to fulfil its publishers' opinion that 'it is a contribution to the enduring literature of the world'.

As striking as the narrative of events—none of which but advances the story—is the portrayal of the characters which sway the plot. Not one of these is overlooked or dimly drawn ; and it is not the least merit of this book that every character of the story has been happily chosen and faithfully presented. But there is an actor in this drama who specially deserves our pity. Juliette Bagradian is a loving, loyal wife and mother. She is French and therefore a stranger among the Armenians ; she neither understands nor is understood by them. She is overcome by self-pity and by an insupportable loneliness. On Musa Dagħ she helps to nurse the sick and wounded. Unknown even to herself, she is taken ill with fever. Is it because of loneliness, is it because of fever, that she betrays her honour and tarnishes the lustre of her womanhood ? Juliette's character might have been drawn in happier colours, but an author must be allowed his freedom. Werfel records her sin clearly, but with a delicacy of touch that acquits him of an odious charge.

The candour, grip and glow of this historical novel make it at once an epic and a very human story. But it is not a children's book, and must be judged by the normal adult.

Basil Gomes.

A SURVEY OF ANGLO-INDIAN FICTION. By BHUPAL SINGH, M. A. Pp. 344. Bombay : Oxford University Press, 1935. Price 12s. 6d.

All those interested in Anglo-Indian fiction will find Mr. Bhupal Singh's book well worth reading. It is perhaps a little curious that one of the 'main ingredients' of what is termed Anglo-Indian literature should be an undiluted criticism of the life and manners of English men and women, and in striking degree of that of Indians, in this country. Mr. Singh's work is an impartial criticism of that criticism, admirable in treatment and pleasant in style ; a little pungent at times, but always refreshingly forceful and engaging, and, what is more to the point, frequently convincing in its argument. It is indeed a full and comprehensive survey of Anglo-Indian fiction, and, most readable ; the bibliography of the novels reviewed alone covers twenty-six pages—a vast field over which the author takes us lightly and considerately. Rudyard Kipling and his school naturally receive due notice, as do also their predecessors, including Thackeray, Dickens, Macaulay, Scott, back to the earliest beginnings of Anglo-Indian fiction ; Scott's *The Surgeon's Daughter*, by the way, is castigated, and with some justice, as 'no better than a cheap melodrama, rambling and ill-constructed' in comparison with his other well-known novels. Maud Diver, Alice Perrin, Sir Francis Young-husband, E. W. Savi, 'Afghan', to mention at random but a few of our modern popular novelists, are each reviewed, but possibly the most striking feature of Mr. Singh's commendable book is its easy and attractive literary style.

A. J. Leeming.

A CENTENARY OF INDIAN EDUCATION

1835—1935

BY T. N. SIQUEIRA

IT is just a hundred years since Thomas Babington Macaulay, President of the Board of Education, closed the long controversy about the kind of education to be introduced into India with a Minute which by its utter sincerity, its unhesitating self-assurance and its sweeping generalizations, was as characteristic of its author as of all those who have succeeded to his views :

The question before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language¹, we shall teach languages in which, by universal experience, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own ; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, wherever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse ; and whether, when we can patronize sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding-school, history abounding in kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made of seas of treacle and seas of butter.

Accordingly, on March 7, 1835, Lord William Bentinck issued the Resolution that 'the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India.'

¹ i. e. English.

A hundred years have passed, and millions of Indians have been educated according to the system thus ushered into existence. It is, therefore, not too early to 'know' it by its fruits. Besides, what better way can there be of celebrating its centenary ?

In the spate of indictments that have overwhelmed this system of education there is none which is more universal or more insistent than its unsuitableness to the Indian mind. That the graduates it has produced are unemployed is not entirely its fault ; that it is conducted in a language which is difficult and foreign and therefore evokes no enthusiasm in most students is unavoidable in the circumstances ; that it has made Indians malcontents or communists or terrorists is due to defects in the political and social environment which it has not created but to which it has opened their eyes. But that it has been built not on rock but on sand is a serious charge which deserves to be carefully examined.

For education is not a *creation* of something out of nothing, or a *substitution* of one personality for another, but a *growth* of what existed before—latent, unsuspected, unwanted, perhaps, but still alive—in the pupil's soul. And the education of a people, no less than the education of an individual, if it is to be real, if it is to deserve its name, must be built upon the foundation of their traditions, their temperament, their unconscious but age-long and deeply ingrained ideals of thought and action. It is as vital a process as the assimilation of food ; and just as a cow cannot be reared on meat, an Indian cannot be *educated* on the same lines as an African or a European. Not, indeed, that the Indian is essentially different from the rest of mankind, or that he cannot assimilate the common inheritance of the human race : but because he cannot assimilate it *in the same way*, for he has for

centuries had a different history, a different tradition, a different way of looking at things and reacting to them. He can eat whatever other bipeds of the *homo sapiens* species eat, but it must be cooked in a way which suits his taste.

It might seem from this that we are regretting the introduction of Western education into India. Nothing could be farther from our purpose. The system of education which has become fashionable since Macaulay's time and for which his memory has been held in anything but benediction by a certain type of patriotic Indians has done immense good. Besides giving honourable employment to millions of men who would otherwise have been perhaps happier but certainly poorer and less in a line with the rest of the world, it has been the great unifier of this vast and motley nation, torn by differences of language, of race, of religion, of caste, of immemorial custom. Foreign though it was and associated with an alien domination, it not only produced the submissive clerks it was intended to produce, but under this smiling submissiveness it sowed seeds of that very love of independence and sense of national self-importance which would one day prove its ruin. If India has awakened at last in the twentieth century to a consciousness of her rights and responsibilities, if the Punjabi and the Tamil, the Assamese and the Mahratta, the Bengali and the Malayalee understand one another and feel that they are one, it is due to this very system of education which has been so violently condemned.

There is no doubt, then, that it has done much good to India. But has it *educated* India? Has it been assimilated by those to whom it was imparted? Was it suited to their needs and their aspirations? A question to be asked. But, as Falstaff learnt to his cost, not all questions-to-be-asked are questions-to-be-answered.

It is often said by the advocates of Hindi that Indians *cannot* be educated through the medium of English. They are certainly right in maintaining that Indian children in the lower forms of a school cannot assimilate ideas in a language which is foreign to them. For they have two difficulties instead of one to begin life with : not only are the *ideas* which are expressed in their books new to them, but also the *language* in which these ideas are expressed. Is it not cruel to make them start Algebra with an equation of the second degree in which both X and Y are unknown and remain unknown ? No deep study of Pedagogy is needed to understand how unreal is an education which makes an Indian child cram, parrot-like, descriptions of snow-storms and nightingales and English firesides of which he can form no image in his mind and which are so alien to his actual surroundings, in a language which evokes no associations in his soul. And yet this is what the upper classes in India send their children to English schools to do. The result of such an unreal mental diet is that the Indian grows up in an unreal world, which appears so much better to him than the one in which he lives that he soon despises his own country and his own language and pines for what is not. Is there, perhaps, some significance in the popularity with Indian students of that ineffectual angel who also lived in an unreal far-off world, beating in the void his luminous wings in vain ?

Two of the greatest drawbacks, therefore, of the modern Indian youth—¹dissatisfaction with the realities around him and hankering after an impossible and unreal Utopia—are to a great extent due to his education. Parents are heard to complain that their boy or girl has not been a fortnight in a school before everything in the home is declared poor, backward and old-fashioned. The cuckoo or the skylark of the *Reader* are more familiar to

them than the shrill *kokila* in the mango-tree or the gentle *kapota* in the *neem*-tree. They can recite rapturous poems on

magic casements opening on the foam

Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn,

but have no eye for the golden paddy-field in September, or the patient crane, sitting on the edge of the muddy torrent on a rainy July morning. . . .

The defect of this education is not that it is Western, but that it is not assimilated into the child's life but merely superimposed and often even substituted for it. Japan is a country where the best that there is in European culture has penetrated : but Japan has remained Japan,—her language has been the medium of instruction, and her traditions and ways of life have been strengthened, not suffocated, by the impact of foreign culture. In India, on the other hand, owing partly to political circumstances and partly to the temperament of the people themselves, a great and wellnigh unbridgeable gulf has grown between the educated and the uneducated, and those who might have been her leaders have lost all touch with their own country and sometimes all interest in her welfare. English history was compulsory, and all know it ; Indian history was an optional subject, and very few took it up : they now know more about Alfred than about Asoka, and are better informed on the Reform Bill of 1832 than on the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919. And what is worse, they do not care to know—they are ashamed of their own country.

Another cause of the failure of English education in India is that it is alien to the customs and traditions of the people. We need not grow dithyrambic over 'The Glory that was Ind' ; we need not mourn the passing of the Happy India of Asoka and Akbar. But no unpre-

judiced student of India's past can be unaware that the *spirit* of education then was very different from what it is now. We would not dare to go so far as to say, as Mr. P. M. Hari does in a series of articles on 'The Ancient Hindu Education or *Brahmacharya*' :¹

Brahmacharya is the ideal mode of education. It aims at a harmonious and complete development of all the faculties and powers of the young man.

But there were two essential principles in the system of *Brahmacharya* which were worth preserving, and which have unfortunately been all but destroyed—the inseparability of religion from education, and the personal relation between teacher and pupil.

That education existed in India before the British conquest needs no proof. In the *Rig Veda*² we find records of examinations undergone by Brahman students who wished to qualify for admission to the sacrificial rites and of unsuccessful candidates being degraded to the rank of ploughmen. The *Vishnu Purāna*³ mentions various schools of commentators who educated boys of the 'twice-born' classes in the interpretation of the Veda. In the Brāhmana period the education of the Brāhman student, or *brahmachāri*, was fully organized. The renowned Sanskrit scholar, A. Barth, thus describes that education :⁴

Instruction is no longer merely concerned with domestic traditions. The student travels to a distance, and attaches himself to now one, now another teacher of renown. . . This apprenticeship, which was at the same time a noviciate in morals, was a very protracted one, for 'science', they used to say, 'is infinite'.

Professor Winternitz says :⁵

Certain it is that the whole of the most ancient literature of the Indians, Brahmanical as well as Buddhist, arose without the art

¹ In *The Hindu Mind*, Kumbakonam. March-April-May, 1935, p. 290.

² e. g. 10/71, 7/103/5. ³ cap. 3, 4. ⁴ *Religions of India*, 1882, p. 45.

⁵ *History of Indian Literature*, 1927, vol. I, p. 36.

of writing and continued to be transmitted without it for centuries. Whoever wished to become acquainted with a text had to go to a teacher in order to hear it from him. Therefore we repeatedly read in the older literature that a warrior or a Brahman who wished to acquire a certain knowledge travels to a famous teacher and undertakes unspeakable troubles and sacrifices in order to participate in the teaching which cannot be attained in any other manner.

Professors V. A. Smith¹, J. W. McCrindle² and T. W. Rhys Davids³ speak of the *Wanderjahre* of Brahman students to the famous schools of Taxila (the modern Shâhdheri), Kurukshetra in Eastern Punjab, Nālanda in the Patna district, and Benares. With the rise of Buddhism its monasteries (*sanghārāma*) became seats of learning and centres of Buddhist education. Megasthenes, the Greek traveller, and Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, have left interesting accounts of what they saw in Indian schools.

After the decay of Buddhism the Brahmanic system of education was codified in the *Mānava Dharmasāstra*—Institutes of Manu,—which probably assumed its present shape not later than 200 A. D., and has since remained the rule of life for the higher castes of Hindus.

This kind of education, however, which was essentially linked up with Hinduism, naturally suffered under Mohammedan rule, though Akbar not only tolerated but even fostered it by having translations of the Hindu sacred books prepared at his expense. When Bakhtiyâr Khiljî captured Bihar, about 1297 A. D., 'it was discovered that the whole fort and city was a place of study'.⁴

When the British obtained from Shâh 'Alum in 1765 the *divānî* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, they found a few

¹ *Early History of India*, 1908, p. 57, n. 1.

² *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, 1901, p. 33, n. 4.

³ *Buddhist India*, 1903, pp. 8, 203.

⁴ Sir H. M. Elliot, *History of India*, vol. II, p. 306.

flourishing Sanskrit schools (*tols*), like the logic school of Nadiyâ (Nabadwip), the grammar school of Rârhi (Burdwân) and the law school of Krishnagarh (Krishnagar). Macaulay's Minute was the herald of the new education. But even now in the village *pâthsâla* and *math* the old method of education survives, despised by the more fashionable, but still patronized by those who believe in the days that were.

That education was fairly widespread and systematic in ancient and medieval India there is, therefore, no doubt. And its first characteristic was that it was inextricably bound up with religion. Its primary object was to teach the Veda, the sacrifices to be offered and the *mantras* to be recited by the *dviija*, or twice-born ; its method was the interpretation of the sacred books—Vedas, Brâhmanas, Upanishads—in the light of grammar, logic, exegesis, cosmology, medicine and astronomy ; its teachers were priests who had consecrated their lives to the study and teaching of their religion. The *Rig Veda* has a hymn in honour of the teacher and the pupil ; the *Grihyasûtras* describe the ceremony of schooling in reverent detail ; the *Chândogya-Upanishad* distinguishes the four stages of a man's religious life, of which studentship is the first ; and the *Mânava-Dharmasâstra* gives minute rules for the ritual of a student's life.

At the age of five the boy is invested with the sacred thread (*yajnopavita*) ; at twelve he is initiated by the teacher (*âchârya* or *guru*) into a new life (*brahmacharya*) with appropriate *mantras*. The teacher instructs him in the rules of personal purification, conduct, worship and prayer. He has to wear rough clothing made of hemp or flax under an outer antelope-skin, and let his hair grow long ; he has to eat very little, sip and not gulp down water ; sleep on the bare ground ; pray before and after

study, 'lest his knowledge escape or fade away' ; tend the sacrificial fire ; bring the sacred *kusa*-grass ; beg food for his teacher and himself ; and observe celibacy.

A student's life was thus considered to be anything but 'a good time' : it was a religious duty, accompanied with prayer and penance. And this life was normally led for twelve years between the ages of twelve and twenty-four. Svetaketu, who is described in the *Chândogya-Upanishad*,¹ is the type of the Brahmachâri. Aruni,² who began to study at an advanced age, is a rare exception.

Such an education was meant for a small, simple and homogeneous community which had not felt the contact of the outer world or witnessed the scientific progress of modern times. Even if Macaulay had never existed or never written his Minute, India would have found it impossible to practise all the rules of Manu to the letter in the twentieth century. But what was worth preserving in the old Indian conception of education was the idea that education is inseparable from religion and from prayer and self-restraint, for, as Sankara says: 'As fire does not enter wet fuel, so knowledge does not enter minds wet with attachments.'³ English education, coming as it did from a country divided into Protestant sects into a country equally divided into religions, reformed and unreformed, and sects and castes, was unavoidably condemned to a policy of religious 'neutrality' which was totally foreign to the Indian temperament. Even a Catholic school or college, which makes religion the very soul of its teaching, if it wants to be 'aided' by Government, must abstain from teaching Christianity in its classrooms. The teacher, even if he be a priest, has to avoid explaining any point of religion that might not agree with the beliefs of all his pupils. He cannot use all the opportunities

¹ VI, 1-2. ² *Brihadâranyaka-Upanishad*, VI, 1, 6

³ *Satasloki*, XL.

which his subject gives him of enlightening and strengthening them in their religion ; he can at most content himself with vague remarks on rational ethics which are often sadly lop-sided without the unshakable foundation of revelation. The result of all this is that the student spends the most impressionable and formative years of his life without that constant reminder of his religion which his age requires ; he daily sees fellow-students who belong to other religions than his own to all appearances as happy as himself ; and the idea grows upon him that religion is of very secondary importance, that it has no connection with life or with morality, that all religions are therefore equally good, or—what is even worse—equally indifferent. Thus by the very force of circumstances the education introduced into India has undermined Hinduism without building anything better on its ruins.

The position of the teacher has also considerably changed. Even to-day, intelligent visitors to India are struck with the reverence and affection with which the *guru* is regarded by men of the old type. A distinguished English doctor, who had lately come to Madras to conduct an examination in medicine, observed with some surprise that in India the teacher was even now considered as the father of his pupils. This is a faint relic of the olden time when, as Dr. Winternitz says, 'to a teacher, as the bearer and preserver of the sacred knowledge, the highest veneration is due, according to ancient Indian law ; as the spiritual father he is venerated, now as an equal, now as a superior, of the physical father.'¹ No respect seems too high for him. The *Atharva Veda* prays : *gurur bhâro laghur bhava*.² The *Baudhâyana-Dharma-sastra* prescribes the following words to be said by the

¹ *History of Indian Literature* : loc. cit.

² 9/3/24 b. i. e. May the teacher's labour be light !

pupil : Om ! gurur svadhâ namas tarpayâmi.¹ In the *Mânava-Dharmasâstra*² it is laid down that before beginning a lesson the pupil should join his hands (*brahmânjali*) and bowing down touch first the right and then the left foot of the *guru* with his hands. He must begin and end his lesson only when ordered by the teacher to do so ; obey him in everything ; fetch water, firewood, flowers, for him ; stand before him with joined hands and never contradict him ; never talk to him eating, sitting, reclining, or with averted face ; whenever people talk ill of the teacher the pupil should either stop his ears or run away ; he should give him no fee during his studies, but a suitable reward after his return home (*samâvartana*). Casting off a teacher is one of the greatest sins. On the other hand, 'a Brahman who serves his teacher till death reaches forthwith the eternal mansion of Brahman.'³

Many more proofs can be given from the history and literature of India of the high position which the teacher has always occupied in this country. But what is peculiar to India is the *personal* aspect of that position : he is not an official of the State or of society at large, but he is the friend, and almost the father, of his pupil. As soon as the boy is entrusted to him he becomes a member of his family and shares all its joys and sorrows ; he is always a welcome guest ; there is no secret to which he is denied access. He has, of course, been freely chosen by the parents, not by the State or other public body, for his virtue and learning as a fit guide and model, and he has to live up to his reputation. But once chosen he becomes the pupil's second, his spiritual, father, and the child is *his* child. This personal relationship and intimate contact between teacher and pupil, this living together for twelve important years, is the most precious legacy of ancient

¹ 2/5/10. 2, i. e. Om ! in honour of my teacher I offer this libation.

² Chs. 2, 3, 9, 11. ³ *Mânava-Dharmasâstra*, 2/244.

Indian education. But it became more and more difficult to keep up in a growing and heterogeneous society with its modern self-assertiveness, its critical spirit, its love of independence and impatience of restraint. The old system requires almost as many teachers as there are pupils. Modern education demands highly trained men, who are necessarily few. The old *guru* knew all that was worth knowing and could teach every subject himself ; the modern teacher can teach only one subject, or one sub-division of a subject. What pupil, then, could afford to have ten private tutors for himself ? And even if he could afford it, where could he find them ?

It is, therefore, mere sentimentality to weep over the passing of the good old times. But one need not be a *laudator temporis acti* to feel the loss of that which is the very essence of the Indian conception of the teacher. In an address to Teachers in Madras on July 13 last, the Principal of the Lady Willingdon Training College deplored that 'the old standards that assured honour to the teacher were gone'.¹ This, she said, was partly the teacher's fault, and partly the fault of modern society. Is it also the fault of the system of education we are following ? There is, indeed, something in the temperament of modern Europe which does not think of the teacher in the same way as Indians do. Among Europeans, too, we rarely find the appreciation of the old Indian type of teacher which a scholar steeped in Indian culture like Professor Rhys Davids felt for the old Buddhist monk who had taught him Pali in Ceylon :

There was an indescribable attraction about him, a simplicity, a high-mindedness, that filled me with reverence. He was the best man I ever knew.²

With the large classes which are entrusted to each teacher under the Western system and the consequent

¹ Cf. *The Hindu*, Madras, July 15, 1935. ² *Hibbert Lectures*, 1881, p. 187.

want of contact between him and his pupils, this important and characteristic element in Indian education has all but disappeared. Occasionally, rarely, a great teacher appears who wins the confidence of his pupils and takes a personal, fatherly interest in every one of them. They at once attach themselves to such a man with the traditional Indian instinct as to their *guru*, and draw him into their family circle. Their parents, too, hearing of him eagerly entrust their children to him and invite him to consider them as his own. . . .

But such a teacher becomes rarer every day in cities and towns. In the old-fashioned village school, in the Catholic school where the teacher is rightly called Father, this Indian ideal is still cherished. But it is no longer the ideal of the greater number. It supposes great and perfect teachers, and humble, sincere students,—both rare things in this superficial age.

Yet, if India is to be truly educated, if her education is to be assimilated and turn to her growth and prosperity, it must satisfy her two fundamental needs and ancient traditions—it must restore religion to its rightful place as the guide and protector of all learning, and it must restore the teacher to his rightful place as the father and companion of his pupils. It is not too late to correct a century's mistake: if Government adopt a more liberal policy and grant a larger measure of independence to private institutions, the healthy emulation thus fostered will soon result in the discovery of a system that shall give India an education more suited to the needs of the time than the one she had before 1835, and more suited to her own needs than the one whose centenary we celebrate to-day.

Calcutta.

THE CORPORATIVE IDEAL

By J. STEENKISTE

SOME VIEWS ON CORPORATIONS

A recent visitor to Moscow, who was neither adverse to the régime prevailing there nor fanatically pre-possessed in its favour, summed up his impressions with a reflection on the clock which adorns the Kremlin, the old palace of the Tsars. While admiring 'the crouching outlines' of the stately structure, he asked himself the question : 'But why, oh why does the clock which crowns a central tower announce the time as 12.15 when it is really half-past five ? Why do they never carry things off ?'

The visitor had no axe to grind and was not molested by spies and officialdom. Nor was he commissioned to collect harrowing tales of atrocities or famines for the famous London paper to which he was then a correspondent. He had no adventures except a railway thrill : his train, whose brakes were as much in order as the mechanism of the Kremlin clock, crashed down a siding. He took the accident as a joke and showed no resentment over the mishap. But though he had gone with an open mind, he could hardly help noticing, in spite of some undoubted progress which his notes duly record, the general atmosphere of inefficiency—of which the regularly indifferent food was one of the signs—that extended to the very art of window-dressing in Stalinea ; and he painted it with the light brush of imperturbable English humour.

This mild satire is bound to raise a protest from certain quarters : 'You should make allowances. Give them time, and they will overtake the most progressive nation.'

Curiously enough, this plea for time after eighteen years of experimenting is not conceded to the present corporative movement by those who have a soft corner in their hearts for the Moscow leaders. The neo-corporative idea, which is gaining ground in the West, has encountered the unrelenting criticism of those from whom it should have received a hospitable welcome. Thus we are told in *The International Trade Union Movement* (Jan.-April, 1934) about 'the Whited Sepulchre of the Corporate State', and of 'the Corporate State as the Last Hope of *Laissez-faire*'. Hardly has the corporative system made its appearance than it is represented to the workers as their enemy, all the more dangerous because of its fair disguise.

Stranger still than the reluctance of the I. T. U. M. to discern a single redeeming feature in corporatism is the open hostility to it of powerful business circles. If the corporative system is to serve as a prop to tottering capitalism, one might presume that capitalists of every hue would hug it to their unholy bosoms as an ally and possible saviour. A rash presumption indeed ! There are capitalist concerns, great among the greatest, that condemn and reject it unreservedly. This attitude, of course, is not shared by all capitalists. But the fact that it does exist among some of them is noteworthy.

Belated partisans of the outworn economic liberalism of another age sing the chorus with the capitalist diehards. In a fat pamphlet on 'Corporatism', plenty of ink was spilled to prove that corporations are a myth and the hopes placed in them an illusion. The defects and misfortunes and the melancholy end of the medieval

corporations provide irresistible evidence of the fate which awaits their modern successors. But the argument is overdone. It would allow the conclusion that the train and the motor car must be scrapped because of the discomfort of their predecessor, the stage-coach.

It is significant that a section of capitalists together with their bitterest opponents should range themselves against the rising corporative tide. If their opposition is due to the feeling that the corporative movement is a challenge to their creeds and practices, they are not quite mistaken ; and their reaction to the threat, though prompted by different motives, is naturally explained. Neutrals, who have not yet made up their minds in regard to corporatism, will have been struck by the fact, on which great emphasis is laid by anti-corporatists, that the corporative idea is being used by Totalitarian States for their own ends. That the corporative solution should have hit the fancy of dictators is a sign of its merits and an acknowledgment of its value as a means of overcoming the accumulated difficulties of the after-war period.

Without entering, however, into a discussion of misapplications or perversions of the genuine corporative principle, the student of the corporative movement surely has a right to analyse the nature of the corporation and examine its aims as expressed in its ideal. In this connection, *The English Review* (August, 1934) bears quotation when it observes that

People have a habit of writing about the corporate state as if it were a patent medicine invented by Signor Mussolini, of which the British market rights have been acquired by Sir Oswald Mosley—as if, in other words, it was something you had to take or leave as it is found in Italy.

The corporative formula, besides, has a long history behind it, for it was earnestly discussed and its translation into practice attempted in the seventies of the nineteenth century, before the Fascist Corporate State was evolved.

Corporatists also make an emphatic distinction between the *Corporate State* and the totally different conception of *Corporative Society*. The corporation, in other words, is not necessarily, nor even primarily, a political institution. Still less can it be said to preserve its identity when turned into an instrument of the State and deprived of its personality and autonomous existence. It stands to reason, however, that the corporation must enter into relations with the State. Further, when the corporations, introduced on a national scale, begin in right earnest the renewal of society and acquire a hold on the people as producers, it is not quite evident why they should be forbidden to represent their own vital interests and those of the community in the seats of executive authority and in the halls of legislators. The medieval guilds, in the medieval city-states and even in towns directly under central control, exercised or shared political power. There may have been abuses and disorders, but excesses, from which the most perfect human institutions are never free, are not a valid argument against legitimate and moderate use. No device, no organization of man's invention, can be rendered absolutely fool-proof. To reject every form of 'Corporate State', then, seems unwarranted.

CORPORATION AND TRADE UNION

The word 'corporation' as used throughout these pages demands some explanation. To express its meaning with all desirable directness, several writers propose the simpler term 'guild' or 'chartered guild'. The substitute is not inaccurate. But it has one disadvantage : it misleads even well-wishers of the corporation into thinking that they are to be compelled to join, or at least approve, a return to the Middle Ages. This fear will be dispelled

by what follows on the difference between the medieval corporation and the modern.

The use of the word 'corporation' cannot be objected to, provided some further distinctions are remembered. Obviously the Madras and Calcutta Corporations are not corporations in the sense contemplated in the corporative revival, though some resemblance might be found between them in regard to certain common features of their juristic personality, such as the right to own and dispose of property.

Trade Unions have been called corporations by no less an authority than Lord Balfour. He was once taken to task in the House of Commons, as is related in the *Collected Papers* of F. W. Maitland, by a distinguished lawyer of the Opposition who interrupted him: 'Trade Unions are not corporations.' Balfour was sure of his ground and retorted, amid cheers and laughter: 'I know that; I am talking English, not law.' The Trade Union can be styled a corporation in the sense of a close body endowed with certain rights, a group of men bound by common interests for a collective purpose. Such a corporation, however, does not correspond to the notion intended in this article. Nor is the Trade Union a corporation in the strictly legal sense; Balfour himself granted the lawyer's contention. As Maitland wrote in his essay on 'Trust and Corporation':

A Trade Union is an unincorporated *Veren*¹ of a somewhat exceptional sort. It is the subject of special statutes which have conferred upon it some, but not all, of those legal qualities which we associate with incorporation.

But there are more vital differences between a Trade Union and a corporation of the present day. For Trade Unions are 'continuous associations of workers' holding together for definite purposes relating to their employment. They are *class associations*, though not necessarily,

¹ i. e., society—Maitland's own translation.

as Guild Socialists would have it, weapons of class warfare. The corporation, on the contrary, is not restricted to one section of the social area ; it is essentially an association of workers *and* employers whom it brings together into one harmonious whole.

The Trade Union stands, and legitimately too, for the defence of the workers' interests. Its basis, however, is competitive, since it tries to secure for its members, in the 'labour market', the highest remuneration it can through its most distinctive method, 'collective bargaining'. This competitive basis is artificial : it supposes that the labour of man stands on a par with every other commodity, separable from the worker and treated with indifference to his human rights and needs. The worker is not responsible for this abnormal view, but faced with it and having to reckon with it he struggles, with the aid of his Trade Union, to obtain terms less disadvantageous to himself than he would get under contracts made in isolation. The corporation, on the other hand, lays emphasis on the identity, instead of the opposition, of interests between worker and employer. Their organization into one body is based, not on competition, but on the natural, unifying foundation of their common concern in the product.

The question then arises whether Trade Unions are doomed to vanish wherever the corporative system comes into operation. In fact they have been suppressed in Germany and Austria. But they need not be regarded as out of place in the corporative system, and they have been preserved in Italy. The Italian Trade Unions fulfil several tasks reserved to their competence. Overlapping has been provided against by the rules of the Unions. Their business is to protect the interests of their members in labour contracts and to conduct other activities of an

economic and technical character. In any sound corporative organization the duties left to the corporations would prove amply sufficient to tax the energies of their members. The corporations in Italy have, like the Trade Unions, their work mapped out for them. They see to the settlement of conflicts between Workers' Unions and Employers' Associations, and exercise a number of functions of a general nature, including the economics of rationalized production, the application of collective contracts, the co-ordination of social works started by the Unions with national 'after-work'. The example of Italy is introduced as an illustration of the possible methods of combining Trade Unions and corporations.

It is said that the Italian Trade Unions have been crippled and several of them abolished. In reply to this criticism it is pointed out that a number of the earlier Unions fell into the hands of Communists and were diverted to purposes which would be repugnant to English Trade Unions. The disturbance of the public peace by violence and by supplying bombs for outrages is not generally recognized as a normal function of Trade Unionism. These undesirable Trade Unions were suppressed, but not the rest. As to the charge that the latter have been shorn of their powers, if it means that strikes have been forbidden by law, fairness demands that we should not leave out the fact that a similar prohibition extends to lock-outs. And in any case strikes as well as lock-outs died a gradual death by 1925, their demise preceding legislation. A more telling case could be framed out of the dependence of both Trade Unions and Syndicates and Corporations on the State—more accurately, on the executive. The English Trade Unions certainly possess greater freedom. Yet Trade Unionists in England took over a century to conquer the position they now hold, and only just before the late War

did they shake off the effects of the decision given in the momentous Osborne case. Historical perspective and the urgency of reforms in accordance with the needs of the hour will help to mitigate any criticism of the subordinate status of Italian Trade Unions.

CORPORATION AND GUILD

Far closer is the analogy, or even similarity, between modern corporations and medieval guilds, though the resemblance should not be exaggerated. The corporation can never be quite the same as the guild; especially do the two differ in their respective settings. The guilds of the distant past, at least a category of them, were undoubtedly unions, not of masters *or* workers only, but of masters *and* men, grouped round their several trades and special products. So perfectly, for some time in their history, was the spirit of unity realized that each guild could be compared to a big family. A corporate mind, will and conscience animated the members who were cared for by the guild through life and in death. Work was not yet reduced to a mechanical drudgery, and artisans took pleasure and pride in their occupation.

Yet history forbids us to idealize the guilds of the medieval period, for in the course of their evolution they developed serious defects. They constituted a praiseworthy attempt to establish some kind of industrial brotherhood, to secure social and economic justice and regulate production. But practice was frequently at variance with profession. Their growing exclusiveness, lack of adaptability, jealousies and monopolies, opposition to new inventions, increase in wealth and decrease in public spirit—to mention but some of their failings—hastened their ruin. The French Revolution annihilated the guilds in their period of decay, instead of reforming

or instilling a new life into an institution of value and rooted in necessity. The rest of Europe followed suit. Individualism was in the ascendant, and the guilds were considered as obstacles to individual initiative. Even the Papal States, in 1800 and 1801, decreed the corporations out of existence with the sincere conviction that this drastic step was for the good of consumers, producers and traders alike. The successors of Pius VII, however, perceiving the evil effects of unbridled competition, favoured their re-establishment. Pius IX, in particular, restored to the 'Universities' (i. e., corporations) of traders and artisans of Rome the privileges they had once possessed. Experience had shown that freedom of competition was hurtful to the public welfare.

The story of the suppression of all corporations by the revolutionaries makes entertaining reading. Turgid declarations of liberty enfold their radical orders: 'A State that is truly free', so runs the historic pronouncement of August 18, 1792, 'ought not to suffer within its bosom any corporations, not even such as being dedicated to public instruction have merited well of the country.'¹ The result of this suppression was that 'the absolute State faced the absolute individual'. Nothing stood between them. The unprotected individual, with the buffer-institution of the corporations gone, lay at the mercy of 'Leviathan' and of the economically strong minority.

The history of the century following the upheaval of '89 revealed the necessity of groups better than any theoretical argument could ever hope to do. The defenceless worker groped instinctively towards some form of combination. Hence the Trade Union movement which began in England early in the nineteenth century. Hence the survival in France, to the present time and in spite of all prohibitions, of the too little known associa-

¹ Maitland : *Collected Papers*, III, p. 311.

tions of Companions or travelling Journeymen—a form of union revived in Germany by Adolf Kolping. The Jacobins reluctantly granted some recognition to Syndicates in 1884. Associations, some forms especially, were the bugbear of the Jacobin mind. Maitland, with a touch of irony, points out the inconsistency of Jacobin logic which allowed groups, besides the grudgingly tolerated Syndicates, whose sole object was selfish pecuniary gain, but, by a law passed in 1901, drew a firm line between the mercenary 'non-religious sheep' and 'the religious goats'.

While the guild at its best, in its social and moral aspects, presents a model for the modern corporation to follow, its restoration on the original pattern is not practical politics. There can be no question of putting back the clock and returning to the Middle Ages. There was then no class struggle, and the guilds reflected this union in the harmony which prevailed between the masters and the men who were often on the way to becoming masters themselves. The corporation has to face a world in which the opposition between classes is often acute. To reconcile the two camps is one of the main items on its programme, and the performance of this task is not likely to be plain sailing.

The guild was local and its area limited to town or city ; but the corporation will have to think in terms of nations and work on a national scale. Modern industry, with its wide ramifications and bewildering complexity, was unknown in the age of the guilds ; the corporation will have to take them into account with the incidental problems : large-scale production and division of labour, vast agglomerations of workers and welfare work, co-ordination of production and consumption with each other and with the national economy, trade and banking.

(*To be concluded*)

SPONSA FRANCISCI

Long hath she guided all my life,
Fair Poverty, my bride,
Nor have I known or grief or strife
While she was by my side.
She was on earth with Christ, my King,
And in his manger laid ;
Unsheltered, hungry, wandering,
She ever with him stayed.

And now when Bread and Wine conceal
She dwelleth with Him still :
Kneel down, and kiss His feet, and feel
How love of Love can thrill.
She clung to Jesus on the cross,
Her glories shall not cease ;
Though men afraid have named her Loss,
With God her name is Peace.

And now as life draws to a close,
I hear my Master call :
What are life's pleasures, what life's woes,
When God is all in all !
She breaks for me life's prison-bars,
She bears me from this clod,
Past Brother Sun and Sister Stars,
To be at home with God.

THE FIRST PRINTING-PRESSES IN INDIA

By LEO PROSERPIO

GOA : 1557

BOOKS on the origin and early years of the printing-press in India are few and far between. And even those which exist, being for the most part written in foreign languages, are inaccessible to the ordinary reader. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, where one generally finds information on a vast number of topics, does not treat this question. On the other hand, Balfour's *Cyclopaedia of India*¹ begins the history of the Press a whole century too late, about 1710, with the rise of Protestant missionary activities in Tranquebar.

The first mention of the problem in recent years was made in *The Mangalore Magazine* for Christmas, 1900 : 'In 1577, the Society of Jesus published at Cochin the first book printed in India.' This announcement naturally created something of a sensation. Foremost among the newspapers to take up the matter was the *Madras Mail*, which published the following in the issue of March 18, 1901 :

Sir William Hunter makes the following statement in his *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Vol. IV., p. 12) : 'In 1577 the Society of Jesus published at Cochin the first book printed in India.' A similar statement may also be found in Lieutenant H. S. Brown's *Handbook of the Ports of India and Ceylon* (p. 129). Both these statements are incorrect, as I shall presently show from authentic records. My authorities are, for the most part, Portuguese writers of antiquity. . . I think their testimony can be regarded with greater safety than that of any other nation that has succeeded them. As regards the authorship, too, of the first book printed in India, the information given by Sir William Hunter in his *Imperial Gazetteer* is not correct ; for he does not trace it to any individual member of the Society, but simply states that it was printed and published by the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits arrived in Goa about the middle of the second quarter of the 16th century. Fonseca, in his *History of Goa* (p. 58), says that not long after their arrival in Goa

¹ *Cyclopaedia of India*, edited by Edward Balfour. L. R. C. S. E.—Second edition, Madras, 1871.

they procured two printing-presses from Europe, and located them in their colleges of St. Paul and Rachol, two flourishing institutions founded in 1541 and conducted by such eminent members of the Society as Father Barzeo, Father Diego de Borba, Father Camerte and St. Francis Xavier. The presses arrived in Goa in 1550, or 59 years after the landing of Vasco da Gama in India. Considering the extraordinary zeal of the Jesuits, their love for progress, and their peculiar efforts to be the first and foremost in every branch of science and literature, it cannot for a moment be supposed that they allowed these presses to remain in the institutions without any work for a period of 27 years. Now I shall state what the first book printed in India was. It was a Catechism of the Christian Doctrine. In 1541 the Viceroy of Goa, John De Castro, had been ordered by John III, King of Portugal, to open elementary schools in all the villages in Goa where there were Christian families. This was accordingly carried out, and for the instruction of the youths in the Christian religion, a Catechism was composed by St. Francis Xavier, which was printed and circulated in 1557. (*Oriental Conquests*, Vol. I. p. 18; Fonseca's *History of Goa*, Chap. V, p. 58)

No sooner had this letter appeared than other periodicals, both in and out of the country, joined in the discussion. *The Tablet* published an article by Bishop Medleycott which summed up the main arguments of the controversy and, as far as India was concerned, brought it to a close, by establishing a fact of primary importance : the date of the first press in India.

The Jesuits, not long after their arrival in Goa, procured two printing-presses from Europe, and located them in their Colleges of St. Paul and Rachol. The presses arrived in 1550, but no use seems to have been made of them for some years. In 1557 a Catechism which had been composed by St. Francis Xavier was printed and circulated. It was the first book printed in this country. The passage in *Oriente Conquistado* from which this information is derived is :

'Para commodo dos meninos compoz Xavier hum tratado da Doutrina Christaa, que se imprimio em Goa no anno de 1557.'¹

The author of *Oriente Conquistado* adds that, notwithstanding the newly printed Catechism, the Fathers continued to make use of a Primer (*cartilha*) compiled by Fr. Marcos Jorge and translated into the vernacular of the place by Fr. Thomas Estevao (Stephens or Stevens), an Englishman. This statement implicitly indicates that the Goan Catechism of 1557 was not written in any of the vernaculars of the country, but in Portuguese. If we also bear in mind that it had been printed with the aid of machines

¹ Pt. I, Conq. 1, Div. 1, par. 23 : 'To better provide for the instruction of children, Xavier composed a Catechism which was printed in Goa in 1557.' Lisbon, 1710 ; vol. I, p. 19.

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brought from Europe, we can realize why an event so unique seems to have made no impression on the people. It was just one of the many improvements Goa was then witnessing. This, too, would explain the fact that few records have come down to us about the Goan press and that even in old documents the cradle of the first book printed in India is placed in Malabar.

COCHIN : 1577

In 1577, twenty years after the publication of the Goan Catechism, and just a century after the first dated book printed in Caxton's press at Westminster, John Gonsalves, a Spanish Lay-Brother of the Society of Jesus, cast for the first time a set of Malayalam-Tamil characters with which he printed a translation of St. Francis Xavier's *Christian Doctrine*, the *Christya Vannakanam*. This translation was most probably the work of Fr. Enrique Enriquez,¹ S. J., a missionary on the Fishery Coast. It is said that a copy of this book can be found in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris. We are not aware of the existence of any copy in India.

So far the chief authorities, both ancient and modern, agree. But when we try to fix the place of John Gonsalves's press, there are at least two towns in Malabar which claim that honour.

Tradition has long been on the side of Vypicotta,² but nearly all available records concur in awarding the coveted distinction to Cochin. It is, therefore, strange that the *Argus*, an influential journal of Cochin, should have made the following statement in its editorial of March 23, 1900 :

The next point we have to deal with is the improbability of Cochin being the place where the first book was printed. The Jesuits came to Cochin in 1549, and in 1552 the town church was formally made over to them. As Goa was the centre of their missionary activity, they had no important institution in the town of Cochin.

Is it so ? One would have been grateful if the writer had quoted chapter and verse for his rather startling information that the Jesuits had no important institution in the town of Cochin

¹ Cf. *Fr. Enrique Enriquez*, by Fr. J. Castets, S. J. (Trichinopoly, 1926).

² This tradition, deeply rooted in Malabar, should not be dismissed too easily, but should rather stimulate further research ; yet we believe it may be explained by the fact that Fr. de Souza, in his *Oriente Conquistado*, invariably speaks of 1577 as the year in which the Jesuits established themselves, built a residence, a church and a press, at Vypicotta. But Fr. de Souza is often inaccurate about his dates. It does not seem that the Jesuits settled there before 1581.

during the second half of the sixteenth century. In point of fact, clustered in the heart of *Manuel Cotta* (i. e., Fortress of Manuel) there stood a residence and a church, as well as a flourishing college of the Society with more than three hundred students. Even in earlier days St. Francis Xavier in his letters to his religious brethren in Goa and Rome frequently spoke of the college of Cochín.

It may be well to recall here the circumstances which led to the printing of *Christya Vannakanam* at Cochín. We read in the Annals of the Society of Jesus that Fr. Valignani was sent to India by the then General of the Society, Everard Mercurian, as Visitor of the provinces of Goa and Malabar. He landed at Goa in 1574, 'with forty-four priests of the same Order'.¹ Those who are familiar with the history of the Church in India will remember the keen religious controversies which then raged on the west coast. It was to settle these disputes that Fr. Valignani proceeded from Goa to Malabar and had many interviews with the Archbishop of the St. Thomas' Christians, Mar Abraham, who, we are told, was trying to effect a compromise between the Catholics and the so-called Nestorians. At one of these meetings it was agreed that the Jesuits should settle at Vypicotta and co-operate with the Archbishop and his priests in the arduous task of instructing the people in the truths of Catholicism. Is it surprising that they at once thought of printing a Catechism? Goa had done so before, and, besides, the teaching of Catechism has ever been a favourite occupation with the Jesuits.

'Soon,' says Fr. Francis de Souza, 'we took up the task of printing a Catechism in the Malabar tongue, and the Spanish Lay-Brother, John Gonsalves, made the types with which we printed the book. This was the first printed book that India saw on her soil, and by its novelty it helped not a little to gain the good will of the natives.'²

This is also the opinion of the Carmelite Fathers of the Verapoly Diocese who, in 1872, published in Malayalam *A History of the True Religion in Kerala*. Bishop Marcellinus, the author of

¹ Rev. M. D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India*, Vol. I, p. 176.

² *Oriente Conquistado*, Pt. II, Conq. 1, Div. 2, par. 12, Residencia de Vaipicotta, p. 110. It is not clear from the context whether, according to Francis de Souza, John Gonsalves printed his Catechism in Vypicotta or in Cochín. That it was in the latter place has to be concluded, not from *Oriente Conquistado*, but from other writers on the history of the residence of Vypicotta.

this book, seems to have gathered a wealth of information from old MSS. and from learned writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He says :

The Paulists¹ printed in 1577 a Catechism book in Malayalam (*Malayalam Paechil*) in the fort of Cochin. It was one John Gonsalves, a Jesuit Lay-Brother, who formed the characters.²

Mr. G. T. Mackenzie, speaking of the Vypicotta press, says :

This was not the first press in India. In 1577 a Spanish Lay-Brother, John Gonsalves, at Cochin, was the first to cast Malayalam-Tamil types with which he printed a Catechism.³

With the exception of the passage taken from *Oriente Conquistado*, the authorities cited above are relatively modern. They depend entirely on more ancient documents. To these latter belong the two passages which we must now quote from Fr. Paulinus because they are the *fons et origo* of much of our knowledge in this matter :

Il primo con caratteri e forme di legno fu la *Dottrina Christiana* di Giovanni Gonsalves, laico della C. D. G., che formo il primo, quanto sappia io, i caratteri Tamulesi nel 1577.⁴

Anno 1577, Coccini primus characteres Malabarico-Tamulicos sculpsit Joannes Gonsalves, S. J., quibus primo catholicae fidei documenta typis edita, Indiae innotuere.⁵

Was the first Indian book written in Malayalam or in Tamil ? This has always been a highly interesting but much disputed question. Fr. Francis de Souza asserts that John Gonsalves's Catechism was written in Malayalam : 'Tractamos logo de publicar um Catecismo na lingua Malabar.' On the other hand, the author of the *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali* maintains that it was written in Tamil : 'Che (John Gonsalves) formo il primo, quanto sappia io, i caratteri Tamulesi nel 1577.' In the *Mitras Lusitanas No Oriente*, Casimiro Christovao de Nazareth says :

¹ A name given to the the Jesuits on account of their well-known College of St. Paul near Cranganore.

² *A History of the True Religion in Kerala*, Kunemau, 1872, Ch. 2, par. 16.

³ *History of Christianity in Travancore*, Trivandrum, 1905, p. 42.

⁴ *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali da Fra Paolino di San Bartolomeo, Carmelitano Scalzo*, Roma, 1796, p. 346. 'The first (book) printed with types and wooden forms was the *Dottrina Christiana* of John Gonsalves, Lay-Brother of the Society of Jesus, who was the first—to our knowledge—to carve Tamil types, in 1577.'

⁵ *India Orientalis Christiana*, a Rev. P. Paulino a S. Bartholomaeo, C. D., Romae, 1794, p. 181. 'In the year 1577, at Cochin, John Gonsalves, S. J., was the first to carve Malabar-Tamil types, through which for the first time the teachings of the Catholic faith were edited in print and published in India.'

O arceb. Roz governou a diocese até ao a. 1624 em que fal. a 18 fev. Escreveu na lingua malabarica : *Doctrina Christiana* : *Ritus baptisandi, inungendi infirmos, nuptias celebrandi*, vertidos do latim : traduziu o Missal, o Breviario e o Ritual romano.¹

The *Mitras Lusitanas* is very valuable for its documents, but unfortunately it pays no attention to details. It attributes all these books to Archbishop Roz, which is by no means certain, and worse still, makes no distinction between John Gonsalves's press and the later presses at Punikael and Vypicotta. However, the important words for our present purpose are : 'Escreveu na lingua Malabar'.

In the passage already quoted G. T. Mackenzie says : 'John Gonsalves at Cochin was the first to cast *Malayalam-Tamil* types with which he printed a Catechism.' Mackenzie has probably taken a hint from Father Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, who uses the same expression : 'primus characteres *Malabarico-Tamulicos* sculpsit Joannes Gonsalves.' In those days Malayalam was commonly known as Tamil or Malavar and was by foreigners called, somewhat indiscriminately, Malayalam or Tamil. The types with which the Catechism was printed were practically Tamil, except for a few which are now used only in Malayalam. This kind of type is called 'Malayalam Paechil' in the *History of the True Religion in Travancore*.

This explanation is confirmed by many manuscripts and inscriptions that have come down to us from these ancient days. Fr. Paulinus tells us that in 1785 he saw in the portico of the Church of Saints Gervase and Protase at Parur a marble slab containing some details about the life and death of Bishop Francis Roz, S. J., who had lived in the house attached to the church. The slab, he says, bears the inscription : '*lingua vulgari malabarica, antiquo caractere Tamulico-Malabarico in lapide nigricante caelatam.*'²

One wonders why an examination of the copy which is said to exist in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris has not so far been undertaken by any scholar. It would settle once for all a discussion on which much ink and paper seems to have been wasted.

¹ 'Archbishop Roz governed the diocese till his death on February 18, 1624. He wrote in Malayalam a Catechism, a Ceremonial for Baptism, Extreme Unction, Matrimony, translated from the Latin. He also translated the Missal, the Breviary and the Roman Ritual.'—C. C. de Nazareth, *Mitras Lusitanas No Oriente*, Lisbon, 1913, Vol. II, p. 39.

² i.e., 'The slab bears an inscription in popular Malayalam engraved on a black stone in old Malayalam-Tamil characters.'—*India Orientalis Christiana*, 1794, p. 64.

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Other questions naturally arise in connection with John Gonsalves's press. Where was it located? Is there any record of its other publications besides the *Christya Vannakanam*?

Nothing seems to be known about its site beyond the fact that it was probably attached to the residence of the Jesuits within the Portuguese fort of Cochin. It is also doubtful whether it ever published any other book besides the original Catechism. In *A History of the True Religion* there is a reference to a press in the fort of Cochin which was dedicated to St. Ignatius. But this press belongs to a period after 1750. It was probably set up on the same spot.

Be that as it may, Cochin has since undergone such thorough changes as to baffle all attempts at historical reconstruction. Under the rule of the Dutch who took it after a siege of six months on 6th January, 1663, it was reduced in size; the clergy were expelled; monasteries and colleges, two hospitals and the bishop's palace, thirteen churches and chapels, were razed to the ground. In October, 1795, it fell into English hands and fared no better, for in 1806 they blew up with gunpowder all that remained of the Portuguese fortifications and nearly all the public buildings, including the magnificent cathedral.

PUNIKAEL : 1578

The next press was set up at Punikael¹, a village in the Tinnevely District, in 1578, that is, one year after the printing of *Christya Vannakanam* at Cochin. Fr. John de Faria, S. J., the inventor and maker of this new press, is described as a man of rare ability, who had built the arches of St. Paul's College in Goa. Moreover, quite a number of books seem to have been printed in quick succession at Punikael, which cannot be said of John Gonsalves's press. Paulinus, with his usual brevity of style, records the event:

Anno 1578 in Pudikail characteres Tamulicos orae Piscariae et Coromandelicae peculiaries conflavit, et elaboravit P. Joannes de Faria, S. J., quibus edidit opus inscriptum *Flos Sanctorum*.²

¹ Punikael or Punikail or Pudikael or Panicalle, about 20 miles from Cape Comorin, was formerly the centre of the pearl fishery.

² *India Orientalis Christiana*, loc. cit.: 'In 1578, Father John de Faria, S. J., at Pudikael, engraved and cast types of Tamil letters common to the Fishery and Coromandel Coasts, in which he published the *Flos Sanctorum*.

In *Oriente Conquistado* there are more details of the press at Punikael. Father Francis de Souza speaks of it in two different places. In one of them he tells us the story of the residence of the Jesuits at Punikael, and ends the chapter with the following interesting remarks :

Do anno 1578. nao tenho noticia de outra cousa digna de memoria, senao da rara habilidade do Padre Joao de Faria, o primeiro que abrio, e fundio os caracteres da lingua Tamul na costa da Pescaria, com os quaes se imprimio este anno o *Flos Sanctorum*, a doutrina Christaa, hum copioso confessionario, e outros livros, por onde os Padres aprendiao a ler, e escrever. Admirarao aquellas Provincias a nova invensao, e assim Christaos como Gentios buscavao e estimavao muito os livros impressos.¹

To understand Fr. de Souza's enthusiasm we should bear in mind that the wooden types of John Gonsalves's press were probably not movable but block-types of wood. Bishop Medleycott, who makes this shrewd observation, asserts that he has seen a dictionary in which wooden block-types were used for Malayalam words and movable metal-types for European words.² If his remarks be correct—they are far from being so as regards dates and distinction of presses—we can understand why no record has been found of any other book that issued from the press at Cochín. Fr. de Faria's press with movable characters, therefore, was a long stride forward in the art of printing in India.

VYPICOTTA : 1602

After the agreement with Mar Abraham in 1579, the Jesuits opened a missionary station at Vypicotta or Chennamangalam, about a mile south of Cranganore, built a church 'in a short time', says Francis de Souza,³ i. e., most probably in 1581,⁴ built a

¹ *Oriente Conquistado*, Pt. II, Conq. 2, Div. 2, par. 3, anno 1578. 'For the year 1578, I find nothing worth recording, except the rare ability of Father John de Faria, the first who cut and melted types of the letters of the Tamil language on the Fishery Coast, with which in the same year were printed the *Flos Sanctorum*, a Christian Doctrine, a copious Confessionary, and other books from which the fathers learn to read and write. Those provinces admired the new invention, and Christians as well as Gentiles asked for those printed books and showed much appreciation for them.' Vol. II p. 256.

² Letter of Bishop Medleycott to *The Tablet*, quoted in *The Mangalore Magazine*, June, 1901.

³ *Oriente Conquistado*, Pt. II, Conq. 1, Div. 2, par. 12 ; vol. II, p. 110.

⁴ Mackenzie. *Travancore State Manual*, vol. II, p. 169.—*History of Christianity in Travancore*, p. 42.

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seminary (1584),¹ and established a college (1587).² In compliance with the disciplinary decrees of the Synod of Diamper (1599) the Jesuits of Vypicotta were asked to co-operate in the reform of the Syrian liturgical books used in Malabar. We thus find them at this time in correspondence with Rome, whence they hoped to obtain Missals and other liturgical books of the Chaldean Church.

But instead of the Missals that had been asked for, Pope Clement VIII sent them a press with Chaldean types. It was brought in 1602 by Fr. Albert Laertius, S. J., and set up at Vypicotta. The first book printed there was a literal translation of the Roman Ceremonial and of the Exorcisms and Blessings contained in the Missal. The Syrian Missal and Breviary, as expurgated by Fr. Francis Roz, S. J., who had succeeded Mar Abraham as Archbishop of Malabar, was next taken in hand.³

These books were written in Syriac (or Chaldean), with notes and explanations in Malayalam printed in Syriac script—a manner of writing even now called 'Carson'.

AMBALAKAD : 1679

For the next press we have to wait till 1679. Ambalakad, (or more correctly, Ambazhakad), a village twenty miles south of Trichur, was in the seventeenth century a flourishing borough with a house of the Society of Jesus (most probably a Noviciate) to which, about the year 1670, a seminary, known as St. Paul's, was attached. A part of the village is still known as Sampaloor, a corrupt form of *Sao Paulo Ur* (St. Paul's town). Nothing remains of all these institutions but a few decaying ruins left after the incursions of the Mysore troops under Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan.

¹ From a memorial sent to the King of Portugal by the Syrians in 1632—quoted in the *History-Album of St. Joseph's Apostolic Central Seminary—Alwaye*.

² *Land of Perumals*, 9, 28, 221; Henrion, II, 484; J. Hough, I, 248; *Mitras Lusitanas*, I, p. 12. From *The Mangalore Magazine*, loc. cit.

³ 'In order to provide for this His Holiness sent a printing-press with Chaldean types, with which it was possible to print the books and other things necessary for the Divine services of the Church.' *Jornada*, by Gouvea, I, III, c. 8.

'The Archbishop then wrote to Pope Clement VIII requesting him to send the Breviaries and the Missals. It did not seem feasible to His Holiness to dispatch so many books, but through Fr. Albert Laertius he sent to India a large number of Chaldean characters, with which any number of these could be printed. In that way more books could be had and more easily. Several have been printed so far, and even now (1610) some are being printed. The Ritual was the first book issued.' Quoted in *Subsidium ad Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, p. 55.

There is a tradition among the Christians of Trichur that a printing-press was set up at Ambalakad as early as 1555. But the first book printed there with which we are acquainted is the *Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary* of 1679. In that year, one Ignatius Aichamoni, a Catholic of Malabar, carved Tamil characters out of wood, as John Gonsalves had done a century before at Cochin. It was with the aid of these characters that the Jesuits printed the first *Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary* written by Fr. Anthony de Proenza, S. J.¹

In subsequent years many other works were printed at Ambalakad, which became better known as a publishing centre than Cochin or Vypicotta. The Tamil types used were probably block-types of wood like those of John Gonsalves, while movable metal-types were used for European languages. Movable types seem to have been later used even for Tamil at Ambalakad, where several of Fr. Robert de Nobili's Tamil works were published. But this brings us beyond the year 1700.

The reader will not fail to notice that our inquiry ends where the *Cyclopaedia of India* starts. The story of the Tranquebar Mission Press clearly belongs to the second period of the history of the press in India ; to its growth, and not to its birth.

Mangalore.

¹ 'At Ambalakad, in 1679, one Ignatius Aichamoni, a native of Malabar, carved other Tamil characters in wood and with them published 'A Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary' written by Fr. Anthony de Provence, S. J., of the Madura Mission.'—Paulinus : *India Orientalis Christiana*, cap. 'Viri Illustres', p. 182. Cf. *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali*, p. 346.



THE METHOD OF IMMANENCE IN FRENCH PHILOSOPHY

By FRANCIS LENOBLE

IT is a favourite principle of modern philosophy that it is impossible for the human mind to assimilate a truth which is altogether outside it and for which it has not already some sort of natural sympathy and innate yearning. Though this principle is sound in itself, it is often the outcome of the modern rationalistic tendency to consider the human mind as the absolute spirit, sufficient unto itself and not in need of any truth which is of a higher order, especially if it is proposed as a dogma.

Technically known as the Principle of Immanence, it may be thus formulated :

A truth that is presented to us merely from the outside, as something altogether exterior, foreign, unadapted to our mind, without either a pre-existing disposition or even a hidden striving on our part, such a truth (if one may still call it so) can neither be grasped nor assimilated. It would be meaningless to us and, even if accepted, would be a sort of submission to a merely verbal record, in fact, a principle of spiritual death. Like a piece of lead in the body, it kills instead of nourishes ; like an aerolite, it either misses or crushes. One finds only what one seeks ; and one receives only what one finds.

This is not, after all, a new principle. Ages ago, St. Augustine said that 'man only seeks what he has already

found,' and he considered the necessity of God as 'the necessary rest of the human heart in search of the Infinite.' St. Thomas Aquinas states the same principle in metaphysical terms : 'Nothing can be directed towards an end unless it has an antecedent fitness for that end' (*De Veritate*, 14, 2) ; and it was Pascal's ambition to base his apologetics on the immanent dialectic of the living soul.

A living and suffering man, Pascal discovered his own soul, and in it the human soul, 'that monstrous mixture of greatness and misery,' the riddle of the 'thinking reed.' Like Augustine, Pascal deals with man in the concrete, as a complete and active reality, 'who has obviously strayed and fallen irrecoverably from his true condition. In sore distress, he looks for it everywhere, but in vain.' His present restlessness and powerlessness shows that 'man did once know true happiness, but nothing is now left of it except the mark and empty hole,' which he tries to fill with the things around him, seeking to find in things absent what he misses in things present. Yet all things are equally incapable of satisfying his yearning, because the infinite chasm can be filled only with an infinite and unchangeable object : God Himself. The Christian religion alone, with its dogma of a supernatural life which has been lost by Original Sin, can explain the puzzling condition of our wounded nature. Deeply wounded also, through our attachments to things finite, is the love of truth which is the foundation and the very life of the human mind. To regain its perfect light, the mind must rediscover its exclusive *love of truth*, through Grace which helps the will to love what is good,—for *in order to know, we must first love*. It is, therefore, good for man that 'he should tire himself in the useless search for the true good, since this experience forces him to seek his Liberator.'

It is these rich principles of his doctrine, and not the 'wager', that reveal Pascal's soul and make him one of the most modern of Christian philosophers.

The principle of immanence has been brought into prominence by the rationalists ; but they have misunderstood it. According to them, immanence is not the antecedent connaturality of subject and object which is necessary to any true assimilation, but the inclusion in the subject of both the beginning and the end of its activity. Thus understood, it has given birth to Modernism, which holds that truth is merely the projection or 'objectivation' of our subjective aspirations. Religion then becomes the effect of a vital urge whose object varies according to each one's conscience and experience. The truth of a dogma no longer consists in the expression of a divine reality, but merely in a capacity to arouse religious feelings. These views find their most adequate expression in Sabatier's *Outline of a Philosophy of Religion*, though they were already foreshadowed in the religious philosophy of Schleiermacher and in Lutheran pietism.

But the principle of immanence, understood in its relative and true meaning, has been incorporated into Catholic philosophy as a new and living principle of expansion. Cardinal Dechamps was the first to utilize the new method *ex professo*. From a rational consideration he deliberately took his stand on what is *in* man though not *man's own*, to prove that he is by nature capable of receiving the supernatural. In this way, he planted in the very centre of philosophy the psychological thesis of the inability of reason, even when developed to the utmost, to solve the religious problem which is inevitable in man's present state.

These principles were established, but the method of immanence had still to be organized on scientific lines and

worked out systematically. This was done by Maurice Blondel.

Long before Blondel, St. Thomas had, in his metaphysical analysis of the nature of mind (as a form subsisting in matter), discovered in the infinite range of its dynamism (i.e. *will*) an inborn aptitude and desire for the supernatural. Blondel, a true disciple of Ollé-Laprune, studied the same activity of the mind as a concrete reality, and came to the conclusion that in the present order of Providence the supernatural is the completion of the human mind. His method is really an immanent dialectic of life. Starting from self-consciousness, which is at once a fact and a necessity, he argues to an inevitable development and growth. The mind, progressing through successive stages which imply one another, endeavours to grasp this real dynamism in its total bearing, and yet avoids pronouncing judgment, except under the compulsion of logical necessity, on the metaphysical value of each of these stages. Thus it is forced to make explicit the secret implications of its spontaneous activity. Blondel further discovers the 'genuine avowal' of the will acting as a necessary power, the deepest law of life, which, expressed in notional terms, is no other than the principle of identity. We have here a genuine metaphysic of concrete existence.

Now what do we find if we start from the simplest conscious act and follow up the progress of the will's aspiration? We perceive that after we have rediscovered and ratified the physical, social and intellectual levels at which the will exerts itself there is still an unknown territory lying beyond. The will has traversed through all that nature could offer, and yet its energy is not quite spent; it can still go farther. . . beyond the metaphysics of the infinite, and even beyond mystical knowledge. All

efforts have been futile ; all attempts to surrender everything to God are illusory unless He freely gives Himself to us. Human activity is not rounded off in the mere natural order ; the supernatural is impossible and yet necessary.

In his latest work (*La Pensée*), Blondel makes a similar analysis of the complex realm of *thought*, in order to discover the authentic manifestation and necessary implication of the concrete mind. From its lowest realization and rough sketch, so to say, thought manifests two inseparable characteristics : it tries to unify everything in itself and returns upon itself—thought is noetic ; on the other hand, it tends to reach out of itself with the purpose of conquering and unifying—it is pneumatic. The same duality which results from an endless pursuit of an unattainable unity manifests itself also in the very depth of the material universe ; it is seen in organic and psychic thought ; in human consciousness it creates the 'alternative dynamism' of intuition and abstraction, and so opens in the very depth of conscious thought 'a wound which is the more incurable because at the very moment when the idea of God draws the edges together the wound, instead of healing, appears deeper, and any hope of a cure seems to vanish.' Why is this so ?

Since the question does arise, it must have an answer. The consciousness of our incompleteness proves the necessity of a completion of thought *in itself*. On the other hand, our own thought would not be thought if it did not tend towards its own completion *within ourselves*. How is such a completion possible by means of an intimate union with the living God ? For such a completion implies a conceivable and desirable perfection which, though unattainable by our natural powers, is still felt to be the goal of our aspirations.

Hence in the most critical and methodically developed philosophy the implicit appearance of a complement which alone can fill up all our human capacity : this is the *supernatural*, 'a completion which nature cannot claim, and without which nature could exist, but which, once given, may not, with impunity, be neglected, denied, or diverted from its true meaning and purpose.' It becomes evident, too, that a philosophical system which shuts itself up in 'naturalism' sins against the essential law of its own development.

By a strictly scientific method, then, Blondel has rediscovered what Pascal called an infinite void : the desire of Grace, even after Original Sin, the *vulnus gratiae* (the wound of the loss of Grace).

The analysis of the dynamism of the will reveals the the soul's aspiration towards the supernatural, just as the analysis of its form discloses the objective conditions to be realized by the supernatural to prove its authenticity ; the soul is now driven to ask : 'Is the supernatural a fact or not ?' The method of immanence cannot go farther : the theologian must now step in and show that *it is* and that it will be found in Christianity.

The same anxiety to arrive at an essentially religious philosophy inspired the work of Fr. Laberthonnière, Editor of the *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*. He brilliantly performed the difficult task of brightening up the philosophy of life with the light which radiates from the person and teaching of Christ. His work deals mainly with the nature of Faith, treated as a vital experience of God rather than as a submission to outside authority ; but his 'intrinsicism' comes perilously close to an exclusive and suspect immanentism. The same tendency appears in Victor Delbos and a few young philosophers led by P. Archambault, Editor of the *Cahiers de la Nouvelle Journée*.

In his *Exigence Idéaliste* ('The Idealist Claim'), Edouard Le Roy has tried to reconcile the doubly opposed views : understanding and intuition in Bergson's system ; speculation and action in Blondel's. Le Roy holds that action is nothing but thought lived (*pensée vécue*). Thought itself—the spirit—is the creative immanent impulse, 'the ascending, and divinizing Nisus, moved by God's perfection,' the drift of 'light in quest of itself, a career with infinite prospects.'

Whilst criticizing the methods of scientific discovery, Le Roy first hit upon his 'thought-action' theory, which eventually became the keystone of his philosophy. It served him as a useful principle to make the Christian faith and dogma fully intelligible and attractive to the intellectuals of France. Viewed conceptually, dogmas, he says, are an inadequate expression of the purely Transcendent, and are therefore rather negative in meaning, whereas when they are considered in their vital and practical aspect their meaning is decidedly positive. God's personality lies beyond my comprehension, for He is supra-personal. Yet if I consider Him as a Person, I am sure to think and act in a way which is bound to take me nearer to this divine Personality. Le Roy, a true disciple of Bergson, obviously shares the master's distrust of the 'conceptual understanding', but his thought has not yet found its definite expression. Nevertheless, it is certain that this principle which identifies thought and action in the 'becoming' (*le devenir*), if pushed to its furthest conclusions, must force him to meet the fundamental notion of dynamic analogy, along the twofold line of the intelligible and of Act as opposed to Potentiality.¹

Louvain.

¹ Cf. *From the Positivist to the Spiritual Outlook*, in *The New Review*, April, 1935. Pp. 340-345.

ANGELO DA FONSECA

ANGELO da Fonseca is a native of Goa. He was trained in Calcutta by the founder of the Bengal school of art, Abanindranath Tagore, and by Nandalal Bose at Santiniketan. He still sends examples of his work every year to the Exhibition in Calcutta.

His more ambitious pieces have been executed since his coming to Poona in 1933. Here he has painted a number of frescoes in the C. P. S. S. Ashram, and several altar-pieces, including two triptych. He shares with A. D. Thomas of Lahore the distinction of painting Christian subjects in an Indian style. The Madonna at the Ashram in the dress of a Maharashtra maiden has provoked much comment. Most critics will agree that these paintings show a greater vigour than those of Mr. Thomas, especially in their portrayal of Our Blessed Lord.

Mr. Fonseca's forte is pure line. But to one who, like me, has been privileged to observe the progress of his work almost from day to day, a remarkable improvement has shown itself during the last eighteen months in his mastery over colour, both in its individual mixing and in its blending on paper and on canvas. His tones increase in softness and delicacy, while nothing is lost of his ability to express himself boldly in line. Together with this growing skill in his craft there has developed a greater certainty as to what he is called upon to reveal through it. As this inner growth goes hand in hand with the outer we shall soon witness before us the blossoming of a great artist.

W. Q. Lash

Poona

SPANISH COLONIZATION

By H. COMES

SPANISH methods of colonization in America have often been misunderstood. Mistakes which were the exception have been taken as the rule, and real achievements—unique in the history of colonization—have been ignored. The old misunderstanding, which began with Bartholomew de Las Casas, has been repeatedly cleared away, but it reappears from time to time. Thus in a recent book we read :

The name of Christian and Catholic has perhaps never been more unworthily borne than by the *conquistadores* from the Iberian peninsula. They were the usurpers, the cruel monopolists, the exterminators of the poor Indians. The stain of their nefarious deeds will never be blotted out. To these crimes they added one more ferocious and brutal : the trade in Negro African slaves brought there to be employed in forced labour. . . Thus while hordes of greedy jackals, unmindful of all humane feelings, trampling on whatever is most holy and sacred, fell upon their new prey. . .¹

This new attack has called forth a new defence. Father C. Bayle, an eminent scholar who has made a special study of American colonization, in his book *Espana en Indias*,² answers Carminati's sweeping statements with an overwhelming mass of contemporary evidence. He does not deny that excesses were sometimes committed by Spanish settlers in a country so far from their own. But he maintains that to attack the Spaniards in general because of the abuses of a few is as unfair as to judge,

¹ Cesare Carminati : *Compendio di Missiologia* (3rd ed.), Pt. III, cap. 2, p. 123 ; Bergamo, 1929.

² This article is intended as a review of Fr. Bayle's two latest studies : *Espana en Indias. Nuevos Ataques y Nuevas Defensas*. Pp. 448. Vitoria : 'Iluminare', 1934, Ptas. 12 ; *Espana y la Educación Popular en América*. Pp. 388. Madrid : F. A. E., Claudio Coello, 1934, Ptas. 12.

say, the United States of America from the deeds of the gangsters of Chicago, or France from those of the Apaches of Marseilles.

Carminati seems to have been misled by the writings of Las Casas. But while sympathizing with Las Casas' earnest endeavour to raise the status of the natives, we must admit that accuracy was not his forte. His glaring mistakes in regard to places and numbers should put the reader on his guard against placing too much trust in his assertions.¹ His very style betrays his bias. For him the new continent was a foretaste of paradise : the natives all 'of bright intelligence and remarkable beauty,' submissive 'as a convent of good and observant religious,' meek, chaste and prudent, almost incapable of the slightest slip. The *conquistadores*, governors, settlers : Spaniards, all hungry tigers, each fiercer than all his predecessors, and each successive deed worse than any committed before : real 'devils in human flesh,' whose delight was to butcher natives by the thousand and cast them into hell. . . .

But, as a matter of fact, we are told by people who lived with them that rioting was common among the natives, that they ate human flesh, and that they thought nothing of killing or being killed. Numerous massacres of Spaniards are recorded.

On the Spanish colonizers Fr. Bayle has produced an eloquent amount of contemporary evidence to prove, not that there were no abuses, but that they were exceptional : that the very fact of these abuses being recorded was due to the presence on the spot of many upright citizens (missionaries and others) and of a government at home patient to listen to their complaints and ready to accept their proposals ; and that this was substantially the case wherever Spanish settlements were

¹ e. g. Cuba three times as big as Spain : villages seven leagues broad, plains with 30,000 rivers flowing from the hills. . .

found. All the leading early *conquistadores*, governors and magistrates are studied in turn, and reveal a character above reproach. The sternest soldier could turn into a fatherly protector of the natives once their conquest was over. Many of them were tenderly loved by those over whom they are accused of having tyrannized.

The decrease of population that followed the Spanish settlement in America is no argument against their policy. For from the data gathered by Fr. Bayle the following conclusions follow. The appalling figures recorded by Las Casas are not reliable ; the only place where the decrease was alarming was the Antilles, an experimental ground : and first experiments, even when calculated to benefit the natives in the long run, often enough turn for a time to their disadvantage. Belgium, for instance, met with very alarming results in the Congo late in the nineteenth century.¹ On the mainland the decrease was mainly, if not exclusively, due to the plague that devastated the continent, and to the intermarriages between Spaniards and natives which naturally reduced the Indian population in the same proportion as it increased that of the *Mestizos* (i. e. half-breeds). At any rate, 'the Spaniards did not accept the English dictum that the only good Indians are dead Indians,'² so that, while in North America scarcely any Indians have been left to tell the story, in Central and South America there are still as many, if not more of them, as when the Spaniards first set foot on American soil.

The Spanish *Encomiendas* and *Mitas*, too, have been severely denounced. An *Encomienda* (i.e. trust) consisted in the assignment of a number of natives to a Spaniard

¹ Cf. A. Vermeersch, S. J. *La Question Congolaise*, 1906.

² Gerard J. Geary. *Transfer of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in California*. *Historical Records and Studies*, XXII, p. 104 ; New York, 1932.

on condition that they would give him part of their labour, while he would protect and instruct them. When the Spaniards landed in America they found the poor people oppressed by their chiefs and sometimes even sacrificed to their gods. It was to protect and civilize them that *encomiendas* were instituted. An excellent system, if all the trustees were as trustworthy as the Spanish kings who trusted them. But there were abuses ; and after a succession of inquiries, reports, consultations and amendments, personal service was altogether abolished and a tax levied in its stead.

With the new freedom many returned to their old ways ; and their former masters were at a loss how to get sufficient free labour for their large mines and farms. Hence *Mitas* were devised, which were periods of compulsory, but duly paid, work exacted from the natives. The kings of Spain did not at first approve of *mitas* ; they did so, however, when it was brought home to them that if the new continent was ever to be a flourishing Spanish colony and the natives socially and economically educated, compulsory work could not be suppressed until the abundance of free labour made it no longer necessary. But the regulations that were made to protect the natives against the cunning calculations of their employers were centuries ahead of their time. Boys under eighteen, men over fifty, all women, sick people and their attendants, were exempted from the *mitas*. The working day was shorter than in many factories to-day ; the Sunday rest was compulsory ; and a week of toil had to be followed by one of leisure. Fr. Bayle calculates that under the *mita* system a native would not have altogether more than fifteen months of compulsory work during the whole of his life, which is about as much as many modern countries impose of compulsory military service. Further, the labourers were to be recruited, as far as

possible, from the neighbouring villages, and for each day spent in coming and going they were to receive half pay. Hospitals were provided for them. Government inspections were frequent, and abuses regarding hours of work, wages and sanitation were severely punished. A miner in America was paid as much as an ecclesiastic in Spain. The scheme was so successful that towns of free labourers soon sprang up around the mines and other big concerns, and even poor labourers could afford smart dresses, costly ornaments and gorgeous festivals. Women were given special attention in Spanish colonial legislation. *Obrajes* were weaving industries run on the *mita* system and employing women as well as men. But married women were not to be employed away from their husbands. Young women were not to be given to the chiefs as presents or as serving-maids, nor forced to marry against their will. They were forbidden to graze cattle or even to come to church alone. Pregnant women were exempted from work for at least four months. A widow's crop was to be cultivated for her by her neighbours.

Was slavery a part of the Spanish colonial programme? The kings forbade the use of American natives as slaves, but they allowed the importing of Negro slaves from Africa, because their robust constitution seemed fitter for the tillage of the land under tropical conditions. Carminati refers to this practice as the blackest stain on Spanish rule in America. But he forgets that the Negro Slave Trade was neither started nor monopolized by Spain, and that the traders who captured and exported African slaves were less often Spaniards than Portuguese, Germans, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Englishmen and Italians. He also seems to forget that sixteenth-century jurists maintained, with due conditions and restrictions, the lawfulness of slavery. This may be said in defence of

the Spanish slave-owners, that, whereas in the French colonies the slave had by law no right to property or self-defence, and whereas in England, as late as 1823, when Lord Bathurst pleaded for the betterment of the Negro slaves, he was told to mind his own business, Spanish law enjoined on slave-owners the duty of instructing them, giving them daily and weekly rest, feeding and clothing them properly, housing and employing them with due regard to age and sex, and allowed the slaves to intermarry with their employers and obtain their freedom, provided them with judicial defence, and punished all violations of these instructions.

In 1815, Bolivar, even while trying to shake off Spanish rule, wrote :

The Spanish colonist does not oppress his servant with excessive labour ; he treats him as a companion ; he educates him in the principles of morality and humanity prescribed by the religion of Jesus. . . . The slave in Spanish America thrives in the *haciendas* ; he enjoys the quiet of his master's estate and a good deal of the benefits of freedom. . . . He considers himself. . . as a member of his master's family whom he loves and respects. Experience has taught us that even when roused by the most alluring temptation the Spanish slave has not fought against his master : on the contrary, he has often preferred peaceful slavery to rebellion.¹

If money were the only motive of Spanish colonization, there would have been every reason to keep the natives in their ignorance. But no sooner did the Spaniards land in America than they set themselves to learn and systematize the languages of the natives with a view to their education. Men who might have shone in European Universities were seen playing with native children in order to catch from their lips the much-coveted words. Convents and churches sprang up all over the new continent. Each convent or friary had a large boarding school attached to it with sometimes as many as a thousand native boys. Each country parish had a rural school or a whole constellation of them. By the middle of the seventeenth

¹ Quoted in *Espana en Indias*, p. 347.

century New Spain (Mexico) alone had about 800 schools. Central America had 100 major convents and 500 *doctrinas* or elementary schools. In Ecuador, parish priests were directed to train teachers for outlying posts ; the friars had hundreds of centres there. In Peru, the Dominicans alone had sixty schools in the sixteenth century ; the 'selection' of teachers was enforced there by the Archbishop. The Jesuit *reducciones* in Paraguay are too well known to need mention ; the diocese of Asunción alone was running 78 schools in the eighteenth century.

Literacy soon penetrated into the American wilderness. The natives 'began to write in their own language and to communicate by letters as we do : a thing which they considered a marvel that paper could speak and tell every one what he who was absent meant.'¹ Christian doctrine could be learned from tablets hung up in public places. Books in the vernacular were soon found useful, and as early as 1538 Archbishop Zumarraga had a press established in Mexico. Devotional and doctrinal books were printed in 52 native languages.

Thus while many magistrates in London could not even sign their names, while German nobles thought it more manly to hunt than to read and write, in Venezuela, which was by no means the best of the Spanish colonies, 'even the Negroes prided themselves on being able to read and write.'

The subjects taught and the methods followed in these schools were adapted to the capacity and needs of the natives : reading and writing, prayers, Christian Doctrine, and, wherever practicable, Spanish. Music and singing were also encouraged everywhere. Many parishes, and certainly all the convents, could boast of a well-trained choir. 'What shall I say of the native children of this

¹ Mendieta. Quoted in *Espana y la E. P. en A.*, p. 147.

land ? They write, read, sing plain chant and polyphonic, transcribe hymn-books and teach others.'¹ This was in 1533.

Nor was this education altogether elementary. From the very beginning, *Colegios de Caciques*, special schools for the sons of the chiefs, were established. These, as well as the schools attached to the residences of the friars, soon developed into Grammar Schools, where 'Latin was taught, and into Colleges and Universities. In 1533, thirty-two years after the conquest, Mexico had three large colleges and a university—a century before Harvard came into existence. 'At the beginning of the seventeenth century there was no province in the New World without colleges and universities.'²

The aim of the Spanish kings in establishing higher educational institutions had been to form native magistrates and clergy. And they succeeded. Bishops and archbishops, governors and even professors of European universities, came from these colonial institutions. 'There was no province where the Revolution did not find a considerable number of men fit for the Parliament, for the Court, for the Magistrature, for the handling of public finance, for military tactics.'³

Of Mexico in 1803 we read : 'No city in the new continent, without even excepting those of the United States, can display such great and solid scientific establishments as the capital of Mexico.'⁴ A recent North American author writes :

Mexico was so full of schools and colleges before the confiscations—schools and colleges for boys and girls, for handicrafts, trades, and arts of all kinds—as to justify a sweeping statement to end this chapter : Up to that day there never

¹ J. de Tastera. Quoted p. 146.

² G. Navarro. Quoted p. 35.

³ T. F. Cordero. Quoted p. 35.

⁴ Von Humboldt. *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, Vol. I, p. 159; New York, 1811.

had been a country on the face of the earth that in so short a time had done so much in an educational way. When the circumstances of time and conditions surrounding the effort and the obstacles to be overcome are considered, history presents no finer record of educational achievement and success."¹

But Spanish policy in America will not be understood unless its motive is grasped. Individuals did often have worldly aims ; but Spain as a State had one consistent purpose : ' to transform the American wilderness into a flourishing garden of the Church. The kings looked upon the natives as children with whom Providence had entrusted them for their mental and moral upbringing. Listen to Queen Isabella's will :

It was our chief intention. . . to try to win those peoples and convert them to our holy Catholic Faith ; and to send to those islands and mainland prelates and religious and clerics and other learned and God-fearing persons, to instruct the inhabitants of those lands in our holy Faith and to teach them good manners.

Charles I : ' Remember that I place those souls on your shoulders, and see that you account for them to God and relieve me. . . ' Philip II : ' One of the things we most desire is that good treatment should be accorded to those natives and that they should be instructed and converted to our holy Catholic Faith. . . . Postponing any advantage or interest of ours, let them have special care of the things appertaining to conversion and instruction. . . ' Philip III : ' This point has a prominent place in my royal attention before all other interests of those vast dominions. ' Philip IV : ' The education and good treatment of those Indians is my constant care and anxiety. '

It is this highly religious conscientiousness that made Queen Isabella indignant when she learnt that Columbus had brought some natives home as slaves. This is what led Philip IV to sentence to death those Spaniards who in defiance of his orders had raided the Paraguay Reductions to loot and capture the villagers.

¹ Kelley : *Blood-Drenched Altars*, 1935, p. 100.

This was the spirit that dictated those social codes which were meant to safeguard the freedom and well-being of the natives. It is this spirit that covered the land with churches and monasteries built with royal money, opened rural schools in every village, and furnished colleges and universities and financed the equipment, journey and stay of thousands of missionaries for three hundred years.

The results speak for themselves. Not only is religion and culture now flourishing in those eighteen youthful republics, but after the excitement of their struggle for independence has died down, they are turning their grateful eyes towards that old country to which they owe what they are. A deep current of religious and cultural sympathy has set in between the two sides of the Atlantic during these last decades. Montalvo, an Ecuadorian, voiced that sympathy when he said : 'Whatever is pure in our blood, noble in our heart, bright in our mind, we have it from Spain. If we think greatly, feel bravely, and act rightly, we owe it to Spain. I, who adore Jesus Christ, who speak the language of Castille, who cherish the same feelings as my ancestors and walk in their footsteps, how can I hate her ?'¹ And less rapturously but none the less forcibly, Levillier, an Argentine scholar : 'In the history of mankind there is no collective fact of such greatness as the colonization of America, and no calumny is so monstrous as the one that has been spread against the people who brought it about.'²

Calcutta.

¹ Quoted in *Espana en Indias*, p. 26.

² Quoted p. 251, note.

KING SOAP

By J. F. CAIUS

AS a cleansing agent soap is unique since the best treatment for the normal human skin is regular washing with pure, mild soap, nothing else being required. The distinguishing merit of properly made soap is that it is non-injurious in all cases where the application of water is harmless. With all our advance in chemistry, soap remains the greatest solvent, the finest and safest cleanser known.

Soap results from the interaction of fatty oils and fats with soda and potash. The word is widely represented in the European languages, and there are such kindred forms as *soap*, *seife*, *zeep*, *savon*, *jabón*, *sabao*, *sapun*, and *sapone*. It has a decidedly Teutonic ring about it, yet it is doubtful whether it is of purely Teutonic origin : its occurrence in some of the Tartar languages may indicate that it was introduced by early trade from the East. But whatever be the land of its birth there is nowadays nothing national or insular about soap ; it has become a cosmopolitan article, manufactured in many places, universally used, widely advertised, and taken for granted as much as sun, rain and air.

But the universal use of soap is of comparatively recent date, and was made possible towards the beginning of the nineteenth century by Chevreul's classical investigations on fats and oils, and by Leblanc's process for the manufacture of caustic soda from common salt. It is true that the finished article was manufactured at Marseilles more than five hundred years ago, when the soap-makers of Provence first learned to make the product from the oil pressed from olives—a new departure, and a considerable improvement on the goat's tallow and beech-ash process used up to that time. But soap was all the while looked upon as a luxury ; and it took centuries to popularize the notion that cleanliness is next to godliness, a slogan which was instrumental in heralding the advent of King Soap.

King Soap is such a mighty potentate that it is worth while

making a closer study of him, for he assumes a variety of dresses, and claims any number of royal privileges.

Numerous varieties of soaps are made ; the purposes for which they are intended are many ; the materials employed embrace a considerable range of oils, fats, and other bodies ; the processes adopted have undergone and are still undergoing many modifications. But, for all that, there is no essential difference between the method of manufacture used by the Indian washerman and dyer and that adopted by the latest Soap Company, Limited ; the raw materials are still fats and oils *plus* an alkali, which by chemical reaction produce soap and glycerine, the latter substance being removed and sold as a by-product.

When soap is prepared in the home on a small scale for home purposes, people as a rule do not take the trouble to remove the excess of alkali ; they do not care to save the glycerine ; nor do they mind if the article produced is a sloppy substance impregnated with water. Soap which is made for trade is usually prepared more carefully. After the fat has been entirely saponified, the glycerine is removed from the soap by the addition of salt which makes the glycerine remain in the brine and the soap separate from the liquid. The salty solution is reworked for the recovery of the glycerine which has a high market value. In order to ensure a better product, the soap first separated is re-saponified and salted out again. Finally, the soap, freed from excess of fat and glycerine, is boiled with a definite amount of water, which it 'adsorbs'. The soap is then treated in a variety of ways according to the purposes for which it is intended. Naphtha may be added to laundry soaps, or sand and pumice to scouring soaps ; sodium carbonate or borax is sometimes incorporated in general household soaps. Talcum, a very cheap substance, is occasionally introduced in low-grade soaps, merely to increase the weight of the product.

Floating soaps are soaps made lighter than water by inserting either cork or a metallic plate so as to form an air space within the tablet. The more usual method, however, is to whip or beat air into molten settled soap until the aeration is sufficient to cause it to float. Any soap at all, even the poorest, can be made floatable by whipping air into it in the process of manufacture. To think that a floating soap is purer than a non-floating variety is thus a delusion. All you get for your money when you buy a floating soap is air and water in addition to soap.

Transparent soaps are obtained by the addition of alcohol, glycerine, or sugar, or a mixture of these. But the soap-maker's object is not so much to improve the quality of the product as to add to its attractiveness; and transparency neither improves the cleansing value of the product nor is of any special benefit to the consumer. What is more, in practice only the very best transparent soaps can be recommended, and they are expensive. The other transparent soaps contain irritating alcohol, glycerine, or sugar, as well as too much alkali.

Every encyclopaedia and every textbook on the subject will tell you that Castile soap is made entirely from olive oil with no added fats or other oils, and that it is the mildest of soaps, especially good for babies and for those whose skins are highly irritable. This is the kind of soap officially recognized by the various pharmacopœias, which require that it shall be made solely from olive oil and contain not more than a specified proportion of impurities. It is, however, a matter of doubt whether a soap meeting these requirements is now available anywhere; and a consumer, anxious to save money and get a good product, will do well to avoid Castile soap altogether. The standards are so low that ordinary toilet soaps are likely to be of better quality.

All toilet soaps are made in about the same manner. They are usually obtained from coco-nut oil, a semi-solid fat, or from hardened cotton-seed, olive, or some other bland oil. The process of hardening is a recent invention, and consists in setting free the element hydrogen in contact with the oil, with the result that the hydrogen enters the oil molecule, saturates it, as we say in chemical lore, and changes it from a flowing liquid into an immobile grease.

Toilet soaps of common quality are perfumed by simple melting and stirring into the mass some cheap odorous body that is not affected by alkalis under the influence of heat. In not a few cases, however, the only perfume that ever touches the soap is that which is used to spray the wrapper and the box in which the article is packed.

For making the high-grade toilet soaps, the crude product from the reaction is removed to a dryer, where the water content is brought down to 11-14 per cent. The product can then be ground or powdered. It is usually run through an apparatus to render it uniform in character, after which it is mixed with the proper quantity of perfume and colouring matter, and then stamped into

cakes of various forms according to the practice of the manufacturer. During the milling process there may be added zinc oxide, borax, carbolic acid, creosote, tar, prussian blue, and various other ingredients which feature the numerous facial and medicated soaps in the market. Hand sapolios contain a high percentage of fine sand or powdered pumice which powerfully assists the detergent influence of the soap on hands much begrimed in the engine-room or the repair-shop.

Most soaps are primarily made for cleansing, but during recent years a large demand has grown up for shaving soaps which will facilitate shaving operations. To accomplish this well they should lather freely in hot or cold water, and give a close lasting lather that will not dry out appreciably during the shave. Almost any soap is good enough, but one who has used a well-made shaving soap will not easily go back to ordinary soap. Various shaving soaps are made more or less according to secret formulas and by secret processes. Some of these 'secrets' are common to most shaving soaps. Perhaps the most common consists in adding various substances, such as a small quantity of potash instead of using nothing but soda ; some hard fat which gives closeness to the lather ; coco-nut oil, lard oil, castor oil or lanoline, which cause the more rapid formation of lather at the start ; soft white paraffin, gum tragacanth and glycerine, to improve the soothing and emollient properties.

The very best soaps to choose from, regardless of expense, are the well-known brands marketed by the big manufacturers. Fancy soaps, perfumed and medicated, done up expensively and given high-sounding names, are not worth consideration. Their claims are exaggerated ; for a good soap can be just a good soap—and nothing more. No soap can have any special performance quality beyond that of being a good cleansing agent. Thus most of the peroxide soaps are 'peroxide' only in name. The peroxides are very unstable substances. If they are added at all, they are liable to undergo a change into a more stable compound during the process of manufacture or while the soap is ageing. Some soaps to which peroxide of zinc has been added have been found to yield a peroxide reaction ; but as a rule the peroxide feature is lacking.

Dye and perfume can cover a multitude of sins ; but they cannot in any way change a bad or indifferent soap into a good one. If you have set your heart on buying a costly, beautifully

coloured, delightfully-scented product made in Germany and packed in France, you should know that you pay for colour and odour, and not for any additional virtue or merit.

It is a matter for regret that the general depravity of certain manufacturers should have rendered the problem of choosing a good economical soap wellnigh insoluble. Price is no criterion, and the special claims concerning 'facial' or 'complexion' soaps are no criteria either. What is wanted is a mild, pure soap. Purity is judged by the absence of foreign ingredients or adulterants ; mildness, by the absence of irritating free alkali : and this is perhaps the greatest single virtue any toilet soap can have. The best soap for the human skin is a neutral soap, which should contain no more than one-fourth of one per cent of free alkali ; but the manufacturer takes care that his wares have a convenient form, an agreeable appearance, and a pleasant smell, while he forgets the more weighty duty of having them free from uncombined alkali. Some toilet soaps, selling at high prices, do have free alkali, and not even the most expensive perfumes or dyes can compensate for this inexcusable defect.

There is a simple test, much used by old soap-makers, which any one can apply. It consists in touching the soap lightly with the tip of the tongue. Any soap that bites or stings when touched with the tongue is not suitable for toilet use. It should be remembered, however, that even a neutral soap will release a small amount of alkali in the presence of water—as a matter of fact, its cleansing action largely depends on this property. The art of the soap-maker consists in keeping the amount of free alkali as small as possible. This can be effected by the addition of free acid in appropriate amounts. But as absolute neutrality is very seldom, if ever, obtained, it is better to have traces of free alkali than traces of free fat, as too much fatty acid is also likely to prove irritating to the skin and is sure to turn the soap rancid.

Superfatted soaps, obtained by the addition of anhydrous lanoline or soft paraffin jelly during the milling process, are the mildest and least irritating. The mere traces of lanoline or soft paraffin left after washing have a distinctly beneficial effect on highly irritable skins.

From the early days of soap-making it has appeared to be a plausible idea that soap must be an excellent vehicle for medication. But in practice this does not work out ; and a medicated soap

accomplishes nothing that a plain soap does not. Nevertheless, the idea still obtains ; even nowadays there is marketed a horde of soap products made up with all kinds of medicaments, such as iodoform, thymol, phenol, betanaphthol, sulphur, bran, tar, &c., and alleged to be of special value for the feet, for skin affections, for dandruff, for odours, and for a score of other ills to which flesh is heir. The most plausible of these somewhat dubious products are the so-called antiseptic soaps ; yet it may be stated, on the authority of qualified chemists and dermatologists, that in practical use none has any more germicidal power than plain soap has. Soap itself is a mild antiseptic, its chief value in this respect lying in its power to wash away dirt and bacteria.

No added disinfectant can be present in a soap in such amounts as to exercise a really efficient germicidal or deodorant action. Many antiseptic substances react with the soap so as to destroy the value of the disinfectant and seriously to injure the detergency of the soap itself. Others are insoluble in water, and thus reduce the efficiency of the soap with no real offsetting advantage. Tar soaps may be good soaps, but they cannot be more than good soaps ; carbolic soaps, sulphur soaps, and bran soaps, cannot even be that. As a matter of fact, much damaged stock is turned into tar soap ; and as the natural colour of tar soap is brown, it is a common practice to darken it by adding an aniline dye or lampblack, neither of which we would expect to figure among the ingredients of a cleansing agent designed for the hands, the face, or the hair.

All 'therapeutic' additions may, therefore, be regarded as adulterants. The same is true of all the precious ingredients of a cosmetic character which are said to enter into the composition of special 'beauty' soaps ; if present at all, their chief effect is merely to interfere with the action of the soap with no discernible benefit to anybody except the 'manufacturer.

In these days when soap figures so prominently in the daily routine, it is not perhaps altogether out of place to point out how far the soap-manufacturer depends on the consumer's poverty, vanity, ignorance and gullibility for the disposal of his wares. Hence this prying ramble through the realms of King Soap.

Bombay.

ONE MAN'S MEAT..

• BY MARY L. B. FULLER

I was taking three young Christian widows with their babies and belongings to a Widows' Home ; but when we changed trains at Poona we found the slow Bombay Passenger so packed with pilgrims from the annual fair at Alandi, that it seemed impossible to get four women, three babies, five clumsy little pine-wood trunks, four rolls of bedding, and many more small bags and bundles, into any of the over-flowing thirds. The coolies and I ran up and down, and found at the tail of the long train a third that still had breathing room in it and an odd little alcove near the door that some experimenter had providentially designed for just such parties as ours. The coolies slid the luggage down and jammed it in ruthlessly against all outcries ; and the women and I got in somehow before the train started.

We packed the luggage into the empty alcove in steep tiers, and while I was lifting up a box I heard a sharp voice behind me say indignantly : 'You touched me !' I turned in surprise, for in such a crowd touching was inevitable. The wooden benches themselves were conductors of defilement. Looking round I saw a thin little Brahman widow of about thirty looking accusingly at me. Her small pinched face had a look of open aversion, and she was so manifestly unhappy that I felt sorry for her. 'I am sorry I touched you', I said. 'Please forgive me.' She did not reply, and I turned back to

the building of my ceiling-scraper. But in a moment I again heard the indignant accusation : 'You touched me !' The little thing was so near me that it was hard to move without touching her ; but again I turned and said : 'I am sorry I touched you. Please forgive me.' Her face put me in mind of a vinegar bottle.

I tried to keep off her as I heaved up my next 'story', but before long there came the sharp voice, now a little shrill : 'You touched me !' I felt like laughing at the absurdity of it all. But I loathe quarrelling ; so I repeated my apology as sweetly as I could, but it availed nothing. 'What's the use of "I am sorry", "I am sorry", "Forgive me", "Forgive me" ?', she burst out. 'I say, don't touch me !'

'I will do my best', I said, and managed to avoid further contact. The young widows and I then seated ourselves on our bedding bundles, they in the aisle near the alcove, and I in the alcove itself with a box under my bedding. It was a bit cramped, but I liked the extra height because I could see the whole compartment, and people are always interesting.

Four long benches ran parallel with the train, and there must have been forty of us without the babies. The rest were mostly tired-looking pilgrims. The most they had was a little bedding, a change of clothes, little cloth-tied bundles of raw food-stuffs, one or two small brass or copper cooking-pots, a sort of iron frying-pan for bread, a brass plate and a drinking-vessel. Some carried nothing but a rough sheet or blanket folded over the shoulder and held at the waist by a well-cord for drawing water, a staff and a drinking-*lota* tied to it. Some had nothing. They had slept on their outspread turbans, drunk from their hands, and bought their food cooked, or lived on parched grain and fruit. There were only four women

besides my party and they all sat on the aisle to my left, for on the right aisle were Mohammedans.

As to castes, there were three Brahmans, my vinegar bottle, another widow, about thirty too, but as sweet-looking as a jar of clear honey, and a young man who travelled with them and passed the time reading. The rest were of the middle castes—farmers, weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, and small shopkeepers. In a corner were two Mahar Untouchables. The only non-Hindus besides my party were three young Mohammedans in their twenties, who sat royally at their ease. There they sat, now sideways, now with their knees up and their feet on the bench, now tailor-fashion, knowing well that no one would dare to protest. They were looking after number one, and they did it well. One was so very plump that he really needed a little extra room. The second was a very thin young man, as quick to move as his plump friend was slow, always laughing, chattering, gesturing, but unhealthy-looking, with sunken cheeks, a rough, scarred skin, and lively large eyes that leered and winked as he talked. The third adorned the compartment like a picture. His eyes and lashes alone would have got him a contract as a cinema actor. His pale golden skin and perfect profile would have added at least one zero to his salary. Edmond Dulac would have put him into ancient Persian dress and painted him, with a dream in his arrogant eyes and a wistful curve on his complacent lips, into a quatrain of Omar Khayyâm's.

As for dress, they were all three highly decorative : loose white cambric pantaloons, narrowed, tucked and embroidered at the ankle, sheer white muslin tunics, with fancy gold buttons joined with clusters of little gold chains, gold-spangled satin vests, canary yellow, parrot green, and cherry red, damasked cloth-of-gold caps, and shiny patent leather shoes trimmed with tiny white pearl

buttons. Their hair was oiled and scented, they had rings on their fingers, gold chains on their necks, and stuck into an armhole of the satin vest each had a huge silk handkerchief with which he fanned himself or whisked the coal dust off his person. They spoke Bombay Hindustani, well larded with conventional abuse. The thin one, whom they called Hussain, loved to chaff the fat one, Muhammad, and then roar at his own sallies. Muhammad joined in the laugh but lounged back as best he could. Abdul, the handsome one, though better bred than the others, had a spoilt air, a sort of habitual insolence that was accustomed to receive services and favours and expected them as his due.

Beside these glittering young dandies the rest of us looked drab, shabby, dusty, grimy,—village pilgrims are purposely shabby for greater safety,—but the most pleasing thing to look at in the compartment was the face of the second Brahman widow. My eye went back to it again and again, framed in its widow's white, with the close-drawn *sari* outlining the pathetic baldness of the shaven head. It was a typical Konkana Brahman face, a clear olive in colour, rather short and slightly oval, wide-browed and intellectual, but thin from fasting, and sensitive from suffering. The beautiful eyes were sad, but tranquil with the peace of resignation. They seemed very large and black in the pale, delicate face, and looked out with modesty, kindness and understanding. In my mind I called her *Shanta* (tranquil), and her companion *Lavangika* (a little clove), the name of a pungent character in an old Sanskrit play. Poor Lavangika! I looked at her pinched, unhappy little face and knew it was not for nothing she was so sharp and sour: she had met calamity and malice, and she had hated them.

Shanta and I were soon friends though we were too far apart for any talk. At first she looked at me with

great kindness, as if to show her regret for Lavangika's unreasonableness. I smiled back and then she smiled, and after that we often looked and smiled at each other.

Presently a boy came in through the door leading into the next compartment, a Tamilian pariah about twelve years old, very thin, and very dark. He wore only a rose red *rumāl* (handkerchief) tied round his middle and nothing on the wild black curls that reached to his shoulders and stood out all about his head like a light mane. On his left side, over his poor ribs, was a curious patch of dry, gray, wrinkled skin. He wormed his way past us to the far side, near the young Mohammedans, and began to sing in Urdu. The callous patch on his ribs was then explained, for he accompanied himself by beating time on it, exactly as if he were playing on a drum, smacking himself smartly with the heel of his hard, long-fingered hand, and cleverly putting in grace beats, all in perfect time. It enhanced his singing, and if the child had been behind a curtain one might have taken the sound for some sort of a drum and liked it : but to the eyes that callous patch spelt pain. The voice was sweet, very clear and flexible, and the lad's style was surprisingly good—long, well-sustained quavers, and excellent control.

When he stopped I asked him how he had learned to sing, and in Urdu at that. 'I listened outside a window to a singing-master in Bombay teaching other boys, and so I learned', he said. 'Sing again', said the young Mohammedans, and he sang. '*Shabash* !', they said after that song. 'You sing like a *nātak-wāla* ! Sing again, and we will give you an anna each. It passes the time well.'

Artist-like the boy warmed to their praise and out-sang himself, throwing back his head and gesturing with his right hand. His thin black face, lighted by his great

eyes and beautiful white teeth and encircled by his flying curls, seemed to me a picture of the ancient Dravidian soul. A wild, far-away look came into his eyes, and in my mind I saw him on a southern hill-top, on the great lion-like head of my favourite Drug ; saw him singing there, his slender black body against the sky, his hands aloft, his head thrown back, his curls blowing free, and a Dravidian lyric mounting from his throat.

When he had finished singing he held out a cupped hand to the young men. 'Give me four annas', he coaxed. '*Wah, wah !*', they laughed, 'you are a shrewd fellow ! Never mind, here are four annas.' 'We should have spent much more if we had been in Bombay to-day and gone to a play', they added to each other. The boy got another pice or two from the Hindus and two annas from me, and went to sing in another compartment.

Hussain then began to chaff Muhammad : 'Why do you not keep a master and learn to sing like that ? Then you might earn three or four annas a day instead of sitting on your father's chest and eating for nothing. And see, Allah has already given you a drum ! Come, I will beat it for you—it will give a good sound !' And with that he began a merry thump-thump on Muhammad's round front, but got in return a knock on his narrow chest that made him cough. 'Let be !', roared Muhammad. 'You dry bone, you are but half a man ! I can sing *now* ; but even if you had ten masters you would still sing like a crow.'

'Ay, who would not with his chest broken ? Your hand is like a camel's kick—*Terâ hât, âur unt ka lât !*' Delighted with the spontaneous little rhyme, all three roared with laughter.

After that they were hungry. They got down from the rack above a tin trunk painted a strident purple,

mottled with magenta that talked, and finished off with gilt and cerise bolts and corners, a really swagger affair as became such swagger young men. Out of it they took a huge brass plate about fourteen inches across, lined with bright tin to prevent corrosion, and with a turned-up edge that made it two inches deep, three tall drinking-cups of chased bell-metal, and a beaten copper waterpot with a long belled neck, pointed lid, handle and tall graceful spout, for washing the hands and mouth, a soiled towel and a cake of bright pink soap.

When the train stopped at Lonavla Hussain climbed out of the window at his back, for the way to the door was packed with people and bundles, and with the big plate went off to the Mohammedan food stall, while the other two shouted to an old Mohammedan going up and down the platform with a bucket of water, and for a pice got all their vessels filled. The nimble Hussain was soon back with the plate heaped up with rice and curry and scrambled in after it, the other two laughing eagerly.

But, oh, the consternation that filled the compartment on the entrance of that curry! The women covered their noses and mouths with their *saris*, some of the men pulled the tails of their turbans across their faces, the farther ones spat out of the windows, and the poor fellows on the young men's side pressed closer away from them. It is hard for a foreigner to understand their agitation unless he tries to imagine what his own feelings would be if he found himself with cannibals while they were devouring human flesh.

Shanta was no Jain, but I knew she would feel very much this outrage of the beef. I looked at her with great sympathy and made a little grimace of disgust. There were tears in her eyes and she shook her head sadly. I put my handkerchief to my nose, for the greasy warm smell in that crowded place was unpleasant, and I did not

want to appear a partner in the crime. Though all the Hindus there must have thought me a horrid beef-eater, if they thought of me at all, I had not, as a matter of fact, eaten flesh of any kind for several years ; but, of course, they could not know that. Lavangika ranked me with the Mohammedans ; she looked at them and then at me, and what her eyes said I am powerless to express : there was arsenic in them. She spat violently whenever my eye caught hers, but Shanta *looked* her sympathy and I smiled back at her, thankful that she had not turned away from me. I should have felt it if she too had loathed me.

Meanwhile, the young Mohammedans had lost no time in washing their hands, rinsing their mouths, and falling to. When they had finished, they washed their hands and the plate, put the dishes back in the trunk, and settled themselves against each other for a nap.

Human nature and human tastes are queer things. The three Brahmans were the only vegetarians, and being Maharastra Brahmans were strict vegetarians, eating no animal food except milk and its products, not like the Bengali, Canarese, and some other Brahmans who eat fish, eggs, and even fowl. To them the odour was truly revolting, for they do not eat even onions and garlic but flavour their food with spices and a little asafoetida. If the curry had been of any other meat than beef, none of the non-Brahmans would have minded ; and it was not so much the odour of it that troubled them as the *idea* of that odour, the thought that it was the vapour of cow's flesh that they were breathing ; for their own mutton and goat curries, flavoured with onion, garlic and spices, do not smell very different. As for the more stolid ones among them, it was a conventional disgust they felt, not a vivid emotion. They all ate the flesh of almost all domestic animals, pigs included ; and though they held it an unpardonable sin to kill a cow, very likely

some of them, especially the farmers, had sold old cows and bullocks to Mohammedan butchers.

The two Mahars in the corner ate anything, even beef, even carrion, except—how curious it is!—*pork*. And about that Mahars feel so strongly that many of them will not name the pig, but allude to it as 'that animal'. They will go hungry rather than eat it, and are proud of being more fastidious in one thing than the caste Hindus of the middle strata. It is really a great consolation to them, this taboo, and they like to air it, with shudders. It would be interesting to know the origin of it. Certainly it has nothing to do with Hinduism.

But this rather complacent Mahar prejudice against the pig is nothing to the fierce contemptuous loathing of Mohammedans, who consider it a vile thing to eat pork. As to my own nation, what did they *not* eat! Anything they fancied as palatable and fairly wholesome was all fair grist to them. It was a very odd world.

As I was considering some of its oddities, another singer came from the next compartment, a neat young Brahman with a broad red band worn like a baldric, on which was written in Marathi: *Cow Protection Society*. I was amused at the coincidence of it, but, of course, a pilgrim train was the very place for him. In his hands was a strong teak box bound with brass, with a conspicuous brass hasp and lock. Standing in the door-way, he sang a long song in Marathi about the sorrows of the cow and full of her praises: she was the universal nourisher, a mother to all races; in every part of her dwelt a god; her stale and dung were excellent medicines and destroyers of pollution; her very touch was purifying. Not only did she nourish the race with her milk and curds, butter and butter-milk, but it was she who

gave it yet other cows, and bulls, and bullocks : what could the farmer do without her ? Nevertheless, so terrible was the avarice and unfeeling perversity of the world during this sinful Kali Yuga that iniquitous, thrice-accursed farmers after receiving all their benefits sold their old cows to infamous butchers for a little money : their crops would be blighted, a murrain would seize their cattle ; the milk they had drunk would poison their vitals and blast their future lives on earth. If anyone wanted to expiate his past sins and heap up innumerable blessings in his future lives, let him now give an alms to the Cow Protection Society, that poor cows doomed to slaughter might be bought back from the cruel *Yavan* (Mohammedan) and go on living. . . .

The neat young man sang with a blithe conventional pathos, shaking his head and gesturing sadly with his right hand. It was as well that the young Mohammedans were asleep, for there were allusions in the song and appellations and attributives that were not entirely pacific. When he had ended, the singer took up a collection. Nearly everyone put in it at least a pice, and I, wanting to please Shanta and hoping to sweeten the vinegar bottle, put in four annas.

After the collection there should have been a blessing, but just as it was about to be given Lavangika spoke up clearly : 'Give no blessing, Dattu, for there are all sorts of people here.' She shot at the young Mohammedans and me a look that contained a mixture of strychnine, arsenic and vitriol. But I survived, for I looked into Shanta's sweet eyes and there found greater kindness than ever.

Bombay.

A CLASSLESS SOCIETY

. BY A RUSSIAN ENGINEER¹

SOVIET Russia's second Five-Year Plan (1932-37) aims at 'abolishing classes and capitalistic society, and creating a new society free from class distinctions.' Like some great artist, the Government of the Soviet Republic is engaged upon an immense canvas, whose light and shade and points of emergence are correspondingly immense. Seen from a distance such a picture must attract the eye : for it paints Russia as an earthly paradise compared with the crisis-stricken Europe of to-day. But if we come nearer. . . .

If there is no essential change in Russia in the very near future, the 'abolition of the remnants of capitalistic society' will, before we are aware of it, be an accomplished fact. With regard to the second part of the Soviet programme—the creation of 'a socialistic society, free from class distinctions'—we have ample evidence of its progress in the testimony of foreigners who have recently visited Russia. Almost to a man they have returned from the U. S. S. R. with a strong feeling that in a few years' time Russia will consist of completely dumb, spiritless, mechanized units, whose sole thought will be how to satisfy their present hunger. And it is just this classless society that the Bolsheviki—to the amazement of the whole thinking world—intend to hold up for admira-

¹ Cf. *The New Review*, Vol. I, p. 488.

tion and imitation, as 'the realization of the supreme aim of mankind, a leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of liberty.'

The attainment of this 'realm of liberty' will cost the Russian people dear. Not so very long ago, I witnessed the official abolition of a class—that of the richest and most hard-working peasants (the Koulaks)—by the Soviet Government. From what took place then a fairly accurate idea may be formed of how the new experiment of 'abolishing all classes and creating a classless social order' is to be conducted.

The scene was Northern Russia ; the events I am describing were spaced out over about four years. The first significant event occurred in the winter of 1929-30. It had been so terribly cold,—especially in the former provinces of Archangel and Vologda,—that from December to April snow-storms had been incessant, and the temperature had hovered between 30 and 40 degrees below zero. It happened that just during this intensely cold spell, several trains, consisting of cattle-trucks, arrived in the northern districts. They arrived during the night, not at the bigger stations, but at the wayside halts ; and there, sometimes for weeks on end, they remained. In the last wagon there was always a detachment of soldiers of the OGPU. At first no one could understand what these long goods-trains meant, for each time they stopped large bodies of soldiers at once surrounded them : the Red Army took care that no one came near enough to see or hear anything. Rumour had it that a British Expeditionary Force was expected in the spring on the shores of the White Sea, and that the trains were bringing up supplies of ammunition and food for the Red Army. But some people swore that from those trains had come human voices, and children's cries, and the sad sound of sobbing, and the deep despair of groans. They had seen

soldiers beat on the wagons, and then all would be silent. What had happened ? Who were in the trains ? Guesses were plentiful. Some hit upon the all-too-easy explanation that train-loads of prisoners were being sent from one prison camp to another ; others made other guesses. But when the trains became too numerous for the soldiers to hide their sinister contents, all knew that the voices and sobs they had heard were the voices and sobs of thousands of unhappy Koulaks, exiled from the Volga district, from Ukania, from the Caucasus, to the bitter and inhospitable North.

And this is how it was done. First they were driven from their homes by the agents of the OGPU ; then from their villages they were hounded into the neighbouring districts ; once far from their friends, they were bundled, mostly by night, into live-stock vans. In the darkness and the confusion caused by beating with the butts of rifles and kicks and buffets, it was no rare thing for parents to be separated from their children and husbands from their wives. And so they were sent off in different directions, some to Siberia, others to Archangel and Northern Russia. By the merest chance some happened, later on, to find their relatives ; but by far the greater number saw no more of their loved ones.

The horrors of the journey to the place of deportation beggar description. It usually took several months, for thousands of miles had to be traversed. So crowded were the trucks that it was impossible to sit down anywhere, much less to lie down and rest. The doors were shut tight. There was no light save what filtered in through minute netted openings in the roof. All were forbidden to get out of the trucks on any pretext whatsoever ; and as the unfortunate wretches who were huddled together by hundreds in each train did not know whither they were bound or how long they would be

away from home, they had been unable to get together even a few provisions for the journey. They were, therefore, practically starving. Daily, however, they were given some seven ounces of black bread each, and the soldiers brought them pails of warm water several times in the day. Having no cups, they passed the bucket from hand to hand, so that long before it reached the last man in the wagon the water was cold as ice. There were small stoves in each truck, but the wood which the soldiers supplied was generally too damp to burn ; and even when it did burn it warmed only the lucky few who happened to be huddled near the stoves. As a rule, therefore, there was nothing to choose between the inside of those trucks and the icy wind outside. If one did not want to freeze, one must move about ; but for this there was not enough room. The thick smoke from the damp firewood, heatless, throat-catching, pervaded the truck and, finding no way out, mingled with the stench of unwashed human bodies and excreta.

Millions of lice crept over everyone and made sleep—even standing, and for a few minutes—impossible. Exanthemic typhus raged, especially among the children : not a day passed without new victims, yet no medical aid was forthcoming. So terrible, indeed, was their plight that death itself was welcomed as a happy release. The bodies of those who died were dragged to the doors of the trucks. For an instant, when the soldiers flung them out into the snow, the crowds in the trucks caught a glimpse of the white waste without ; then the doors slammed again, and darkness returned. What became of these victims of Soviet barbarity, abandoned there in the Arctic desert, no one will ever know. . . .

The first train-loads of Koulaks reached Archangel and Vologda in mid-January, 1930, and soon they were

followed by many more. It looked like nothing so much as massed migration. The local Ogpu had to decide where to lodge this crowd. Though the town prisons were so full that it was impossible to think of accommodating even one person more within their walls, though no special building had been provided against such an emergency as was now upon them, the Ogpu scouted the idea of erecting even rough temporary sheds.

Just before this the local newspapers had announced the arrival of large quantities of corn from the southern provinces. Such was to be the abundance of these supplies that various 'public' meetings had determined that the churches should be used to store the grain which was destined for the sustenance of the North. The impression given by the reports of these meetings was that the people wished the churches to be used for this purpose. Though this was by no means the case, opposition in any form would have meant arrest and exile ; so all held their tongues and showed not the slightest dissatisfaction with such tamperings with the truth. Besides, it was common knowledge that the churches could be, and if necessary would be, closed, even in the teeth of popular opposition. Thus it was that the Soviet agents managed to shut eight out of the nine churches at Archangel, twelve out of the fourteen at Vologda, and seven out of the eight at Velikiy-Ustyug. In the churches thus turned into barns, the soldiers of the Ogpu immediately pulled down the altar with its sacred pictures, and replaced it with a framework of planks so arranged as to form tiers of beds, sometimes reaching almost to the roof, and often six or seven 'stories' high. Similar structures were erected in the body of the church, with a single narrow passage between them. Steep ladders led to the higher 'stories'. All this was done with the greatest haste, and lack of nails made the whole contrivance extremely dangerous.

At last appeared the long-desired corn. . . . The townsmen of the North will for ever remember those long queues of people, dragging themselves slowly along, day and night, and night and day, from the station to the ice-bound river, indifferent to the cold, the blizzard, the thickly-falling snow. In that procession no age, no tribe of Russia but had its representatives. Bearded men in the flower of youth, old men, and old women, women with children at the breast, boys and girls,—all were there. Ukranian peasants passed, men who should have been garbed in long white sheepskin mantles; *moujiks* from Central Russia went by, in what was left of their brown *armiaks*; and Caucasian mountaineers, their tall lithe figures sagging with fatigue, but recognizable by their pointed fur caps; and Turks and Turkomans in bits of their well-known striped robes. It might have been a magnificent pageant, but now—now all were in rags, filthy, half-frozen, famished, carrying their poor little all in small bags slung across their shoulders. After the weary months cooped up in the hermetically sealed trucks, they could hardly move their frozen feet. A convoy of soldiers beat off the curious townsfolk with their rifle-butts. But still passers-by, horror-struck at the awful spectacle, looked and looked. . . .

Where were they going, these famished, unhappy beings? Where, but to the pillaged churches? This, then, was the corn whose arrival the newspapers had so cynically announced! The wretches no longer looked human. In a blind, compact mass, they poured into the churches, the youngest and strongest grabbing the best places on the lowest planks. The others took what they could get. The highest 'stories' were left for the sick and aged to occupy. Men and women more than seventy years of age, women with child, women with babes at the breast,—with trembling hands they had to

clutch the rungs of the almost perpendicular ladders and climb highest if they wished to rest a while. Several, unable to keep hold of the rungs, slipped and fell to the ground ; others fell from their plank-beds and were picked up with badly broken limbs. Sleeping children, too, sometimes fell, and were picked up dead. Then their mothers—peaceful peasant-women from Riazan, or vivacious, black-eyed Caucasians—were to be seen, mad with grief, throwing themselves down upon their dead children and adding their own deaths to those of their offspring.

Many who were lodged in these churches were so weak that they were unable to help themselves in any way. They remained in a sort of torpor the livelong day, and their excreta dripped down on those who were below. Curses, prayers, sobs and groans were heard. Exanthemic typhus and scrofula raged ; but here, as on the trains, no medical aid was forthcoming ; indeed, doctors would have been worse than useless in those conditions. I was told later by a doctor that the scourge had at one time got so out of hand that the townsfolk escaped its unspeakable terrors by something like a miracle.

On the journey, as we have said, the exiled Koulaks were given about seven ounces of bread a day ; but once they reached their destination, even this miserable ration was denied them. To make up for this, they were allowed to obtain food from their relations. But this was months in coming, and even the parcels which did reach were empty, for the railway staff *en route* had taken their share. As for the Ogpu, 'the faithful guardians of the revolution,' they time and again confiscated the sacks of flour and meal intended for the 'colonists'. Thus their only prospect was starvation, though they were permitted to go outside the churches, and even to walk through the town.

But what could they hope to find? What could anyone hope to find in towns where the very 'population'—that is, those who were in government employ—had nothing to eat but a pound or so of bread a day, and a handful of oats, and every two months a little less than a pound of sugar? Buying and selling was forbidden; market-days were things of the past. But there was a kind of pawn-shop, where one could get a good price for stolen or confiscated goods, though in entering it one ran a grave risk. For if anyone was seen there with bread in his possession, the Ogpu's emissaries stepped up, requested his presence at headquarters, had him tried, and saw to it that he was hurried away to a concentration camp with a sentence of three to five years.

I remember how often I saw, on my way past what had been churches, groups of guards on duty. Through the open doors or through chinks in the windows and gaps in the walls could be seen, in the snow-covered courtyards, little fires on which small vessels stood cooking, while shaggy figures prowled around them. I used to wonder what these hardly human beings were cooking, on what they lived, and whence they got the courage to carry on. It seemed such an impossible state of affairs. . . .

Still, these were best off. The later batches of 'colonists' found not a vestige of shelter in the towns; and they were immediately sent from the station, under an armed escort, to places like Petchora and Mesen, hundreds of miles away. Through forests, bogs and *tundra*—the marshy plains of the far north—lay the road for such as these, unsheltered from the chill wind. Most of them had only bark clogs for footwear; their clothes were of the flimsiest materials; nothing but their torn *armiaks* or their thin Asiatic gowns was left them. They could hardly move their blue, frozen feet, and even when

they succeeded in so doing, fell repeatedly. But the guards beat them till they got up again and never let them rest. Some tried to escape. They were either shot at once or arrested some time later in the villages near by, for they were easily recognized by their southern dialect. The peasants of the districts round about did their best to hide the fugitives, even at the risk of their own lives ; but they were powerless to save them from recapture in the long run : their very speech betrayed them.

What proportion of these 'colonists' reached their destinations it is hard to say, since on this point the Soviet press preserves a discreet silence ; but if one may judge from the stories told by the prisoners themselves, certainly not less than one-third perished in the snow. The Ogpu alone knows how many peasants were deported. According to 'doctored' railway reports, it would seem that, between 1930 and 1934, from six to seven hundred thousand 'colonists' were transported to the northernmost regions of European Russia. Of this number about half died *en route*, or on arrival, or when traversing the waste of snow on their weary marches. We may say, with a fair degree of accuracy, that the numbers of exiled Koulaks at present in Northern Russia is in the region of half a million.

And what will be their fate ? In most cases they will be taken to some desolate spot on a river bank, or into the heart of a forest, and there left to fend for themselves and build log huts and drag out a miserable existence as best they can. The Soviet Press made out that these 'colonists' received grants of land, cattle, horses, corn, and so forth. This is a lie. Land ? . . . They have just as much as they are able, weak and ill as they are, to clear of forest trees and undergrowth : here they have planted a few potatoes, carrots, onions. Their life depends on these vegetables, to which they sometimes add wild

berries and mushrooms gathered in the woods. Bread ? . . . They have what reaches them from home—and we have seen how much that is—except, of course, if they are engaged by the Ogpu as sawyers. It is chiefly through Koulak labour that the Ogpu has been able to export such quantities of timber during the past few years.

In spite of all this, the world continues to close its eyes to the incontrovertible fact that there is famine, that there is slavery, in the Union of Soviet Republics. Those who doubt this should go and see for themselves—preferably in winter or in early spring—what is really happening in the U. S. S. R. Then it will be brought home to them how the peasants from the south, most of whom have never seen a forest in their lives, are forced to wield axes and saws and float logs down the rivers ; they will understand how it is that so many of them have been crushed by falling trees, or drowned when launching logs ; they will be able to form some idea of the misery and despair of these people. The songs that exiles sing burst unbidden from their lips : *'Never, never again shall we see our beloved Ukrania.'* But homesickness and desire to quit the bleak stretches of the northern plains must be fought down. They know that even to think of returning home is out of the question. The younger ones try to overcome the obstacles and fail. If they do escape, they are caught again. They are then sent to concentration camps ; but even the knowledge of this terrible fate cannot restrain them—they *have* to make at least one effort to go home !

Knowing all this, one is led to ask what the future holds in store for these 'colonists'. There is only one answer : death — death, sudden, at the hands of the soldiers of the Red Army ; or death, lingering and painful, in the extreme cold, the utter abandonment, the

loneliness of the frozen marshes : but in any case death, miserable and pitiful. Walk along the northern rivers, and you will see row upon row of crosses along their banks new-made and all alike. No ; it is not the site of some great battle of the past : these crosses mark the graves of martyrs of to-day. I shall never forget the cemetery near the town of Velikiy-Ustiug, on the banks of the river Sukhona : there were about four hundred rudely shaped crosses, all bearing the same date. On each a name was inscribed, and above the name was added a line of childish, trembling writing : 'Children of Ukranian colonists, who died innocent.'

Such is the way in which the new socialist society of the U. S. S. R. is being established. Are the advantages it may *possibly* confer worth so much suffering and the shedding of so much blood ? After all, can one say with conviction that these possible advantages are more than the figments of warped imaginations and of intellects that have refused to see the truth ?



THE SELF-RESPECT MOVEMENT

BY M. AROKIASWAMI

THE Self-Respect Movement—so called from its claim to promote the self-respect of its members—has its headquarters at Erode in the Coimbatore district of the Madras Presidency. It is spread over a wide area : the Tamil Nad, Malabar, Burma, the Federated Malay States, the Straits Settlements, and Ceylon ; extension to the Telugu country is the next objective, and to the rest of India, the ultimate, if distant, goal. Its influence is greatest in the Tamil Nad which is studded with its branches, about a hundred in all, and one or more in nearly every centre of importance ; and if smaller elsewhere, it tends to grow particularly among the Tamil-speaking people of Burma, the Federated Malay States and the Straits Settlements.

The movement is well organized for propaganda. Every available means is pressed into service for the purpose : weekly and monthly district and provincial meetings, conferences, reading-rooms, social gatherings, the theatre and the Press. The programme which all these varied means of propaganda are meant to promote is threefold : social reform, religious reform and political reform.

I

The Self-Respect Movement was founded about twelve years ago as a social movement : it was to serve the Non-

Brahman cause in the social sphere as the Justice Party was doing in the political sphere. Adopting the same ideal of 'equal opportunities for all', it set out to demolish the social ascendancy of the Brahmans. They were ridiculed for their 'sanctimoniousness and sordid self-seeking', and their monopoly of the public services. They were denied the title of *dvija* (twice-born), and proved to be inferior to Non-Brahmans.

If Brahman superiority was to be destroyed, neither was the oppression of the lower classes and of women to be tolerated : the abolition of untouchability and caste and the liberation of women were, therefore, included in the Self-Respect programme of social reform. To add example to precept, the reformers mixed freely with the depressed classes, ate and drank with them at social gatherings and dinners,* and strenuously fought for their rights to education, public wells, medical aid, &c. They dropped their caste designations (e.g. Naicker, Pillai, Odeyar). They interdined and intermarried with persons of other castes. They deplored the disabilities of Hindu women—child marriage, forced widowhood,—and asserted their right to possess property like men. They supported the Sarda Act and widow remarriage, and, for the sake of what they believed to be the fullness of woman's liberation, pleaded for easy divorce, free love and birth control.¹

Two Self-Respect institutions which aim at promoting women's interests deserve mention here—the Marriage Bureau and the Self-Respect Institute for Women. The Marriage Bureau arranges for and celebrates marriages without calling in the Brahman *purohits*, most of the marriages thus conducted being inter-caste marriages and remarriages of widows and divorced persons. The Institute for Women, which has not yet been established, is intended to teach poor and helpless girls the three R's,

¹ Cf. E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker : *Why Eve Became Enslaved*.

drawing, music, culture, and good and rational living, as well as the 'ideals' of widow remarriage, intermarriage, divorce and the rest.

II

But since the Hindu social system is based on religion, the Self-Respecters soon realized that they could not get rid of social evils unless they destroyed the religion which sanctioned and sanctified those evils. And so they started a violent campaign against Hinduism :

Hinduism teaches that caste distinctions were created by God : the Vedas and Smritis say that the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras were born respectively from God's face, shoulders, thighs and feet. Hinduism is responsible for the ignorance, helplessness and cruel and slavish treatment of women who form one-half of society. It causes the money of the poor to be wasted on its innumerable festivals or to be given away to Brahmans at the meaningless ceremonies on occasions like marriage and death. It causes thousands, lacs and crores of rupees to be squandered daily, weekly and yearly on idols and temples for all kinds of deities, and thus impoverishes the country. In every respect, it makes of its followers slaves, beggars, fools and enemies to one another, and does them no good. . . . Therefore, the whole edifice of Hinduism must be pulled down, and then only can its foundations of caste and the enslavement of women be destroyed.¹

This fight against Hinduism soon developed into a general war on religion as such, and even on God Himself, on the plea that they were a bar to human progress. Buddhism and Jainism were included in this universal onslaught ; Islam was cautiously attacked ; and Christianity, particularly Catholicism, was singled out for vulgar derision. The beliefs of Catholics were mocked at and their priests and religious orders scurrilously slandered. Nor did the Self-Respecters stop here. They began to

¹ *Kudi Arasu*, (a Tamil weekly published at Erode), Aug. 21, 1932.

refer to the 'so-called God', the 'so-called heaven' and the 'so-called hell'. With an idolatry truly worthy of bragging atheists, they enthroned Ingersoll as their high-priest and dosed out Tamil translations of his writings to an ignorant public, week by week, in the *Kudi Arasu*, with headlines like 'Gods are the Toys of the People !' An article entitled 'Is God Dead ?' in the *Puduvai Murasu* of May 5, 1932, closed with the words :

Yet a short while, and the Self-Respect Movement will have destroyed all notion of God. Alas for Him !

To carry out this anti-religious programme more systematically through that power for good and evil, the Press, the Rational Books Publishing Society was founded in 1933, with its headquarters at Erode and a nominal capital of Rs. 30,000, to popularize rationalistic literature in the more important vernaculars of South India. Besides its monthly organ, the *Pahutharivu*, it has so far published twenty-five very cheap books in Tamil, which have had a large sale and which vie with one another in the bitterness of their hatred of God and religion and morality, and in the vulgarity of their language.

These books do not deserve a detailed review. But since they have poisoned countless minds, a short account of them must be given.

They fall into three classes : translations of the publications of the Rationalist Press Association of London ; translations of other atheistic books ; and original works by Indian Self-Respecters.

With unerring insight the Erode rationalists have chosen four of Ingersoll's lectures, two of Bertrand Russell's, one of Joseph McCabe's, one of the Rev. Townshend Fox's, and the long exploded myth of Pastor Chiniquy, as the London lamps that are to enlighten the Tamil world !

Other translations are *Reason*, by a French apostate priest, with chapter-headings like: 'The very Idea of God is Meaningless'—'All Religions are Untrue'—'Religion is built on Superstition'—'The World was not Created by Anyone'—'God is not Man's Friend but his Cruel Enemy'; Katherine Mayo's *Mother India* and *Slaves of the Gods*; and *Why I am an Atheist*, a collection of Bhagat Singh's letters to his father.

Among the original Tamil works produced by Self-Respecters are E. V. Ramaswamy's *Why Eve Became Enslaved*, *Materialism*, and *Kudi Arasu Kalambagam*. The theme of the first is that the Indian woman has been enslaved by the laws of religion and morality, and that she can be freed only by breaking these laws. *Materialism* argues that

God, Religion, Soul, Self, Sin, Virtue, Heaven, Hell, Morality—all are man's concoctions. . . . They are the creation of a small class of selfish parasitical priests who, in order to have the goods of this earth to themselves, induce the people to renounce this world in order to possess the next. They should be destroyed by the Rationalists who ought to endeavour to reclaim the priest-ridden masses from a faith in the supernatural to one in Materialism. Science is on the side of the Materialists, and all the inventions of priestcraft . . . are being pulverized under the sledge-hammer strokes of Scientific Progress. . . . Long live Materialism !

The *Kudi Arasu Kalambagam* discusses a variety of topics, from the Indian Native States down to the importance of machine production, with a thinly veiled communist bias. In *Scientific Method and Ignorant Beliefs* Mr. Singaravelu informs his readers that if man had not invented language he would never have invented God. K. Brahmachary unearths the theory of evolution as a substitute for creation in *The Origin of the World*. *Gnana Suriyan* is an outspoken criticism of the Vedas, Puranas and Smritis and of Brahman 'priestcraft'.

III

Till Mr. Ramaswamy Naicker visited Russia, the Self-Respect Movement had confined itself to social and religious 'reform'. But immediately after his return from Leningrad—we do not say *propter hoc*—he announced its political programme at the North Arcot Conference in these words :

How can we achieve social progress without working also in the economic and political fields ? Are not economics and politics necessary for a people ? Our Self-Respect Movement is not at all needed for attaining a progress which is not of the economic and political order. If its work is to be solely to attack Puranic superstitions and Brahman machinations, then it had better cease to be.

To make his meaning clear he added :

Away with the capitalistic Government ! Let us have a rule which will be to the advantage of the labourers. . . . We consider the present Government as a shield to protect the idle and the rich. Another should therefore be set up which will safeguard the interests of the poor and the workers. . . .¹

King and government exist, not for the good of society and the removal of inequalities, but for protecting the wealth of the idle rich, . . . Only in a country where God, religion and patriotism have been thoroughly destroyed are capitalist tyranny, idle life, starvation and inequalities absent. In it there is love of mankind, not of religion and country ; no distinction between the rich and the poor, the capitalist and the labourer, the ruler and the subject. . . . Not only our country but the whole world should be brought to such a position ; and for this all young men must strive. That is the work before us.²

Similar pronouncements have been made by Mr. Singaravelu in a series of articles on 'The Work Before Us' :

Of the thirty crores of people in India four crores are hardly able to get even one meal a day. Why ? Because we have a capitalist régime here. On the other hand, in Russia, and there alone,

¹ *Kudi Arasu*, May 14, 1933.

² *Kudi Arasu*, November 20, 1933.

sixteen crores of people live without feeling the pinch of hunger. Only on the day when the proletarian rule is established will the world be happy, free from hunger and war. . . . As the Communists in the legislatures of Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Spain and Scandinavia work for their communist programme, so we too will enter and work in the Indian legislatures, municipalities and district boards.¹

The secret of all this faith in Communism is an unbounded admiration for Russia :

Russia is a new world, different from every other country. . . . It has no place for jealousy, discontent, greed, rivalry and restlessness ; and it has ensured for men true liberty and freedom from the ordinary cares of life.²

There is no shortage of food supply in Soviet Russia. . . . After satisfying the needs of the home population, a large surplus is exported to other countries. . . .³

Russia is to-day the only country where there is no unemployment. Russia stands foremost among the nations of the world in industry and in every other thing making for progress. The reason is that it is a Communist State.⁴

The Russian example is thus held up in a series of editorials in the *Kudi Arasu* :

For the last forty-six years we have seen the Congress, and the *Lokamanya*s, the *Deshbandhus* and the *Mahatmas*, who were its leaders. We have also seen what good has come of it all, and we know what good will come in future. . . . We have also seen what the present Government is worth and what it has done during the last 160 years ; and we know what it will do hereafter. . . . If after this we still put our faith in the Reforms proposals of the Government and the political schemes of the Congress, we shall have the same fate as the sheep which trusted in the butcher. . . . In some way or other we are bound to destroy the rule of the capitalists, the Zamindars and the Maharajahs. We do not care who carries on that rule—the British, or the Indians, or others. It is our duty to destroy it completely.

¹ *Kudi Arasu*, May 7, 1933.

² *Kudi Arasu*, March 12, 1933.

³ *Kudi Arasu*, August 20, 1933.

⁴ *The Tamilian*, July 12, 1933.

Remember the outrageously unequal distribution of property and of income in so many countries, a mere handful monopolizing 60 or 70 per cent of the national income. Picture to yourselves the inequality of opportunity : the 'classes' from the very cradle enjoying every advantage ; the 'masses'—often morally, physically, intellectually superior to the 'classes'—excluded from most avenues of profit and advancement.

Is that according to God's plan ? God made man to know, love and serve Him in this life, and to be happy with Him for ever in the next. There may be those who interpret this as God wishing men, at least most men, to be miserable in this world. I beg to disagree. God is our Father, a most loving Father, and He wishes us to be happy. He has implanted in man's breast an insatiable desire for happiness, and I do not believe that He meant that longing to be baulked here on earth in the case of most men. Yet the economic structure under which we live deprives the huge majority of men of the ordinary means of securing happiness. Such a structure I call iniquitous.

I

The first remedy, then, is that we admit that something is wrong, and not ostrich-like bury our heads in the sand. I confess I have often felt in talking to good people that their heads were not empty—for nature abhors a vacuum—but (to use a Shavian comparison) solid like billiard balls.

The argument one hears oftenest from such good men is : 'Don't interfere with the natural right of property !' But what is meant by the right of property, and by the right of property being a natural right ? I believe that the right of property must be construed thus : All

and drove their ignorant followers into the rocks and thorns of rationalism and communism, of birth control and immorality. The Government throttled their political aspirations by putting some of them in prison, confiscating their books, and demanding heavy securities of their papers. All religious-minded people, Hindus and Mohammedans no less than Catholics, protested against their anti-religious tendencies. And common sense itself was outraged by the excesses they advocated in the name of social reform.

The Self-Respect Movement has, therefore, disappointed most of its admirers. If instead of dabbling in religion and politics it had confined itself to the removal of untouchability and the amelioration of the poor and the weak, it might have had a great future before it. But violent and extreme things cannot last—they are unnatural. Hence, whether Mr. E. V. Ramaswamy finds able successors or not, the cause for which they stand up has no longer its original attraction for the popular mind. Still, the history of this movement during the last twelve years shows how many smouldering cinders there are in the Indian hearth which can be easily fanned into a conflagration.

Trichinopoly.



SOME RECENT BOOKS

THE FRANCISCAN MESSAGE

The Franciscan Message to the World. By Agostino Gemelli, O. F. M., Translated and adapted by H. L. Hughes, M.A. (Oxon.), D. Litt. (Pisa). Pp. xx+336. London : Burns, O. & W., 1934. Price 7s. 6d.

Early in this century, Pope Pius XI, then one of the curators of the Ambrosian Library in Milan, was frequently asked to put a stop to the heated discussions that were going on in the reading-room of that library between two young men : a lawyer who had become a priest, and a socialist doctor. But the discussions went on, and in the end the brilliant doctor gave up his practice, his friends, and his prospects, and shut himself up in a monastery near Brescia. Agostino Gemelli became a Franciscan friar, and is to-day Rector of the flourishing Catholic University of Milan.

The book under review is a work of considerable erudition. In the first part, the author sketches the life and spirit of St. Francis of Assisi, the almost supra-terrestrial Poverello, who has been an enigma to Catholics and non-Catholics alike, from St. Bonaventure down to Joergensen, Chesterton and Sabatier. To many a reader it will come as a surprise that St. Francis did not invent the idea of putting the counsels of the Gospel literally into practice—heterodox sects had spread that notion up and down the Italian peninsula : his originality lay in a depth of understanding and a promptness of execution never known before, as well as complete submission to the Church and the practice of preaching the Gospel to the common people in the vernacular.

Fr. Gemelli says that the dominant trait in the character of St. Francis was love : a mixture of strength and renunciation ; a love which embraced all persons and things, not for the satisfaction of feeling kind, but because in his eyes they were wonderful beings fashioned by a loving Father. And as his religion and sanctity raised no barrier between him and the world, it taught him how to love the earth and all the dwellers on the earth, and find in them a source of joy. Thus Fr. Gemelli takes a definite stand against those ascetics of the past, and even of our own day, within and without the Church, who do not want creatures to be loved in themselves but solely to please God.

Love generates happiness ; like his love, the happiness of St. Francis had a twofold origin : natural and supernatural. The two together were responsible for the fact that the sun, the stars, fire, water, clouds and wind, all became subjects for meditation and verse, like the good qualities discerned by his brotherly eye in his fellow-men.

And yet he suffered in both body and soul ; after receiving the stigmata, he became the man of suffering ; but he was happy to suffer, for he adored the Crucified. The *Dialogue of Perfect Happiness* expresses a fundamental principle of Christianity : our life in Christ and Christ's life in us, and hence our love of the Cross.

Unlike other founders of religious orders, St. Francis assigned no particular field to his followers. To live the Gospel life and preach it, more by force of example than by word : that was all. As Rule he deemed the counsels of the Gospel in their literal sense amply sufficient ; even the maintenance of discipline was made to depend on spiritual depth, while the widest freedom was allowed in interpreting the Rule on account of the respect the Saint always felt for individual personality.

The second part of the book shows that it is this freedom and respect for personality which were the main forces at work in the gradual unfolding of Franciscan history from the thirteenth century down to the present day. They produced theologians and philosophers like Alexander of Hales, St. Bonaventure and Duns Scotus ; scientists like Roger Bacon ; missionaries like Raymond Lull and Fra Giovanni del Pian dei Carpin¹ ; all these within the first century of the Franciscan Order. In the fourteenth and following centuries came the internal struggles for the maintenance of the fundamental spirit of St. Francis, with their splits and reforms and the great work of the sons of St. Francis for the maintenance of the evangelical spirit of poverty in the Church.

The third part of the book is perhaps the most interesting. In ten pages (267-277) the author gives a vigorous analysis of present-day society, so full of strong contrasts ; he asks himself whether our modern civilization can be called Christian at all, and whether the Franciscan Message is not the remedy for the world of to-day.

At the same time the book is an unconscious autobiography of the remarkable priest who was won over from materialism and Marxism by the spirituality of St. Francis.

G. Dupont.

Kurseong.

AN ANTHOLOGY OF MYSTICISM

An Anthology of Mysticism. Edited with an Introduction, by Paul De Jaegher, S. J., and translated by Donald Attwater and others. Pp. VIII + 275. London : Burns, O & W., 1935. Price 7s. 6d.

There is no spiritual word which has been so misused as 'Mysticism'. Originally intended by the Catholic Church to mean a very definite state of union with God, it became current coin with all the sects which had their birth in the Reformation, and with Mohammedans, Buddhists, Theosophists, and even atheists,

¹ Cf. *The New Review*, Vol. I, pp. 228 ff.

so that it has now become one of the *misti*est words in human speech.

It is probably for this reason, as well as out of a certain humility, that most people are afraid of mystical books. They feel themselves unworthy of ascending into this spiritual stratosphere, and prefer to stand at the door with downcast eyes, saying : 'O God, be merciful to me, a sinner.'

But there can be an excess even in humility. To pretend that one is a mystic is one thing ; to read what the great mystics have written is quite another. And this is what Fr. De Jaegher wants to encourage by editing an Anthology of Mysticism. It is just for those who are afraid to enter the Interior Castle or to climb the Ladder of Perfection that he has culled the choicest flowers out of this immense garden which extends from the time of Our Lord down to our own and includes every country on this green earth.

One has only to open this Anthology anywhere to feel grateful to Fr. De Jaegher for the service he has done, not only to priests and nuns who profess a life of prayer, but even to busy men in the world who can only occasionally indulge in the luxury of a spiritual book. Just as a common soldier, who prides himself on possessing that better part of valour which takes no risks, feels fired with courage when he reads the life of Napoleon or of Nelson, so, too, even the coldest of us must feel warmed by contact with a real mystic. And this is what makes a mystical book, that it brings us, weak and sinful as we are, directly in contact with what God Himself has revealed to His Saints. It is as if we were being led by a candle on a dark cloudy night, and behold, the Sun !

To those who want a smart whip-lash to rouse them from their tepidity, ten minutes' reading out of this Anthology will sound divine calls like these :

'This is a certain sign of the grace of God, if, when any person shall speak or do evil unto thee, thou art not only patient but even desirous that they should hurt thee, and art grateful unto them.'—Our Lord to St. Angela (p. 33).

'Die ! Die, as the silkworm does when it has fulfilled the office of its creation, and you will see God and be immersed in His greatness, as the little silkworm is enveloped in its cocoon.'—St. Teresa (p. 139).

'This lively fear which thou hast is the very proof that thou art faithful to me.'—Our Lord to Lucie Christine (p. 251).

Another lesson which the mystics teach us is that prayer is a much simpler thing than we make it. Most of us never learn how to pray because we imagine prayer to be a frightfully formal, complicated, tiresome, State ceremony. The Saints were very simple, for God is simplicity. Gemma Galgani was praying to Our Lady for a family who had been recommended to her :

'Mother, my Confessor has told me to pray for this family. . . . Get for them what I can't hope to get myself : lots of graces, endlessly—you understand ?—endlessly. If Jesus was meaning to send them some trial, tell Him to be merciful. . . . You can manage what I can't.' (p. 261)

Another day she was asking for the conversion of a great sinner :

'Save him, dear Jesus. Why won't you listen to me to-day ? He has sinned much against you—but I have sinned much more. . . . Be merciful, O Jesus, and do not speak to me like that. . . . To whom can I go if you will not hear me ? You bled for him as well as for me. . . . I will not leave this spot till you save him.' (p. 256)

It is the fashion for the reviewer of any Anthology to complain that *his* likes and dislikes have not been followed in the inclusion and exclusion of 'selections'. Fr. De Jaegher's object, which should be our only standard in judging his choice, was not to give the reader all the greatest things in mysticism, but only those which would serve the end he had in view. We, therefore, cannot justly complain that St. Bernard and St. Bonaventure and St. Francis of Assisi have not found room in his Anthology. Some of his opinions on mysticism, too, may be discussed. But then almost every opinion on this subject is being discussed by theologians. So we need not hesitate to say that he has, by his valuable Introduction and his judicious selection, brought the best mystics within the reach of the ordinary reader.

T. N. Siqueira.

DOLLFUSS

Dollfuss an Oesterreich. Einnes Mannes Wort und Ziel. By Edmund Weber. Pp. 260. Vienna : Reinhold, 1935. Price S. 4.50.

From the very moment of Dollfuss's tragic death his people did not know whether they should pray *for* him or *to* him. The fact is that he is already venerated by many as a saint. One has only to read his selected public speeches, edited by E. Weber, to feel at once that he was led by the spirit of Christ. He declared that his ideal was to rebuild his country according to the direction of the Papal encyclicals. Dr. Dollfuss was a true child of the Catholic Church.

And because he believed in the Church's mission, he believed so strongly in that of Austria. He deprecates the spirit of excessive nationalism because such a spirit is most uncatholic and most un-Austrian. Austria is to him the heart of Europe because, as her history shows, she has always lived in close touch with the Slavonic, the Latin and the Magyar nations, and has thus evolved a catholic spirit which makes her fit to become the mediator between the nations. He opposes the spirit of national isolation as essentially un-German, and maintains that Austria, by retaining her cultural and political independence, will contribute much to the fulfilment of the mission of the German people.

Having such a lofty view of the destinies of his little but beautiful country, he wishes to rebuild it from its very foundations. He is convinced that neither liberalism nor socialism has

killed the spirit of social co-operation which expressed itself in the co-operative system of social groups before the French Revolution. He points to the co-operation that is still alive on the farms of Austria, where the masters, their families and servants all work together and eat together from the same dish and enjoy together the fruit of their labour. Here the social problem is solved to the satisfaction of all, because all share in the common income produced by their common labour.

The link that brings about such unity is Christian charity. Because the peasants of Austria are such staunch Catholics, they live up to the spirit of self-sacrifice which co-operation entails. Dollfuss is convinced that without religion, and especially without the religion which he so dearly treasures, the spirit of sacrifice for the common good cannot remain alive. He bitterly inveighs against the pre-war Liberals and Socialists, because they sneered at religion and its spiritual ideals. He warns his hearers against the deceitful slogans of the reformers of our time. No beautiful phrases will solve our social and political problems, but only the unselfish co-operation of all. Each for all and all for each, he proclaims, meaning thereby that self-interest and self-sacrifice are not opposed, but necessary, to each other. The leader, according to him, has but one right—the right to sacrifice himself for the common good.*

And how well he realized his ideal! He lived for Austria, and died for it. He is truly a martyr, a witness to the Catholic ideal. But one must read his own inspired words to realize the greatness of a man of whom not only Austrians but all fair-minded people may well be proud. He is a new star that has risen on the horizon of a world plunged in the darkness of error. But will the world heed the light that he has brought to it? Will the world give up its ungodly spirit and follow the spirit of Christ which has found such magnificent expression in the great Chancellor of Austria?

P. Johanns.

Calcutta.

BACK TO LANGLAND

Back to Langland. By Stanley B. James. Pp. 176. London · Sands & Co., 1935. Price 3s. 6d.

William Langland had the misfortune of being born in the same century as Chaucer. He has, therefore, been considered by students of literature as a rival, a contrast, a foil, to his more popular and many-sided contemporary, and relegated to a back shelf. It is only after close on six centuries that he is coming into his own and being judged by absolute standards. The late Professor Skeat did him a great service by editing his works in his scholarly way; M. Jusserand, that French admirer of medieval English literature, wrote the best life of him that has so far appeared; and Mr.

Christopher Dawson has perhaps best understood his place in the religious thought of his time.

In his essay on Langland contributed to *The English Way*, Mr. Dawson calls him 'at once the most English of Catholic poets and the most Catholic of English poets'. This sentence seems to have been the cue of Mr. Stanley James's cry: *Back to Langland*; for, as he remarks, 'No other could so fittingly represent the England that once was and may be again' (p. 167).

It is so tempting to contrast Langland with Chaucer that one is in danger of forgetting in how many important respects they were alike. Beside the merry author of *Canterbury Tales* one imagines a staid and gloomy and disgruntled maker of *Piers Plowman*; over against the humorous, contented and pious Christian of *The Nonne Preestes Tale* one sets the fault-finding, rebellious writer of *The Seven Deadly Sins*. But, as Mr. Stanley James shows, Langland was not only not the father of Protestantism or Puritanism, but a very loyal son of Holy Church, whom he calls 'The Mother of us all'. If he pointed out the dangers of Gluttony and Avarice and Mead (bribery) in high places, it was because he was a devout Catholic and wished to see the Church of *Piers Plowman* without spot or wrinkle.

It is true that Langland has not Chaucer's cheerful humour; but he has a power of making abstract things concrete which even his great contemporary has not. How full of flesh and blood is the description of Envy as 'pale, like a leek that has lain in the sun', swollen with suppressed anger, and biting his lips! Or of Avarice as 'beetle-browed, babber-lipped', with bleared eyes and cheeks lolling below his chin 'like a leather purse'! Chaucer's caricature of the style of the romances in *Sir Thopas* is well known. The following parody by Langland of Scholastic methods of disputation deserves to be better known for its delicate irony and its shrewd insight:

Contra, quoth I like a clerk, and began to dispute,
Speaking in the approved manner: *septies in die cadit justus*;
Seven times, saith the Book, sinneth the righteous,
And whoso sinneth, I said, does evil, as me thinketh,
And Do-Well and Do-Evil may never dwell together;
Ergo, he is not always among you friars,
But is sometimes elsewhere to instruct the people.¹

There is also another reason for Mr. James's desire to go back to Langland. In these days of acute distress among the poor and of rivalry between Capital and Labour, it is refreshing to return to those days of true Christian faith when the poet could say to rich and poor alike:

Therefore He (God) commanded the earth to help you each one
With wool and linen and your livelihood at need,

¹ *Piers Plowman*. B. Passus VIII, 20-26.

And ordered in his graciousness three things for common use :

The one is raiment to preserve thee from cold,
And meat at your meals wherewith to sustain you,
And drink for thy thirst, *but none out of reason.*¹

Piers Plowman is 'Christ walking in English fields in the dress of an English labourer'. He is 'very man', and therefore loves all men :

He is glad with the glad and good to all wicked,
Believing in and loving all whom God made.²

Mr. Stanley James is, therefore, right in hoping that to bring unity out of the existing chaos England must go back to William Langland and put herself again to school under the real Piers Plowman.

T. N. Siqueira.

CHRISTIAN ART

Christian Art. By C. R. Morey. Pp. 120. New York: Longmans, 1935. Price \$ 1. 75.

Professor Morey's excellent little work covers about sixteen centuries of Christian Art, for as he says : 'About 100 A. D. the Christian subjects commence' (p. 6) ; and 'since the seventeenth century the academic styles that have succeeded each other can hardly be classified as Christian art, since they recognize no inspiration higher than the human mind' (p. 67). Taking it in its widest sense, he has some interesting things to say on a variety of its branches--illumination, sketching, painting, decoration, sculpture, architecture and even music.

But the general reader will probably be most strongly impressed by what is said about architecture. If we may simplify Professor Morey's simplification, his basic thought may perhaps be rendered as follows : Early Christian Art (1st to 6th century) was a compound of Hellenic tradition and local (more or less Oriental) influence. In the East this early art developed into the Byzantine, which 'at its best remains the finest expression of Christian dogma that Christianity produced' (p. 33) ; it balanced the rationalism of the Greek *genre* with the Oriental colour scheme, susceptibility to pattern and denial of material reality : hence it was perfectly suited for the pictorial representation of the dogmas of faith and the narration of its articles. In the West, what was left in Rome of the old Greek tradition underwent Celtic influence and produced the Romanesque style, which embodies an 'emotional rather than rational apprehension of the Creed' (p. 44). As we come to the later Middle Ages, the Romanesque, influenced more

¹ op. cit., B. Passus I, 17-18, 20, 23-25.

² op. cit., B. Passus XV, 164-165.

and more by the search for 'the infinite in a grain of sand', gives place to the wonder of Gothic. In the Gothic, 'the complete exploitation of interior space toward the Christian ideal of union of the finite with the infinite, of the interior with all out-of-doors, was accomplished' (p. 16). But already in the Gothic, preoccupation with the individual was leading to the Renaissance style, which furnished, as early as the fifteenth century, 'the flowering of that realism which was the vital element of Gothic art' (p. 58). In the sixteenth century we witness a direct return to the classics; in the seventeenth, the Renaissance style culminates in the Baroque, a truly catholic and universal manner—'the first. . . in fact, . . . to which no local or racial adjective can be fittingly attached' (p. 64).

The text is supplemented by a series of 48 excellent illustrations. Professor Morey clearly brings out the fact that dogma was the basis of Byzantine Christian art, whereas faith (in the sense of dogma impinging on life and stirring the emotions) was the inspiration of Occidental Christian art.

Remembering the intense energy which the Pergamon friezes suggest, one may be surprised to read that 'The Greek effect is static' (p. 16). This apparently revolutionary statement, however, is explained later to mean that any one of the figures 'makes a satisfactory composition in itself, since its movement, however violent, returns upon itself by *contrapposto*' (p. 36).

F. J. Friend-Pereira.

Jubbulpore.

PATRIOTISM

What is Patriotism? By N. P. Macdonald. Pp. 312. London: Thornton Butterworth, 1935. Price 7s. 6d.

Whatever might be said against the Scholastic method of argument this must be admitted in its favour, that it obliged the disputants to begin by defining their terms. In the Babel of present-day politics, with its talks of war and rumours of war, one feels the need of obliging certain patriots to define what they mean by 'patriotism'. One may not be as fearless as the stout lexicographer who in a similar pet over European politics took his pen and wrote down for all time: 'Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel.' But it is certainly arguable that a great deal of mist in high places to-day is due to the absence of any Scholastic clearness of thought on the most fundamental ideas of politics.

It was, therefore, a timely idea of Mr. N. P. Macdonald's to invite a symposium of definitions of a word which everyone uses without ever stopping to ask himself what it means. In an Introduction, which is probably the best essay in the book, he thus explains his intention:

If only international rivalry could be changed from mere materialist competition into a mutual exchange of thought and culture, we could then all be patriots : we could feel that by serving our day and generation in our own country we were also members of a wider fellowship than a national one, although this latter is a necessary adjunct to any world-order ; we could feel that we were in a position to share the aims and ideas of other peoples ; we could be satisfied that at last peace was no longer a thing to be spoken of in material terms of pacts and gold pens wherewith to sign them, but that it had attained a spiritual strength harder to break than even wars are to wage.

This is a high ideal—too high, perhaps, for most men ; but even these will admit that it is a consummation devoutly to be wished.

A symposium is an excellent way of emphasizing this ideal. Every point of view has been here represented : Religion (Anglican, Catholic, Independent), Economics, Education, History, Literature, Science, Philosophy, Politics, the Services, the Young Man, the Woman, and the Man in the Street. There is, therefore, naturally enough, no agreement as to the definition of patriotism. But though some of those who have contributed may have spoken and acted differently on former occasions, when they are requested to write down their *ideal* in cold print for the whole English-reading world to see, all without exception admit that patriotism has often covered (without pardoning) a multitude of sins.

Patriotism in its true sense is a love of one's country which is natural, like love of oneself and love of one's family, and therefore God-given. Just as God has made each man incomplete without his family, so He has made each family incomplete without that collection of families which is the State. Patriotism is, therefore, not only a legitimate feeling, but a moral duty. Now, true love consists in wishing the true and lasting good of the object loved. True patriotism, therefore, is not a blind love of one's country which disregards all other countries, but such a reasonable and enlightened love that it wishes the good of the whole world as well. We may even go further and say that we cannot really love our own country without *by the same act* loving all other countries—in loving any country truly we necessarily love all. The reason is that God is the common Father of all men and all nations ; and just as it is impossible for any man to be saved if he hates a fellow-man, so it is impossible for any country to prosper as long as it hates another country. To be truly national is to be international.

But in the present welter of politics these obvious truths are easily forgotten. Nicholas Berdyaev said : 'Man without God is not man.' Patriotism, too, without God is not patriotism—it is selfishness, more or less thinly disguised to deceive the unthinking. For we cannot love God unless we love all men. Even the gentle St. John could be fierce when he said : 'If any man say : "I love God", and hateth his brother ; he is a liar. For he that loveth not his brother whom he seeth, how can he love God whom he seeth not ?' This is the recipe for true patriotism.

T. N. Siqueira.

BIOGRAPHY

SAINTE CATHERINE DE SIENNE (1347-1389). By R. P. LEMONNYER. Pp. 224. *Paris* : *Lecoffre*, 1934. Price 9 fr.

This book belongs to the well-known series of 'Les Saints' founded by M. Henri Joly. It is at once ascetical, mystical and historical. Ascetically St. Catherine belongs to the not yet extinct class of fasters which flourished in the days of St. Anthony, and is even now represented by a Gemma Galgani or a Theresa Neumann. Mystically she is of the family of St. Teresa of Avila ; she is endowed with ecstasies and visions, and is elevated to the transcendent nuptials with the Lamb of God. Historically she is of the group of St. Athanasius, St. Bernard, St. Joan of Arc ; she takes an active part in the bringing back of the Pope from Avignon to Rome ; she works energetically to scotch the rising schism in its birth.

Those who like to philosophize on the Providence of God will here find scope for their speculations. They will discover that God's general policy provides ample scope for His creatures to exercise the powers which He has placed in them and rarely interferes with the powers themselves : it provides ample space for the heavenly bodies to revolve and evolve at their fantastic rates. Without checking them, it provides abundance of air and water for plants to develop luxuriantly, and abundance of food and room for beasts to disport themselves lustily ; it provides ample occasions for men to act freely and supernaturally to their own gain or loss. The history of St. Catherine shows that the Providence of God consists less in interfering with the course of events as produced by secondary causes than in delicate inspirations to act or react seasonably to their own advantage. Gregory XI hesitates, to his own risk and peril ; he accepts the suggestion of reason and of the Saint, to the advantage of the Roman cause. The cardinals at Anagni refuse to hear the voice of the Saint and of conscience, and consummate the schism. Urban VI neglects the prudent advice of the Saint and by his rudeness disaffects his supporters, to the advantage of the schism. Raymond of Capua himself lacks courage and allows the schism to steal a march on him by favouring the king of France.

From cover to cover the book is full of useful instruction. It teaches the Christian that the policy of asking whether a definite action is binding under sin or not is a defeatist policy. The calamities that come over the Church are largely caused by neglecting the inspirations of the Holy Spirit, and the reconquest of lost ground is only possible if we show generosity in accepting the divine invitations, as St. Catherine did and urged others to do throughout her earthly career.

E. Gombert.

WOLSEY. By ASHLEY SAMPSON. Pp. 136. 'Great Lives' Series. *London* : *Duckworth & Co.*, 1935. Price 2s.

The numerous works on Wolsey do not seem to have exhausted the fascination of his career for the biographer. This is, of course, only partly due to the character of the Cardinal. In part it is due to the events in which he played so conspicuous a part. He is the last of the great line of English ecclesiastical statesmen and the first to lift his country out of her medieval isolation to a conspicuous place in the comity of European nations. To him was given a glimpse of the fast fading vision of a supranational Christian unity ; yet he did more than any one else to substitute in its place the secular principle of the Balance of Power. In spite of his worldly life he never faltered in his adherence to the Church, but his was the task of abetting the first steps of Henry VIII towards Reform.

That is the tragedy of Wolsey's life : torn between his ambitions and the sense of his duty as a churchman, Wolsey's was not the integrity of soul that made heroes of Fisher and More. He was emphatically no hero, but his last days have a quiet dignity not unworthy of a Christian bishop.

Mr. Sampson has drawn a good picture of Wolsey's character against the background of the shifting political scenes of the time. His book is marked by real sympathy and clearness of analysis.

T. Srinivasan.

VICTOR JACQUEMONT. By PIERRE MAES. Pp. XII+632. Paris : Desclée De Brouwer. Price 30 fr.

Who now in India remembers Victor Jacquemont ? In how many Indian libraries are either his *Letters from India* or the six solid volumes of his *Voyage dans l'Inde* still to be found ? And yet Jacquemont was an extraordinary man, a great writer, a great explorer and a great scientist ; and he died in India after toiling for three years in this country in the interests of science ; and no European of his time did more to give the West a fair picture of India.

As a man, he seems to have had all the good qualities except those that presuppose religious convictions. For he was a 'pagan' by birth and education : the son of an apostate revolutionary priest, and then the friend of Stendhal and Merimée. Disappointed in love, he turned his whole attention to exploration and science. He came out to India in 1828, beginning that wonderful correspondence with his family and friends at home which still enchants us. For Jacquemont was a keen thinker and observer of all things and all men, from Lord and Lady Bentinck to Ranjit Singh : he records with sympathy not unmingled with humour their views and impressions and his own impressions of them. This is probably the most lastingly valuable part of his correspondence. His scientific work remains in fragments. For two years of arduous work, mostly done alone in the wilds with an escort of coolies, soon sapped his weak constitution.

He died in Bombay in 1832 at the age of 31. In 1881 his body was taken to France where it was left like an unclaimed parcel in the cellars of the Zoology Museum till 1893, when it was given a fitting resting-place under the staircase of the main gallery. France never quite forgot him. This book, so well written, should help even those outside the country of his birth to remember a very fine and amiable man.

G. Dandoy.

LIFE OF ST. LOUISE DE MARILLAC. By SISTER MARY CULLEN. Pp. 89. London : Sands & Co., 1934. Price 2s. 6d.

Louise de Marillac and her companions formed a new type of religious life. The great object of St. Vincent was to show that charity was best realized by visiting the sick and the poor. This was not compatible with the ordinary rules of a convent. So he told the Sisters : 'The streets of the city will be your cloister and holy modesty your veil.' Louise de Marillac, was the most conspicuous of his disciples. The Sisters of Charity worked only among the poor and were unappreciated except by the destitute whom they relieved.

There are no incidents in such a career and the struggles are mainly inward. There is a plea for patience, endurance and peaceful resignation. It is sought to be shown that the measure of service is the measure of greatness.

Sadhan Kumar Ghosh.

EDUCATION

EDUCATION AND BIOLOGY. By J. A. LAUWERYS, B. Sc., A. I. C. Pp. IX+207. London : Sands & Co., 1934. Price 5s.

The object of this book is not, as its title might lead one to expect, to point out the educative value of biology, but to map out a curriculum of the subject in a high school. In a discursive way which is in keeping with this object, Mr. Lauwerys deals with the *philosophy* of biology, and then with the method of teaching subjects like sex and evolution to a class of children. The second half of the book is taken up with the syllabus and the use of the laboratory.

The necessity of teaching the elements of biology even in the school is now universally admitted. The real difficulty lies in determining how to bring home to undeveloped minds the laws which are so fundamental in this science : how, for instance, to instil into high school children what is known as 'the biological outlook'. Mr. Lauwerys insists on even the lowest class being made to distinguish between a crystal and an organism, and to understand that, though physics and chemistry may explain the parts of a living being, they can never explain the whole.

Hence the mechanistic explanation of biology is insufficient and inadequate. As Leibniz said, 'the organism is not only a machine, but also an infinite machine' which, though not independent of mechanism, yet *transcends* it. The word *entelechy* has been invented to convey this idea of *form* in living beings, which is not mere form but at the same time also final cause directing every cell in them to an appointed end, the good of the individual and the propagation of the species.

Another very difficult problem which Mr. Lauwerys discusses is whether children should be taught anything about human reproduction. It is generally agreed that they should ; but when, and how, and by whom, are questions on which no two educationists agree. There is much to be said, however, for Mr. Lauwerys's suggestion that the facts of human reproduction may be made known to children by an easy transition from similar facts in the plant and animal world, and that in the whole of this subject the sacredness of parenthood should be emphasized.

It is impossible in a short review even to mention all the interesting features of this book. Those who wish to know the Catholic Church's attitude to Evolution will find it very clearly stated, without exaggeration in either direction, on pp. 84 to 103. No better summing up of this attitude can be found than Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical of August 4, 1879, on St. Thomas Aquinas, where after praising the great learning of this Doctor of the Church the Holy Father adds : 'But . . . whatever is not consistent with the teachings of a later age, or finally is in any way not probable, we in no wise intend to propose for acceptance in these days . . . We willingly and gratefully declare that whatsoever can be accepted with advantage is to be accepted, no matter by whom it has been invented.'

This sounds as little like obscurantism as the most exacting scientist could wish !

T. N. Siqueira.

ESQUISSE D'UNE PEDAGOGIE FAMILIALE. By R. P. CHARMOT, S. J. Pp. 364. Paris : Editions Spes, 1933. Price 15 fr.

As its title indicates this book is an outline of family pedagogy.

The chapters on the duties of the father as the head of the family and of the mother as his collaborator are full of interest and unction and are, besides, illustrated by well-chosen examples. Those on the Personality of the Child, the Exercise of Authority, the Measure of Authority and the Great Temptation, are especially illuminating. But parents must distinguish between theories of education. For while the most disparate pedagogies aim at making men of character, the strange fact is that some lead to a sort of slavery of the spirit and some to a form of liberty. There are two kinds of strong characters, slave characters and free characters. And again among those who aim at liberty, some attain an illusive liberty and others have the rare happiness of attaining true liberty.

Ours is an epoch of crisis, especially of a crisis in family authority. How then are parents to maintain their authority ? In what measure are they to exercise it ? In the face of the glorification of the Ego how are the seductions of Humanism and Naturalism to be counteracted ? How is Christianity to be presented to modern youths so that 'it may appear to them more beautiful, grander, truer, and more human, than Naturalism, and in consequence more apt to satisfy their minds and inflame their hearts ?' (Ch. XV, p. 305).

These are questions which the author answers in a lucid and satisfactory manner. The book is written especially for French parents, to make them realize their responsibilities and to encourage them to defend their rights against the State monopoly of education. But every reader interested in education will find it instructive.

N. Kujur.

VARIA

URSPRUNG UND ENTWICKLUNG DES MONOLOGS *bis zu seiner Entfaltung bei Shakespeare*. By ELISABETH VOLLMANN, *Mit einer Einführung von Gustav Hübener*. Pp. 168. Bonn : Hanstein, 1934. Price RM. 6. 90.

In his preface Professor Hübener indicates why he directed his pupil, Miss Elizabeth Vollmann, to write a thesis on the origin and development of the monologue up to its complete unfolding in Shakespeare. The rise and growth of human language is a question which the sciences of psychology and ethnology would like to solve. Many learned and many more unlearned hold that language is meant for human intercourse between two or more speakers. A man talks when he has somebody to talk to. If he talks to himself alone, he is either a child, or an old man in second childhood, or he is queer, or he is mad. And yet the highest literature, and in particular Shakespeare's dramas, are rich in gorgeous monologue. It is true that criticism and contemporary drama are inclined to ban monologue as artificial and conventional. Miss Vollmann rebels at the idea that the genius of Shakespeare should have accepted a mere convention as an instrument of the loftiest poetry. She is aware that he did not invent the monologue, but she would like to prove that the monologue as such is in many psychological situations both in life and in art a natural and healthy phenomenon, and that Shakespeare showed a predilection for it precisely because he understood how appropriate and essential a factor it is in the experience of normal mankind.

To prove her point she discusses the soul-structure of primitive peoples, their peculiar mental habits leading spontaneously to loud, monologizing thinking. We pass on to monologues in fairy tales, in the New Testament, in Greek and Roman epics and travels. Dialogues and monologues are compared, the Socratic dialogue is represented as mainly deductive, and we pass on to the use of the monologue in the French classical playwrights and in medieval English Miracle Plays and Moralities. Lastly, Shakespeare's dramas are examined generally in the light of the poet's genius and of the Renaissance type of man, and we are thus prepared to see the author's conclusions borne out by Shakespeare's monologues.

In spite of a good deal of pedantry the method followed is admirably lucid and systematic. Perhaps the best thing about the work is the very comprehensive table of contents. The arguments, facts and proofs are far less satisfactory, for almost every major statement is open to question. Who will accept the tall assertion that urbanization is the source and root of dialogue? It is much simpler—any Jack and Jill, or two Jacks, or two Jills, will do. Whether logically or essentially monologue is more primordial than dialogue may be a matter for idle speculation, but in fact both may be equally primordial. Shakespeare's monologues may be psychologically unnatural but artistically, dramatically, sublime. The common barn-door fact that in daily life not even genius speaks in verse does not make all drama in verse essentially artificial. We cannot praise Shakespeare too highly, but it does not help much towards an appreciation of him to say that the most specific thing in Shakespeare's personality was *Das Geniale-Genius*, or to paraphrase Deutschbein's definition of Genius : *Das Geniale-Genius* is 'eine eigentümliche Synthese von Logos und Dämonie'—a peculiar synthesis of Logos and Demony. Let us admit that Shakespeare is a genius and a man of the Renaissance; but he happened to be an Englishman also—a fact which Miss Vollmann seems to have entirely overlooked.

Reading this thesis one cannot help admiring the beauty and expressiveness of the German tongue. Full-toned, richly suggestive language is a treat even for the *Kultur Mensch*. But he should not indulge overmuch in this pleasure—he may, like the primitive, fall under its magic and no longer reflect. The author

should beware of the word 'ungeheuer' which she lavishly uses in a whole gamut of meanings. A little sense of humour even in discussing Falstaff's monologues might not be amiss. In fact, the real defect in these 168 pages is the lack of that essential requisite in the criticism of English literature—a feeling for humour. Nor is it safe to discuss Shakespeare's monologues without making a distinction between the great plays that are certainly his and minor plays whose authorship is still discussed among scholars.

J. Dühr.

MUSIC AND LETTERS (edited by A. H. FOX STRANGWAYS)—Price 5s.

Though this learned review has been appearing quarterly for the last sixteen years, it is not sufficiently known in India. Those who love and cultivate Western music will find it an excellent guide to the masterpieces of the past as well as a reliable judge of modern composers. Though it costs five shillings a number it is not too dear, for its editor is a competent authority and its contributors are well-known musical critics like Mr. Marion Scott, Mr. Steuart Wilson and Mr. A. Einstein.

The present number (July, 1935) seems to be specially dedicated to the two great German masters, Handel and Bach. Fitly enough, it contains the address of the German Ambassador on opening an exhibition of musical autographs at Oxford lately, in which he said that by honouring these two Germans the English were 'raising our thoughts above dreary recriminations and regrettable misunderstandings to the height of everlasting common values.' Those who have read the article on Bach in the June number of *The New Review* will enjoy the scholarly study of the Recitatives of the St. Matthew Passion in the July *Music and Letters*.

It is not a popular magazine like the American *Etude*; but the increasingly few who in these days of jazz and radio still believe in classical music will find in it an ever renewed delight

T. N. Siqueira.

ON THE HOOGLY. By M. H. BEATTIE. Pp. 307. London: Allan. Price 10s 6d.

Mr. Beattie has many a good story to tell in this interesting and highly amusing book; but he also reveals with some vividness of detail the risks and disasters connected with the James and Mary Shoal, Melancholy Point and other dangerous parts of the river. Probably no other river in the world is so treacherous to ships as the Hooghly, but for the efficiency of the Bengal Pilot Service, Calcutta's sea-borne trade would probably never have made such prodigious strides as recent statistics reveal.

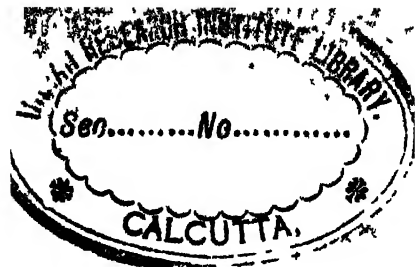
Mr. Beattie, who spent thirty years in this service, writes of the days gone by—of the days of the sailing ships, which ended with the nineteenth century; and his story, so spicily told, cannot fail to appeal even to readers outside Calcutta. Since the author's retirement in 1913 many changes have taken place. During about seven months of the year, in consequence of the deterioration of Sankral Reach and other crossings, all ships over, say, 25 feet draught go to Ooloobaria anchorage at night, swing flood next morning, and proceed. Owing to sections of the Hooghly being lighted and the bars in the upper part of the river being kept open by powerful dredgers, much night work is done, and draughts of 30 feet are now common. All ships navigating at night above the Eastern Channel Light pay a night fee. But though the service is in good fettle, night work is taking its toll and 'people are cracking' up earlier than they used to. Recruitment from England has been abolished, and Indianization is proceeding apace.

These are the prosaic items in the book; the plentiful stories and sketches which are easily its best feature cannot be reproduced, for Mr. Beattie tells them with a charm all his own.

A. Leeming.

THE RIG VEDA AS LAND-NAMA-BOK. By A. K. COOMARASWAMY. Pp. 40. London: Luzac, 1935. Price 3s. 6d.

Our review must begin with explaining this startling qualification of the *Rig-veda* as *Land-Nama-Bok*. It refers to the Icelandic book of the taking of the



THE MEXICAN MUDDLE

By THOMAS SRINIVASAN

MOST of us in India have long made up our minds about Mexico. We have given up the attempt to follow its record of revolutions and political assassinations and its feeble attempts to escape from the tentacles of American high finance. A book like Bishop Kelley's¹ is just the thing to upset such self-complacency. He unfolds before us the whole pageant of mingled magnificence and misery which is the history of Mexico. He begins right at the beginning of things, with the Spaniards engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the Moors. A number of chapters take us through the Spanish conquest and rule of Mexico. But the bulk of the book is taken up with tracing the history of the various persecutions that have followed each other in rapid succession. The author has a way of sizing up an individual or a situation in one phrase or in a few pregnant sentences. His book is really a number of brilliant studies on the chief actors which, with the copious notes at the end, make it a complete history of Mexico.

To appreciate the recent history of Mexico we must lay hold on two or three mostly subterranean but decisive factors. Chief among them is the influence of the United States, the Colossus of the North, as the author calls it.

¹ *Blood-Drenched Altars*: by Francis Clement Kelley. Milwaukee: Bruce, 1935. \$ 3.00.

Mexico lost a good half of her territory in war with this Colossus, and ever since then the peaceful penetration of American capital has been going on. According to a recent estimate, the total American capital invested in Mexico amounts to 1,389 million dollars. The oil interests of New York have consistently worked against the establishment of a strong government in the South, for that would mean the end of all its concessions. Juarez himself owed his power to the support of America. The great Diaz incurred its displeasure and so Madero was set up against him. Huerta, the only Catholic ever to become President and the ablest of them all, was hounded out by Wilson—to 'make the world safe for democracy'!—who went so far as to occupy Vera Cruz on behalf of Carranza, the author of the *Constitution* of 1917. When Carranza began to strain at the leash he was promptly given up, and Obregon became President in 1920. When Obregon was on the point of being ousted by Huerta, Coolidge interfered and secured the succession for Calles. The rising of the Cristeros in 1926 would have put an end to the tyranny of Calles if the United States had not laid an embargo on the export of arms to the 'rebels', while it allowed Calles aeroplanes and ammunitions on credit. True to the family tradition, the present American Ambassador in Mexico, Daniels, has more than once gone out of his way to speak up for the religious policy of the Mexican Government.

A second factor is the influence of Freemasonry. The Scottish rite and the Yorkist rite, both introduced by an American a century ago, are frankly atheistic, and have been at the bottom of most of the anti-religious outbursts in Mexico. Recently the two have agreed to sink their differences in a common attack on the clericals.

A later arrival was the communist propaganda of the Third International and Moscow. According to one

authority, the Soviets had spent 18 million dollars on their Mexican front up to 1934.

By the *Constitution* of 1857 Juarez set the pace for later revolutionaries. The Church was separated from the State, and her property confiscated. The only period when Mexico can be said to have enjoyed some respite was during the long quasi-monarchical rule of Porfirio Diaz from 1881 to 1911. A consummate time-server, he left many things unsettled but allowed old wounds to heal up. The end of his dictatorship led to a recrudescence of the old anarchy which has continued to this day. In 1914 Carranza laid hands on what was left of the Church's property, and enacted the *Constitution* of 1917 which has proved the *fons et origo mali*. It was passed by a *junta* and was ratified neither by parliament nor by the people. But its aim was nothing short of the total destruction of the Mexican Church. By Article 3, education, chiefly primary education, was taken out of her hands. By Article 5, all religious vows and religious congregations were declared illegal. By Article 27, all churches and church property, seminaries, convents, hospitals and episcopal residences, were confiscated to the State. The Church could neither own nor direct any association of mutual help or intellectual research. By Article 133, foreigners were forbidden to exercise the sacred ministry in Mexico. All priests were disfranchised and declared ineligible to hold offices or to conduct schools. The diocesan organization was placed outside the law and civil marriage made compulsory. It is clear, therefore, that the *Constitution* was a death sentence passed on the Church.

But the executioner arrived only in 1924 in the person of Calles. Variouslly assigned a Syrian or an Indian origin, Calles had begun life as a teacher, a bar-tender, and later as a municipal servant, when he discovered his

gold mine in joining the revolution. Deeply committed to the Syndicalist labour groups, he not only enforced the provisions of the *Constitution* but improved on them in the July Decrees of 1926. By these decrees religious orders were dissolved ; entering an order was punishable with one or two years' imprisonment for the candidate and six for his Superior. All religious endowments, present and even future, were declared forfeited to the State. No religious body could possess funds or inherit property or run a school in which religion was taught. No priest could wear ecclesiastical dress, or comment on political events even in private talk, or acquire any property by bequest. Religious papers were forbidden to comment on and even report political events.

Accordingly, two Delegates Apostolic were expelled from the country. The bishops who condemned the Decrees and placed the country under an interdict were sent into exile. All the foreign-born priests were deported to their own countries. Many priests were hunted down and shot or imprisoned. Among them the saintly Fr. Pro was put to death for being a Catholic priest. A curate who refused to betray his vicar was for two days tied to a pillar so that his feet could not touch the ground, and then shot. Hundreds of lay men and women and even children followed the glorious example of Fr. Pro, greeting death with 'Hail, Christ the King !' Since 1926, it is computed that over 300 priests and 5,000 laymen have died for the Faith in Mexico.

The united protest of America and Europe finally induced Coolidge to avail himself of the retirement of Calles to bring about peace. The Mexican bishops, too, were eager to end the interdict which prevented their flocks from practising their religion. So in 1929 an agreement was signed between the President, Portes Gil, and Archbishop Ruiz, the Delegate Apostolic, and the churches

were reopened. But soon the Mexican Government returned to its game of priest-baiting. Already in 1926 Calles had founded the National Revolutionary Party of which he is still President. Presidents and ministers come and go, but it is Calles—who boasts of having procured the deaths of 147 Catholic priests—that terrorizes Mexico. In 1932 the Pope publicly protested against the persecution; whereupon the Delegate Apostolic was expelled. Five archbishops and fourteen bishops have since joined him in this enforced exile, while a few still remain in hiding, holding their lives in their hands. Last March the primate of Mexico was stopped on his way back from a church, detained for twenty-four hours amid great humiliation, and then let off with a fine. In May a priest was deported for having attacked socialism. Another was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment as the 'intellectual author' of the Obregon murder. In one city a peaceful congregation on leaving the church was attacked by the Red Shirts and five persons were killed. The Government claims the right to determine which of the churches shall continue to be used for public worship and which shall be allotted to the 'nation' for use as clubs, barracks, museums. In 1934 alone, 250 churches were closed in this manner. The very furniture used by bishops and priests is marked : 'Government Property'.

In an equally perverse manner the government of each of the federal states claims the right to regulate the number of priests who shall be allowed to exercise the ministry. Thus in one state only one priest is allotted to a Catholic population of over a million. Fourteen states out of the thirty in Mexico have decided to allow no priest at all. For the whole of Mexico there have been allowed just over 300 priests, while in 1926 there had been 3,900. There are, besides, local refinements dictated by the fancy of the state governors. Thus

in Puebla the governor has decided to issue licences only to married priests above the age of fifty. But without any licence and at the risk of their lives there are nearly 3,000 priests, among them 170 Jesuits, who go about shriving and communicating and cheering the loyal Catholics of Mexico, hiding in caves, secretly fed by their flocks, and finding means even to train candidates for the priesthood. In spite of the fulminations of the Government, as Archbishop Ruiz said recently, no priest unless ejected by force ever leaves Mexico without the order of his bishop.

From all this it is evident that the intention of the Government is not to regulate the Church but to destroy it. All Government officials are required to give a pledge which amounts to a repudiation of Christianity. But this intention is best revealed in the educational law of the State. They pretend to be all solicitude for the education of the people, and impute to the Church the responsibility for the 80 per cent illiteracy of Mexico. The older generation of revolutionaries robbed the goods of the Church and left her to make bricks without straw. The Callistas have pushed her clean out of the field and then turn round to call her negligent. Recently the Mexican Government has adopted a Six-Year Plan by which it is to have not only the direction of education but the monopoly of it. Just how far it is equipped for its task is revealed by the fact that it has not found teachers qualified to teach the Indian language, while there are hundreds of priests who can do it.

But its aim is not education at all. The amendment to Article 3 of the *Constitution* adopted in November, 1934, says that education shall be socialist and scientific and exclude religious doctrine. No priest or religious can teach. The State is to have absolute control over primary,

secondary and normal education. Each teacher has to declare himself 'an atheist, an irreconcilable enemy of the Catholic religion', and give a pledge 'to exert himself to destroy it, not to permit in his home any religious practices, and not to permit any member of his household to take part in any religious act whatever'. Calles has declared that 'children belong, and ought to belong, to the revolution'. The morning greeting of children to their teacher is : 'There is no God' ; and he answers : 'There never has been one.' Thus not merely religion but even the moral sense is sought to be destroyed. Bassols, once Education Minister, prescribed sex education for children. Pornographic literature was prescribed to be taught and even demonstrated in schools.

The Mexicans are fighting as hard for their schools as they have done for their Church. The universities refused to be regimented and were closed. There have been demonstrations and strikes by schoolboys. The parents, too, prefer not sending their children to school at all to allowing them to become instruments of Bolshevik propaganda. Some of them have organized schools in their own homes for nine or ten children with a teacher of their own choice. But there are some three million children who remain without any schooling at all. That is the net achievement of the Six-Year Plan. Illiteracy stalks the land as never before.

As in education, so in economics and government, the result of all this blood-letting has not been any appreciable advancement of the people. The land-question—which has been the root of the trouble in Mexico—has not been solved. The repeated confiscations have only led to a change in ownership and substituted a greedy, unrighteous oligarchy for the old easygoing landlordism. Each revolution has meant the enrichment of the clique

who put it through. Calles who was once forced by indigence to embezzlement is now a multi-millionaire, the owner of broad acres and the controller of numerous financial concerns. His whole family now occupy lucrative positions in the Government. It is even suggested that the renewed persecution of the Church in Mexico was a red herring thrown by Calles in Cardenas's path to revenge his son's failure in the presidential election.

Democracy is a farce in Mexico, for they still break heads instead of counting them. The voting urn is always surrounded by drawn swords, and the lists are dictated by the National Revolutionary Party, the only party that is allowed in Mexico. Newspapers which criticize the Government are suppressed or denied the use of the mail. There is a strict censorship over foreign papers coming into the country.

Yet the Government has the brazenness to deny that there is any persecution in Mexico. In fact, the only hope of amelioration, apart from foreign intervention, lies in a possible disruption in the revolutionary camp. A rift has already begun between Calles and Cardenas with the latter's reconstruction of the Cabinet. Whether this rout of Calles is final or not, and whether the persecution will abate under Cardenas, who is an opinionated communist, it is too early yet to say.

The Revolution in Mexico possesses many intriguing features. Ninety per cent of the people are Catholics. Mexico thus supplies another instance of how an organized minority, by a deft use of the ballot and the bludgeon, can terrorize a majority. So it was in Spain and Portugal until the Catholics lined up in defence of their civic rights and resisted the cowardly gang that ruled them. The present Delegate Apostolic said, in 1924, that only twenty per cent of the Mexicans 'practise' their religion.

But if these twenty per cent had been even as assiduous at the polling-booth as they were at church, the Church in Mexico would have been saved all this trouble. The first benefit of a persecution is that it clears the field of the non-combatants. The blood of the Mexican martyrs will not have been shed in vain if it brings to their countrymen an abiding sense of their civic obligations. The mere religion of the sacristy has no place in the modern world.

Again, the Church in Mexico is said to have heavily compromised herself in the past with unpopular causes—Spain, Maximilian, the States, vested interests, and the large land-owner. So it was, too, in pre-revolutionary France—in both cases, if not the fact, at least the accusation. When shall we Catholics learn not to identify the Church* with our petty allegiances? Or when shall we critics desist from reading into the action of her children the mind of the Church? There is also a lesson for those among us in India who have not yet learned to appreciate the nationalist movement with which, some day, we shall have to reckon.

But the most potent lesson of all is the Bolshevik orientation of the Mexican muddle. The Church as Calles found it did not stand on all fours with the orthodox church in Russia or the French church of the *Ancien Régime*. It was neither rich nor powerful in the State; for near a century it had been eating humble pie: so that it is difficult not to see a streak of madness in the Mexican revolutionaries. But it is all in Bolshevism. Mexico was going to enact a ghastly parody on Moscow. First a State-controlled Church was tried with an unfrocked priest, Perez, as Patriarch—on the model of the 'Living Church' patronized at one time by Lenin. When the ruse failed, Calles, like Lenin and Stalin, fell on the Church with all the fury of thwarted madness.

Events in Mexico deserve to be better known if only to convince a few of our Indian intelligentsia that Bolshevism is not either primarily or chiefly an economic method, a lesson in social organization, a new way of solving an old problem. It is a complete philosophy of life, an alternative to and a repudiation of the existing order—social, political, religious and economic—so intransigent that it refuses to compromise with this order at any point except temporarily and for reasons of strategy. There can be no picking and choosing here—Leninism is nothing if it is not integral. Mexico and China, even more than Russia, betray the true inwardness of Bolshevism—they are the leper's rattle of Communism.

Trichinopoly



IS THERE A WAY OUT ?

An Address to the St. Thomas More Study Club, Calcutta

BY D. TRUYEN

SINCE you have asked me, I will give you my cogitations. Anger may not be a good counsellor. But I cannot understand how a man with a mind to think, a heart to feel, and a conscience to judge between right and wrong, can feel otherwise than wrathful when he beholds the workings of our actual social and economic system.

Is it necessary to prove that our world is out of gear ?

See the millions underfed and the few overfed. See the starving multitudes of India, not only the factory workers, but also the vast majority of *raiyats*, who, year in year out, live in utter destitution : or rather, they don't live, they exist. Go into the slums of cities and see how the poor are housed, and then visit the mansions of the rich. Think of the millions of unemployed, men and women that are willing to work : but our system is such that there is no work for them. Think of the tons and tons of commodities that are produced and cannot be distributed because the poor have no money to buy ; of the stores of food, given by bountiful Providence, which are destroyed whilst multitudes are hungry. Try to feel that sense of insecurity gnawing at the heart of the poor man, who may be dismissed any day from his work, who knows not whether to-morrow he will have a roof over his head or food and raiment for wife and children.

Remember the outrageously unequal distribution of property and of income in so many countries, a mere handful monopolizing 60 or 70 per cent of the national income. Picture to yourselves the inequality of opportunity : the 'classes' from the very cradle enjoying every advantage ; the 'masses'—often morally, physically, intellectually superior to the 'classes'—excluded from most avenues of profit and advancement.

Is that according to God's plan ? God made man to know, love and serve Him in this life, and to be happy with Him for ever in the next. There may be those who interpret this as God wishing men, at least most men, to be miserable in this world. I beg to disagree. God is our Father, a most loving Father, and He wishes us to be happy. He has implanted in man's breast an insatiable desire for happiness, and I do not believe that He meant that longing to be baulked here on earth in the case of most men. Yet the economic structure under which we live deprives the huge majority of men of the ordinary means of securing happiness. Such a structure I call iniquitous.

I

The first remedy, then, is that we admit that something is wrong, and not ostrich-like bury our heads in the sand. I confess I have often felt in talking to good people that their heads were not empty—for nature abhors a vacuum—but (to use a Shavian comparison) solid like billiard balls.

The argument one hears oftenest from such good men is : 'Don't interfere with the natural right of property !' But what is meant by the right of property, and by the right of property being a natural right ? I believe that the right of property must be construed thus : All

earthly goods are God's gifts for the welfare of all men and not of some only. Now, in order that these earthly things may fulfil their purpose—man's happy life—it is essential that there should be some degree of appropriation. I do not see how the family can endure without some appropriation—and the family is necessary for man's happy and moral life. I do not see how there can be liberty and security without some appropriation. The socialist and the communist will grant that, I believe. And I don't think that the Catholic, in virtue of the Scriptures or the Church's teaching, can or need claim more.

But what degree of appropriation is necessary or convenient ? That must depend on the actual circumstances in which we live ; it is not determined by divine law, but by man-made law. And the law man has made, he can also re-make. The law regulating the degree of appropriation must, to be moral, fulfil one condition : it must be such that it furthers, as far as possible, the *common* good.

But when billiard-ball-headed men invoke the sacred 'right of property', what they really mean is that the few (including themselves) have a right to possess in such a manner that the many have nothing or next to nothing :

'I have honestly acquired it in the sweat of my brow. . . . I have inherited it from my father. . . . Taking it from me is theft !'

I answer : Let us suppose you have honestly acquired all you have. Keep what is necessary and convenient : no one will or may take that from you. But remember that you are a *social* being with regard to property no less than with regard to all your other rights. Society trained you, helped you to earn, provided you with the peace and order that made profit possible. What you gained was a social no less than an individual gain. Moreover, every man is your brother, and you are your

brother's keeper. Society, which secures your life and property, cannot permit you to accumulate what you do not need, when there is so little to go round, and when your excessive possession would confer on you a power that would make you a danger to society.

I do not say that I, a poor man, as a private individual, have a right to help myself to the possessions of others, except in the case of extreme necessity. Since I am a social being, I must abide by the social ordinances that are in force : otherwise orderly life would become impossible. My sole contention is that what is called the right of property is not so sacred as some people imagine.

Another argument, often bandied about by men with fossilized brains, is : 'You claim equality. But men are not equal. Give all the same opportunity, and you will see how even then all will not be rulers, doctors, lawyers. . . .'

But who ever claimed that all men are equally tall, clever, strong, virtuous, and all that ? The advocates of equality claim equal opportunity for all, or at least as great an opportunity as possible. At present your stupid, lazy, self-indulging son climbs to the top because, as Prof. Laski puts it, he was clever enough to choose his parents. The poor man's son has no opportunity whatever : yet perhaps he has the makings of a ruler of men. It is true that a few have risen to eminence in spite of all their disabilities. But how miserably few they are ! How many more would have so risen if our cruel and unjust system had not 'repressed their noble rage' ! Listen to Sir Algernon Sidney : 'The mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favoured few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately by the grace of God.'

Distinctions there will and must be since society is an organism, and an organism is not all head, or all brain,

or all foot. . . . Distinctions are natural, but not your hereditary, artificial distinctions. Your system classifies us before we are born, and that is not fair.

It is also said that poverty is due to wastefulness, and prosperity to thrift. . . .

In any country of the world take at random five hundred poor men and five hundred wealthy ones. Then add up the toil, perseverance, thrift, sacrifice, sustained effort . . . that exist on both sides. Next add up the laziness, waste of time, waste of money, wantonness . . . on both sides. In the first case it is on the side of the poor that the balance will touch bottom : in the second case the scales will be heaviest on the side of the 'better classes'.

Another wise man informs me that the poor are happier in their poverty than the rich in their wealth.

Is this anything but unadulterated sophistry ? Wealth alone does not confer happiness : who ever denied that ? But I beg to submit that earthly goods are a means and a condition of a happy life. Did God Almighty not make all these things ? 'And God made the beasts of the earth according to their kinds, and cattle, and everything that creepeth on the earth after its kind. And God saw that it was good.' Old Aristotle also knew that external goods are not the cause of happiness : 'Each one has just so much of happiness as he has of virtue and of wisdom.' Yet he adds : 'The best life, both for individuals and for states, is the life of virtue, *having external goods enough for the performance of good actions.*' Things earthly are God's gifts to man, good gifts. He has made us not purely spiritual beings, but composites of body and soul : the body needs food and raiment and shelter and a reasonable measure of recreation and comfort.

Nor will charity or almsgiving solve the social problem. A certain fine lady once rode out in her carriage and pair ; she was the wife of the local magnate and went to

visit the ailing wife of a poor workman. The lady was so kind, and so good and so condescending. So nice of her to come out of her castle and enter the hovel of the poor and bestow smiles and alms. And it was personal service, too, not merely throwing a gift to a poor beggar : the lady actually sat by the poor woman's bedside and all that. When the charitable lady drove home there stood on the footpath the poor woman's husband, a Belgian workman, a socialist, just red-hot from a meeting. And when he saw the countess emerging from his dwelling and, smiling to him, enter her carriage, he did not lift his cap ; he spat on the ground and bitterly said : 'Their charity ! Let them be just, and we shall not want their charity.'

This incident is not meant to imply that we must eliminate charity from our society. The poor we shall always have with us, that is, sufferers of all kinds. Hence there will ever be scope for Christian charity. But why should the poor be compelled to bear the humiliation of soliciting or accepting your beneficence, when you ought to have built up a system that would largely suppress the need for almsgiving ?

The last devil I have to exorcise is a very naughty spirit. He says : 'Let us remind the poor that there is another life, where all wrongs will be righted. In heaven they will be the rich men, for there the first shall be last and the last first.' But listen to Dr. Stanley Jones :

If the 'good news' meant... 'contentment in poverty through the promise of a future reward', then religion does become, as the Communists say, 'an opiate to the people'. If the preaching of contentment be the attitude of religion, then no fairer and no more terrible dart has ever been aimed at the heart of religion than this saying that it is an opiate. That it has often been true through the centuries there is no doubt whatever. . .¹

Yes, it is true there is another world to right wrongs ; but does that mean that God desires wrongs to be perpetrated in this ? Does He not ordain that justice and

¹ *Christ and Communism*, London, 1935, p. 52.

peace and love should reign even on earth ? It is God's will that as many as possible should have the ordinary means of happiness ; man's greed has made these means the monopoly of the privileged few.

II

I have tried to cast out the spirit of incomprehension (his name is legion). Now, what is the *Catholic solution* ? Has the Church any solution to offer ? Speaking of politics, Professor Ramsay Muir says : 'It must be a bloodless religion of which politics is not the most practical application.' With far more truth ought we to say : It must be a bloodless religion which offers no guidance in matters of human relations. Our Christian religion not only regulates our individual relations with God ; it also lays down principles as to the relations between man and man. This need not mean that Christ laid down a sociological or economic system ; and for the very good reason that Christ preached an eternal religion, while systems must vary according to circumstances. Yet systems must be based on eternal principles ; otherwise they are not sound. To quote Stanley Jones again :

I asked Prof. Harnack once what the Christian solution was to a certain question. He replied : 'Christianity gives no solutions, but it gives a goal and power to move on to that goal.' He was right. The Christian movement has in it those two things : it offers the most glorious goal ever offered to humanity—the Kingdom of God on earth—a Kingdom in which there would be no poverty, no classes, no sickness and no sin, which would in fact be the Lord's year of jubilee, a new world beginning. That is the goal. Then there is the power to move on to that goal—the resources of the Spirit of God.¹

Yes, that is the solution : the Kingdom of God on earth. But Dr. Jones seems to think that this Kingdom will soon come. I look on things another way : The Kingdom is here. Christ established it and the Church has upheld it throughout the centuries. We are in it, but we

¹ Op. cit., pp. 209—210.

are only partially attuned to its spirit ; we do not fully live its life. Will mankind at large ever be fully attuned to the spirit of Jesus ? Will the world ever be Christian, or will it always remain the world for which Our Lord did not pray ? Cardinal Newman somewhere explains that even in the so-called 'ages of faith' the world was still the world, hostile to Christ and to Christ's spirit. And so, I believe, it will always be. The Kingdom, though here, is always a-coming, coming more fully. Often we hear it said that we are not Christians, that we don't live our religion, that we don't really believe in Christ, since our actions belie our professions of faith in Him. That is true in a way and will always be so. I think it was true even of the Saints in so far as they were not as perfect as our Heavenly Father is perfect. The ideal will ever remain an ideal ; but individuals may approach it closer and closer, and so may nations.

What is Christ's doctrine about matters sociological and economic ? Great stress is often laid on certain Gospel texts : 'Woe to you that are rich : for you have your consolation. Woe to you that are filled, for you shall hunger It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble. He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he hath sent empty away. (Bernard Shaw called the *Magnificat* a revolutionary canticle) . . . Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.'

At times stress is also laid on the example of Jesus : 'The foxes have holes and the birds of the air nests ; but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head.' As the Saints said, He was poor in His birth, poorer in His life, poorest in His death. 'He emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant.' He chose to come among us as the son

of a despised labourer, 'the carpenter's son'. In all this there is certainly a glorious example and a lesson which it behoves us to lay to heart.

Socialists at times appeal to the economic arrangements that prevailed among the first Christians at Jerusalem. They were certainly a communistic little band, freely so, as the words of St. Peter to Ananias imply. But Jesus had not commanded His disciples to be communists : we know that Lazarus, Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea, were disciples and yet owned property. Nor did other Christian communities of those early days think communism a matter of precept, which seems proof sufficient that Jesus had not ordained that all should renounce private property. In all these early churches, there was brotherhood, but not communism.

I will rather take my stand on one solemn pronouncement of the Saviour :

And one of them, a doctor of the law, asked him, tempting him : 'Master, which is the great commandment in the law ?' Jesus said to him : 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul and with thy whole mind. This is the greatest and the first commandment, and the second is like to this : *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*. On these two commandments dependeth the whole law and the prophets.'

To this may be added : 'And as you would that men should do to you, do you also to them in like manner. . . . A new commandment I give unto you : love one another, as I have loved you.' Jesus calls this His own commandment ; and He says that here we have the whole law. In the observance of that commandment lies the solution of our social and economic problems. Love your neighbour as yourself. My neighbour is my brother, to be loved for Christ's sake. As a brother I must treat him. 'And if a brother or sister be naked, and want daily food, and one of you say to him : Go in peace, be you warmed and filled ; yet give them not those

things that are necessary for the body, what shall it profit ?'

And I may add : Our Christian solution is a universal solution, truly Catholic, one that can be adopted by all men ; for to-day, in theory at least, all admit the universal brotherhood of men. With this disposition let us reform our social and economic system on the principle of brotherhood and not on the principle of 'cut-throat competition.

III

These are eternal principles which must light us to a solution of the problem. But when it comes to applications an infinity of circumstances is to be taken into account. Still, let us try.

We want the reign of social justice : a society organized, not on the brutal principle of the survival of the fittest (that is, the strongest or the cleverest) but on the principle of brotherhood and equality. We want a society where there is equal, or, as far as possible, full opportunity for all ; a society, as Laski puts it, where none shall have cake until all have bread. For we are brethren and all have equal human needs, and all are summoned to the feast. I have spoken the fatal word *equality*. In a certain sense, of course, there can be no equality ; but a rough measure of equality is demanded : otherwise, how are we brothers ?

Secondly, though no one in his senses desires the total and sudden overthrow of the present social structure, the *tempo* of change must be accelerated. Whatever one thinks of the Russian venture, it shows what may happen elsewhere, too, if the remedy is unnecessarily delayed. For a hungry stomach cannot be expected to listen to reason very long, and our capitalism has reduced a large section of the proletariat to the direst hunger.

The present system is a legal system ; the new one must be legal, too,—that is, the State must intervene to suppress the old system and sanction the new. The right to possess is a *natural* human right, and therefore a right of all men. The right of a few to have and hold everything so that others are prevented from having anything is no more than a *legal* right. The State created that legal 'right : the State can destroy it by a large measure of intervention or by a large measure of collectivism, which is not the same as socialism. G. D. G. Cole, an authentic socialist, says :

If socialism means no more than state intervention in economic matters, there is no need of socialist parties and of class strife to secure its victory. That victory has already been won. . .

Collectivism on a large scale is already a fact in most civilized countries. In an article in the *Fortnightly Review* for May, 1935, Lord Elton writes :

Inevitably England passed into the great age of Collectivism. From now on (1874) an immense and complicated code of Collectivist legislation was steadily placed upon the Statute Book. It would be superfluous, and impossible, to tabulate these measures here. It will be sufficient to recall such important enactments as the Combination Act of 1875 and the Trade Union Acts, 1871-6, which transformed the position of the Trade Unions ; the Arbitration Acts, which began in 1867 ; the Employers' Liability Acts from 1880 ; the measures which legalised municipal activities of so many different kinds : the complex sanitary code, largely founded on the Public Health Act of 1878, and the various Housing of the Working Classes Acts of 1890 to 1900. . . . Already, . . . Collectivism was intellectually and politically all-pervasive. And already in the 'nineties Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Sidney Webb were able to proclaim the arrival of what inaccurately. . . they both described as Socialism.¹

It is generally admitted that many industries, for instance the mines, could well be run by the State. Many, however, think that corporate management would be preferable to pure State management. The industry would be managed, say, by an autonomous corporation, but under State control, lest the corporation in turn

¹ Pp. 574—575.

become capitalist and forget that its aim must be to benefit the public at large.

Shall we 'socialize' the land? I believe, with Goldsmith, that a bold peasantry is a country's pride. But it cannot be bold unless it possesses some land. I would, therefore, prefer that the land be divided and belong to the cultivators. Can it be thus economically worked? I think it can, for co-operation can provide all the machinery that is required. In fact, division will make the soil yield more than large-scale cultivation, as it has done in those parts of Belgium, Holland and other Western countries where holdings are small.

Besides, the State will put heavy taxes on fortunes. Does the Pope himself not say that such fortunes are a danger to the commonwealth? The State will prevent the accumulation, or at least the transmission, of large fortunes by the imposition of graduated death duties. Even Aristotle, upholding private property against Plato, desired such interference for the sake of equalization of property. Yet from the point of view of the family there is a great deal to be said in favour of the right of inheritance. The family is a natural and a divine institution, and to lay hands on it would be a rash, nay, a sacrilegious act. By advocating a limited right of inheritance, and by spreading ownership over a much greater number of men, we shall strengthen the family tie which is sadly weakened among the poorer classes by the lack of a comfortable home.

But there is one really strong argument against State interference: if the State were to regulate all production, to control all property; if its long fingers were to probe into every cranny and crevice of life; if its inquisitorial officials ever stood on your doorstep,—there would be an end to all human liberty. There is no worse tyranny, it is said, than official tyranny, against which no appeal is

admitted. The official mind is liable to become narrow and routine-bound, obstinate, obstructive to change and progress. And what about corruption and bribery establishing themselves upon the seats of power ? . . .

Those two knights-errant, defenders of lost causes, G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc, have, therefore, proposed another plan. They call it *distributism* ; it is a plea for a widespread distribution of wealth ; as far as possible let all the members of the community be owners of enough property for all to lead an honest and independent existence. A glorious plan, indeed ; but to realize it, and to prevent its being wrecked by human greed once it has been realized, the strong hand of the State must intervene. In Belgium and Holland and some other continental countries the social and economic problem, though acute enough, seems less pressing than elsewhere, precisely on account of the general diffusion of property, the absence of huge fortunes, and the consequent absence of extreme poverty.

But the opponents of change say that without the profit-motive man will not labour, and the State as a whole will become poorer. . . . Hence the Collectivist or Distributist State will be worse than the Capitalist. I answer : It is true that man is selfish and mean, that is, part of him ; but he is also noble, and generous and anxious to serve ; and I firmly hold that the race is progressing towards a higher ideal ; I firmly hold that the day will dawn when the motive of service will have greater power than it has now, when an economic régime, based more on the ideal of brotherhood than on the profit-motive, will create for the multitudes a brighter and a happier world. I do believe in progress because I believe in God, and also in man, created to God's image. In fact I read history as the tale of man's slow but continuous progress towards the glorious ideal set him by the Creator.

IV

Before concluding I would refer especially to Indian conditions. To me it seems that social injustice presses far harder on the Indian masses than upon labourers in the West, only the Indian is less loud in his cry for redress. Lack of education, perhaps also a fatalistic outlook on life, prevent him from realizing the wrongs under which he suffers. But I need not tell you that even in India the fires of revolt against injustice are smouldering and at times flaring up fiercely. The masses have certainly been touched by communism and civil disobedience, and are sullen or truculent ; organized labour is in ebullition ; and the younger generation that is being educated in our colleges is fascinated by the Russian experiment. Some see the class struggle for justice as imminent ; others think that the poor man can for many a long year be kept quiet if you throw him a few sops, and very, very slowly remedy the most crying of his grievances. Possibly political developments will very largely determine the trend of social reconstruction, or stagnation. . . .

But should not every lover of India feel in his heart an intense desire and hope that her wrongs may be righted ? We should first foster education. An educated people will know and claim all its rights, national, civil, political, social, economic. You can oppress an ignorant nation as long as it is ignorant. Educate the Indian people, then, and the first condition of progress will have been realized.

Another suggestion is that the land-tenure system should be overhauled. Let the *raiyyat* be the owner of a little land and be protected against the money-lender, preserved from mortgaging or selling his small plot, and assisted in time of scarcity. Promote every effort at social uplift, rural reconstruction, co-operation. Perhaps

our Indian masses have been so depressed by centuries of tyranny that evolution towards a better social régime must be slower than in the West. But in the name of justice and humanity this evolution must be accelerated by every lover of India. . . .

And now after such an expenditure of breath it seems to me, and probably to you, that I have said very little. I have inveighed against certain social maladjustments and I have tried to show whence the cure may come. But the problem is so vast that it is hard to know how to grapple with it. Yet I shall think that I have not wasted my breath if I have convinced you that there is a pressing social and economic problem, and that it behoves us all to contribute to its solution. But, lest when we have cast out the evil spirits that now oppress us, we fall under a worse tyranny, I postulate a gradual regeneration, an advance in religion and morality, a greater sense of human brotherhood, and, please God, a closer approach to the Kingdom of Christ.

Calcutta.



A BRIEF SURVEY OF INDIAN FINANCE

BY E. J. JACQUES

PUBLIC Finance is one of the most important economic problems of every country. But in India its importance is enhanced by the extreme poverty of the greater part of the people. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald maintains that the taxable capacity of the great mass of Indians is practically *nil*. 'Englishmen,' he states, 'can be taxed on the average of ten pounds per head, and Indians only a shilling; and the impost will be heavier than the English.'¹ In spite of this poverty, however, it has been repeatedly pointed out that taxation in India weighs more heavily on the poor than on the rich, and that the money thus collected is not spent in proportion to the needs of the country. How far this criticism of the Indian financial system is just may be well worth considering, especially at the present moment when radical changes are to be effected in the administration of the country.

I

The sources of public revenue in India are Imperial (or Central) and Provincial. The Central Government secures its funds chiefly from customs duties, income-tax, salt tax, and public monopolies; while the Provinces depend on land taxes, excise, registration and stamp duties.

¹ *The Government of India*, by Ramsay Macdonald, p. 149.

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The following statement shows the revenue of India in 1928-9 in lacs of rupees :

	<i>Central</i>	<i>Provincial</i>
Customs	4,928	—
Income-tax	1,670.3	35.3
Salt	759.9	—
Opium	326.6	—
Land Revenue	38.3	3,277.8
Excise	52.72	1,945
Stamps	30.8	1,342.2
Forests	25.97	552.7
Registration	—	141.78
Railways	3,748.76	—
Irrigation	—	760.97

The customs tariff which bulks very largely in the Indian budget of recent years has had a chequered history. With Free Trade as her first goal, India furnished an attractive market for the world's goods.

Before the Mutiny the import duties were 5% on finished articles and 3½% on raw produce, the rates being normally doubled for non-British goods. After the Mutiny, a general rate of 10% on all goods was introduced. This was reduced in 1864 to 7½%, and in 1875 to 5% ; and in 1882, owing to pressure from Britain, all customs duties were abolished. In 1894, a 5% import duty was levied on cotton fabrics and yarn, while an equal excise duty was placed on Indian yarns of 20 counts and above. Though this duty was subsequently lowered to 3½%, keen resentment was felt at the measure, for the excise duty, falling principally on the coarser yarns which were produced mostly by Indian mills, hit the poor consumer without in any way benefiting Manchester for whose advantage it was levied. It was not until 1926, however, that the Government decided to abandon the excise duty on cotton in view of the low condition of the Indian cotton industry. As regards exports, a 3% *ad valorem* duty had been imposed

before 1860. To obviate foreign competition, this duty was gradually abolished, that on rice and tea alone being retained.

During the War, and immediately after it, a progressive increase in the customs tariff was observable. The general *ad valorem* duty was raised to 15% in 1922-3; the duty on iron and steel rose from 1% to 10%; that on sugar from 5% to 25%. Luxury goods (motor cars, films, watches, silks, &c.) were taxed 30%. In order to encourage motor transport in India, a reduction to 25% in the case of motor cars was later made on the recommendation of the Taxation Enquiry Committee. The duty on tobacco, on the contrary, was raised to 75%. But in spite of these heavy imposts, the acute economic depression of the last few years caused a veritable cataclysm in the Central budgets and impelled Government, in the Finance Act of 1931, to introduce a general increase in the substantive rates on all imported goods. For instance, the duties on ale, beer, and fermented liquors were raised by 66%. A surcharge was also levied on various articles: e. g. 5% on goods bearing a 15% duty, 10% on luxury articles, &c. Heavy deficits, however, frightened the Finance Member into rushing a supplementary Finance Bill through the Assembly in November, 1931, which made provision for further increases in the tariff, besides a general surcharge of one-fourth of the existing rates on all customs imports, including the surcharges imposed by the Act of March, 1931. Drastic though these measures have been, they have failed to stem the tide of depression, and in some cases a tendency towards diminishing returns is in evidence.

On the other hand, an examination of the tariff rates shows a lack of uniformity in the imposition of duties, for the high tariff on sugar, kerosene, cotton goods and silver has weighed more heavily on the poor consumer

than on his rich neighbour. According to the Report of the Taxation Enquiry Committee, the customs revenue increased from Rs. 430 lacs in 1913-4 to Rs. 1,746 lacs in 1924-5, i. e. by 307%, for goods consumed by the population as a whole ; while the corresponding increase for articles mainly consumed by the richer classes was from Rs. 400 lacs to Rs. 1,416 lacs, i. e. 254%.

Besides, the predominance of the customs revenue in the Central Budget is economically unsound, as it comes from an indirect tax which, therefore, hits the general consumer. There has, in fact, been no definite policy in this matter. Tariff rates seem to have been raised or lowered indiscriminately with the sole purpose of balancing the annual budget, so that articles of common use, like sugar, kerosene and cotton fabrics, have had unduly heavy duties imposed on them. Above all, the excise duty on cotton has caused a direct set-back to the Indian cotton industry in the face of foreign competition.

If Indian customs have had an interesting history, income-tax is of no less interest. To replenish the Central treasury after the Mutiny, a general income-tax was levied for the first time in 1860, and remained in operation for five years. In 1867 a licence-tax on professions and trades, excluding agriculture, was imposed. In 1878, to finance a portion of the Famine Insurance Grant, a licence-tax on traders and artisans was added. The Income-Tax Act of 1886 was intended to tap all the sources of non-agricultural income comprised under salaries and pensions, profits of companies, and interest on securities. The rate was 4 pies in the rupee on salaries and interest on securities ranging between Rs. 500 and Rs. 2,000, and 5 pies in the rupee on profits of companies and incomes over Rs. 2,000. The yield from income-tax before the War averaged only 3 crores of rupees, the absence of

a scale of progression enabling the well-to-do to escape the burden much too lightly. Owing to the exceptionally large financial commitments consequent on the War, a substantial increase in the rates was introduced, together with a progressive scale and a super-tax on large incomes. The yield rose in 1921-2 to over 22 crores. A further increase in the rates for the next few years was inadequate to combat the prolonged depression in commerce and industry, so that the income-tax revenue decreased from 18.49 crores in 1923-4 to 15.42 crores in 1929-8. The rates of ordinary income-tax according to the Finance Act of March, 1931, as applied to individuals and unregistered companies, are as follows :

On incomes below Rs. 2,000	nil
.. .. between Rs. 2,000 and 5,000 :	6 pies in the Re.
.. .. " .. 5,000 and 10,000 :	9 " " "
.. .. " .. 10,000 and 15,000 :	1 anna
.. .. " .. 15,000 and 20,000 :	1a. 4p.
.. .. " .. 20,000 and 30,000 :	1a. 7p.
.. .. " .. 30,000 and 40,000 :	1a. 11p.
.. .. " .. 40,000 and 100,000 :	2as. 1p.
.. .. of one lac and above :	2as. 2p.

For a company or registered firm, the tax was assessed at 2as. 2p. in the rupee, irrespective of its profits. The Act further provided for a super-tax on incomes in excess of Rs. 30,000. By the Supplementary Act of November, 1931, the exemption limit was lowered, and incomes ranging between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 1,999 were taxed at 2 pies in the rupee for 1931-2, and at 4 pies in the rupee for the following year. Besides, a surcharge of one-eighth of the existing rates was imposed for 1931-2, and of one-fourth for 1932-3. According to the Act, therefore, incomes of 6 lacs and above would have to pay the highest rate of ordinary income-tax, *plus* a surcharge of 25% in the rupee, and a super-tax of 6as. 3p. in the rupee, *plus* a

similar surcharge, so that they would pay a total income-tax of 8as. 5p. per rupee (just over 50%) exclusive of the surcharges levied.

The provisions of the Finance Act of 1931 embodied the reforms suggested by Sir Walter Layton, the Financial Assessor of the Simon Commission. He proposed the lowering of the exemption limit and the steepening of the gradation of the tax for incomes between Rs. 5,000 and one lac. He also advocated the removal of the exemption of agricultural incomes from income-tax. Frequent and substantial readjustments in land-revenue assessments, he said, would involve political difficulties and adversely affect small holdings.

But the rate of assessment of income-tax reveals certain inconsistencies. The steepening of the gradation for incomes of over Rs. 10,000 according to the Act of 1931 may well be justified ; but the uniform rate levied on the profits of companies and registered firms runs counter to the principle underlying a graded assessment. Moreover, one may well wonder at the phenomenal rate of over 50% imposed on incomes of 6 lacs and above. When it is also remembered that the income-tax was increased to make up for the very large gratuitous donation made to England during the War by the Government of India, without the concurrence of the elected representatives of the people and irrespective of the depleted resources of the country, it may perhaps be granted that the popular resentment against this tax was not altogether unfounded.

Another important source of Central revenue is the salt tax, which yields a little over 6 crores of rupees. There are two ways of levying this tax. All the salt that is used in the country is either made by Government or made by private manufacturers and sold to Government,

who then sell it after levying a duty on it. A second method, in use in Madras, is to license private manufacturers, on payment of an excise duty to Government, to make and sell salt. In 1925, 35% of India's needs were met by Government salt, 30% by foreign salt, and 35% by salt manufactured by licensed dealers subject to payment of excise. In 1923, the Government's proposal to double the salt tax in order to tide over financial stringency was rejected by the popular vote, but was eventually carried into effect by certification by the Governor-General. The sequel is well known. The salt tax, though ancient, is one of the most unpopular taxes in India, for it falls on a necessary of life which the poor use much more than the rich. This doubling of the salt tax actually diminished the consumption of salt in the country, and in the following year Government restored the old rate of Rs. 1.4.0 a maund.

The main sources of Provincial Finance may now be examined. Even before its transfer to Provincial governments, the assessment of land was of outstanding importance in the Indian budget, for it contributed in 1901-2 no less than 42% of the total revenue. As the land tax directly hits the agricultural classes who constitute the greater part of the population, its imposition at varying rates in the Provinces has given rise to acute controversy. Many of the Government's difficulties in this respect are a legacy from the East India Company, whose officials undertook the appraisalment of the land revenue on a false assumption. Mistaking the zamindars, who were mere rent-collectors of the Moghul Emperors, for the owners of the land, they stipulated with these men for the payment of rent on a permanent basis, and left them to negotiate with the actual cultivators of the soil. This happened chiefly in Bengal. In other areas,

still in quest of the landowners, the Company's officers came into direct contact with the *raiya*t and arranged settlements with them. The *zamindari* system leaves the poor peasant at the mercy of the zamindar. In the *ryotwari* system the land is usually owned by joint-families who share the produce. But the prevailing social customs and the laws of inheritance have tended in large measure to excessive subdivision of the land. The peasant who owns it is thus barely able to make a living, much less to improve his method of cultivation and increase the value of his holding. He invariably falls into the clutches of the money-lender. More than half the land in this country is held under such conditions.

Under the Permanent Settlement of 1793, the zamindars were forced to pay 90% of the rent. The burden, heavy at first, gradually lightened with the growth in the value of land and the consequent exaction of high rents by the zamindars. It is estimated that the land revenue paid to Government from such areas amounted in 1900 to about 4 crores, while rentals brought in 16½ crores.

In other parts of the country, the peasant, though exempt from income-tax, has to pay a land cess. It is generally recognized that the cess is unequally distributed and that there has been little uniformity or certainty as to the rate or basis of assessment. The Taxation Enquiry Committee suggested the levying of a tax on agricultural incomes as a means of adjusting the incidence of taxation. An example drawn from the Punjab, the most advanced of agricultural districts, will perhaps best serve to emphasize the abnormal condition of the farmer *vis-à-vis* the Government. While the proportion of land revenue to gross income averaged from 3% to 15%, the proportion of land revenue to net income ranged from 12% to 50%. Cases are on record of farmers paying land revenue

at rates varying between Rs. 1.65 and Rs. 2.14.9 per acre though their net income is a negative quantity. It is still worse in those areas—and they are the majority—where the cultivator not only does not own the land but has to pay rent in cash or grain to his landlord.

Another important head of Provincial revenue is excise, which is derived from a duty on the manufacture, and fees for sale licences, of intoxicating liquors, hemp, drugs, opium, &c. Government usually grant the right of *wholesale* supply of country liquors to a district by contract and sell by auction the right of *retail* sale, though in certain Provinces, like Bombay, the distilleries are owned by Government. While the excise revenue was only 1.78 crores in 1861-2, it rose to 19.97 crores in 1928-9—an increase that is explained, partly by the raising of the excise duty and stricter supervision, and partly by the growth in population and affluence.

But the present demand for prohibition bids fair to restrict the field of the excise duty, for more than one provincial legislature has urged the Minister for Excise to ration the supply of liquor, reduce its strength, limit the number of liquor shops, and shorten the hours of sale.

Other sources of Provincial revenue are stamps, registration and forests. The stamp revenue is obtained from judicial and commercial stamps: the former are fees on plaints in the civil and criminal courts, and the latter are duties on written commercial transactions, such as deeds relating to transfer of property, bills of exchange, &c. Registration of documents relating to immovable property has been made compulsory by law. The revenue under this head is, however, not large: it was only 143 lacs in 1928-9. Since the administration of forests was transferred to the Provinces, a large income has accrued

to Provincial governments from the sale of timber and other produce, grazing fees, licence fees for cutting wood, &c. The annual income from forests is now more than 2½ crores, as compared with 14 lacs in the years 1864-70.

These main sources of revenue, however, are inadequate to meet the growing demands of the Provinces, particularly for such transferred subjects as Education, Public Health, and Local Self-Government. The apportionment of funds between the Central Executive and the Provinces is so unequal that the latter are unable to make much headway in those very nation-building activities that the Reforms were intended to foster. If we add to this the fact that these Reforms involve an elaborate and expensive machinery, we shall understand the opinion of National leaders that the departments over which the Ministers have control have been so starved that they cannot embark on schemes of improvement and expansion which may raise the economic level of the people as a whole.

II

Having surveyed the main heads of Central and Provincial revenue, we may now examine the distribution of public expenditure in India. This will include : first, national defence, under which may be ranged the army, the navy, the air force, military operations, and defence works ; secondly, the maintenance of peace and order, which includes the police, courts of justice, jails, general administration, political charges, pensions, &c. ; thirdly, national development, under which we may group education, medicine and sanitation, railways, irrigation and public works, posts and telegraphs, agriculture and famine charges, interest on the public debt, &c.

The following table gives the percentage expenditure under each of these heads from 1921-8.

	1921-2	1923-4	1925-6	1927-8	1928-9
Military Services	36	30	28	26	26
Railways	11	12	13	15	14
Public Debt	8	9	10	9	8
Police, Jails, Justice	9	10	10	9	10
Education	4	5	5	6	6
Civil Works	5	5	5	6	6
General Administration	5	5	6	6	6
Land Revenue	3	3	2	2	2
Irrigation	2	2	3	3	3
Public Health	2	2	1	1	1
Other Heads	15	17	17	16	18

The total public expenditure has been steadily rising from 50.19 crores of rupees in 1858-9 to 124.34 crores in 1913-4, 218.67 crores in 1920-1, and 226.81 crores in 1929-30. During and since the War the expenses on the military services have been alarmingly high. While they amounted to Rs. 29.84 crores in 1913-4, they rose to 43.56 crores in 1917-8, 66.72 crores in 1918-9, and 67.38 crores in 1920-1. In 1927-8, the military budget was reduced to 54.92 crores; and in 1928-9 it was stabilized for four years at 55.1 crores. According to the Inchcape Committee appointed in 1922-3, the military budget should have dropped within a few years to Rs. 50 crores, but it has not yet done so.

The heavy military budget has naturally been the object of fierce opposition from the elected members of the Legislative Assembly. They feel that a considerable reduction in the army estimates may be effected if the strength of the military forces is appreciably diminished and the process of Indianization carried on more speedily. The maintenance of the army in time of peace on a war

basis seems to them indefensible. Point is added to their argument by the fact that in spite of Government's protestations that the limit of economy had been reached, the Inchcape Committee in 1922-3 recommended drastic reductions of nearly 10 crores, which Government were able to carry out almost in their entirety !

Another detail which has been much criticized is the enormous cost of the civil administration of India. The high salaries paid to officials have been still further raised on the suggestions of the Lee Commission on the Superior Services in order to attract men of the requisite calibre from British Universities. Since the higher grades of the civil service are mostly manned by Europeans, a top-heavy administration has been imposed on the country. Indians contend that the scale of salaries should be considerably lowered, and urge the progressive Indianization of the services. Their insistence on the latter proposal is all the greater because the valuable experience acquired by Europeans in India is lost to the country on their retirement. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that popular government is seldom cheap government, and that unless impartial competitive tests are enforced on candidates to the public services, the administration is bound to suffer from all the evils of favouritism and communalism.

While protesting against the excessive expenditure on the civil and military services, responsible leaders of India complain of the insufficient sums allotted to education, public health, and public works. Although these subjects are comprised in the portfolios of the Ministers, the lack of adequate funds makes it almost impossible for them to follow any consistent and progressive policy in these national services.

And yet the burden of taxation weighs heavily on the vast majority of the people. According to the Statistical

Abstract, the following is the *per capita* incidence of taxation in recent years :

	1921-2	1925-6	1927-8	1928-9
Total taxation in crores	125.1	140.1	140.18	141.5
Payment per head	Rs. 5.1.1	Rs. 5.10.9	Rs. 5.10.10	Rs. 5.11.8

If these figures are compared with those of previous years,—

1871	1881	1901	1911	1913
Rs. 1.15.9	Rs. 2.2.3	Rs. 2.6.6	Rs. 2.11.3	Rs. 2.14.5

they reveal the appalling fact that taxation has been *doubled* since the War. The average income per head is computed to be about Rs. 80 per annum. Thus, nearly 8% of the average man's income is spent in taxes. Small though this ratio may appear in comparison with other countries, it must not be forgotten that the smaller one's income is the more one feels even the slightest tax. But what is more urgently in need of correction is the unequal distribution of the burden, as the following figures for 1923-4 show (in crores) :

	<i>Borne by rich</i>	<i>Borne by poor</i>
Customs	20	21
Land revenue and Irrigation	20½	21½
Income-Tax	20	--
Excise	—	20
Salt	1½	7½
Forests and Registration	2	5
Railways	33	60
Post Office	5	5½
Municipal Taxes	3	10
District Board Taxes	--	10
Stamps	6½	6½
Total	111½	167

The reforms suggested by the Taxation Enquiry Committee and by Sir Walter Layton in regard to

a progressive scale of charges have, therefore, been a move in the right direction.

* * *

Brief as this survey has been, it has shown that substantial changes are called for in the Indian financial system. The frequent conflicts in the Legislative Assembly, which are invariably followed by the 'certification' of Finance Bills, lay bare the all too rigid control exercised by the Executive over the administration of public funds. If the fundamental principle be observed that taxes should be levied and expenses incurred solely with the consent of the representatives of the people, then an appreciable retrenchment can be effected in the Central budget and the funds thus released placed at the disposal of the Provinces. Hitherto, defence and preservation of order have been absorbing the revenues of the Government of India to so alarming an extent as to lead to the neglect of education and public health. If the future Finance Minister, who will be responsible to the Central legislature, is allowed to exercise his powers unfettered by vested interests or by motives of political expediency, India will then be secure in the conviction that her finances will be administered in her own interests ; and abandoning her traditional suspicion of things alien, she will be happy in the willing co-operation of Government and governed towards the moral and material welfare of the many millions of her sons.

Kurseong.

THE CATHEDRAL

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

I

More wonderful, far mightier than a dream
Of some half-visioned glory, such is this
Court of the living God, where silence, bliss
Belittle man, and show him the supreme
Intelligence, Puissance, Love ; he sees
In finite stone an effort to express
Earth's adoration of God's loveliness,
Demanding the deep homage of man's knees.

Pillars upsoaring, the rose-bloom of glass ;
Beauty snared, held in leash, the o'erpowering
Presence of wings that noiseless pass and pass,
Of angel hosts, in service towering :
All snatch a moment from eternity,
A shadowed glimpse of Heaven's sublimity.

II

Light often weds with darkness here : they sleep
And toil as one in sweetest harmony.
The one, garbed in magnificence, will leap
Cascading from tall windows' gold, with glee,
Dazzling the mind ; show forth Thy grandeur, Sir,
O God, fettered with gyves of Thine own making,
Enamoured so of man, his Prisoner :
Thy hidden Heart for his heart ever breaking.

The other, couched on walls, the floor, i' the air,
Reveals, conceals, the splendour of God's home ;
Lures on, calls through the stillness unto prayer ;
Bespeaks the gloom where dwells Christ stricken dumb,
Within the rondure of a tiny host,
God with the Father and the Holy Ghost.

III

Stupendous unto us this minster seems.
The very dimness gives it added heights :
High magic windows with their roseal gleams
Seeming fresh-garnered fruits from far delights
Which shall amaze when life has entered Life
Of Heaven ; aye, nothing is small save man :
In size, in thought, he is with smallness rife,
Scoffing at vastness which he dares to scan.

If man is small, this fane with the heavens bare,
Those wide, unnumbered ramparts, then compare :
Star upon star no end to them hath found.
They halt at that vast gulf which none may dare
To cross, surrounding the pure heavens profound,
Legionèd by prostrate presences in prayer.

IV

Such magnitude, such greatness, yet how small
This temple and the world, the universe
Unto Almighty God who formed it all !
We, blinded by our parents' primal curse,
With finite intellect can never grasp
Its glorious vastness which is everywhere ;
This shadow of God's mind that did unhasp
And out of nothingness wove all so fair.

Still He, whom the heavens can scarcely hold,
Who reaches to infinitude, whose Name
Is Life and Death, here rests in cup of gold,
Smaller than when He first to Bethlehem came. . . .
Mystery of mysteries, what Lover this,
Save God Himself who seeks Love's dread abyss !

CHARLES J. QUIRK.

St. Louis (U. S. A.)

GIL VICENTE

By EDGAR PRESTAGE

THE Portuguese drama, like that of other countries, had a twin origin, secular and religious. The former is represented by *mimes* and *entremeses*, which developed later into farces and consisted of mimicking shows, accompanied by dances, and sometimes by words appropriate to the characters of the players. Garcia de Resende, in his *Chronicle of John II*, describes at length the mimes performed at Evora in 1490 to celebrate the marriage of the heir to the throne. The *Cancioneiro Geral*, a lengthy anthology of fifteenth-century Court verse, refers to a mime composed by the Count de Vimioso, and contains a short farce in verse by Henrique da Mota, which is either contemporary with or earlier than the productions of Gil Vicente. The mimes were generally organized for the diversion of the upper class, while the religious theatre belonged to the people and consisted of scenes drawn from the life of Christ, which were performed in the churches, especially in connection with Christmas. It was by writing one of these scenes for the palace that Gil Vicente began his dramatic career and brought the religious drama to the Court.

Though he was not the originator of dramatic representations, he is rightly called the founder of the Portuguese theatre, because he raised them to a higher sphere, gave them literary form and infused into them the breath of life. In this task he had no compatriot to guide him ; Resende, who knew him well, says in the *Miscellanea* :

We have seen singular representations, right eloquent in style and quite new in invention, by Gil Vicente. He it was who invented the Pastoral here and employed it with more grace and skill; though Juan de Encina commenced it.

But while Gil Vicente imitated and borrowed lines from Encina, he not only outstripped him, but even displayed a richness of fancy, a vivacity and a lyrical beauty which is lacking in the contemporary drama of other nations.

Little is known of Vicente's life save what can be gleaned from his plays and minor works, and from certain documents referring to his art as a goldsmith, for it is now generally admitted that he was the maker of the Belem Monstrance, a monument of religious art. Even the dates of his birth and death are uncertain. He was probably born at Guimaraes, the cradle of the Portuguese monarchy, between 1460 and 1470, and died shortly after 1536. His early years must have been spent in the country on a farm, to judge from his perfect reproduction of the outlook and language of the peasantry. It has been asserted that he studied law at the University of Lisbon, because of the acquaintance he shows with Latin and with ancient and medieval jurists ; but there is no foundation for the statement. He knew his Bible intimately, he was well read in Spanish literature, and may have learnt some French and Italian. Though of relatively humble origin, he must have frequented the Court of King John II, since he appears among the poets whose verses are collected in the *Cancioneiro Geral*, and it is possible that, with other goldsmiths, he first came there to exercise his art on the occasion of the marriage of Prince Alfonso in 1490.

The credit for his first dramatic attempt belongs to Leonor, the Queen Dowager, widow of John II, who appointed him her goldsmith and protected him during her life. It is entitled the *Monologue of the Neatherd*, and was spoken on June 7, 1502, in the bedchamber of Queen Maria, wife of King Manuel, the reigning monarch, immediately after she had given birth to a son and heir ; it belongs to the class of *loas* of the Manger, those Christmas hymns which were sung in parts beside the crib of the Infant Saviour.

This piece so pleased Queen Leonor that she wished to have it repeated on Christmas Eve and directed to the birth of the Redeemer ; but the poet preferred to write another, the *Castilian Pastoral Auto*, much longer and more developed—though he modestly called it a 'poor thing'—, in which he introduced six characters. Again the old Queen was delighted and requested a fresh diversion for Twelfth Night ; and Gil Vicente then produced the *Auto of the Magi*. His reputation was now established, and henceforth until 1536 he was occupied in entertaining the splendid Court of King Manuel and the more austere one of John III. When the plague entered the capital and obliged the Court to wander from place to place, he accompanied it, providing

a distraction in time of sorrow, while in moments of rejoicing he gave expression to the feelings of the nation. It does not appear that he had a regular company of actors ; but dramatic representations were usual at the University and in colleges, at least during his later years, and he probably obtained the services of students willing to play a part on receipt of a small fee ; he himself appeared on the boards and wrote the tunes for some of the songs. Though he occupied no fixed post at Court he drew pensions in addition to his professional earnings, so that his cry of poverty, a commonplace with Portuguese writers, need not be taken to heart.

In all forty-four pieces of his have survived, and of these eleven are entirely in Spanish, sixteen entirely in Portuguese, and seventeen in the two languages intermingled ; nearly all of them are written in eight-syllabled *redondilhas* ; they contain some fifty complete lyrics which closely resemble anonymous popular poetry, and more than a hundred proverbs. The use of Spanish is explained by the fact that it was the mother tongue of the wives of Manuel I and John III ; but Gil Vicente wrote it incorrectly, like one who had never visited Spain. According to his artificial division, the pieces consist of Autos, Comedies, Tragi-comedies and Farces ; and they are preceded by initial rubrics, stating as a rule the date when each was first performed, in whose presence, and on what occasion ; they make up the annals of the first thirty-four years of the Portuguese stage. Most of them were played at the different royal palaces, but some in hospitals, and the *Auto of St. Martin* in church, despite the ecclesiastical prohibition against the use of a sacred building for such a purpose ; the liturgical pieces were given at Christmas, Epiphany and Corpus Christi ; and the others on some event of importance to the royal family or the nation.

The theatre of Gil Vicente may be defined as the life of the people in town and country ; the great folk occupy only a minor place. In it we meet with old customs, games and dances, proverbs, romances and songs, and an astonishing variety of figures : the poor nobleman, the famished squire, the boorish judge, the ignorant doctor, the amorous dotard, the worldly or unchaste friar, the scholastic pedant, the Jewish marriage-broker, the comic negro, the astrologer, the shrew, the gipsy, the procuress and the witch. These and other characters speak in the language of their

class and trade, and often with a licence which appears to have given no offence to the ladies of the most Catholic of Courts. The shepherds, shepherdesses and muleteers are usually drawn from Beira, the very centre of the Portuguese language and traditions, so that it has been suggested that the poet was a native of that province ; in any case, he is at home among the peasantry and does not turn them into courtiers when he brings them to Court.

In addition to the men and women he had met in everyday life he introduces personages from the Old and the New Testament, allegorical figures, pagan deities, Fathers and Doctors of the Church, members of the hierarchy of devils, and heroes of medieval romances like Amadis and D. Duardos. From a purely dramatic standpoint his plays are not of the first order, though they represent a very considerable achievement ; and they contain no traces of the classical revival which reached Portugal during his lifetime : by mentality and choice he was medieval. But if the invention and execution are often rudimentary, the persons and dialogue are transparently natural ; his idea of drama was the realistic portrayal of types and of the contrasts between them, rather than dramatic action and the development of character. In view of the comic strength of his farces, he has been called a second Plautus ; but they cannot properly be compared to the regular comedies of the Roman poet : they are rapid sketches from life drawn with genuine comic feeling, not divided into acts or scenes, save in the comedy *Rubena*, and lacking unity of time and place ; both plot and intrigue are absent or slight, except in *Ines Pereira*. In all his pieces, however, felicity of phrase is joined to acute observation, and common sense to a knowledge of mankind and love of nature.

In some he shows an ardent patriotism, for the *Auto of Fame* and the *Call to War* are veritable hymns to the glory of Portugal ; he was the first to celebrate the achievements of the Portuguese in Africa and the East, and it is possible that these plays inspired Camoens. In the former, Fame, personified by a girl minding geese, is sought in marriage, first by a patriotic but frothy Frenchman ; next by an Italian who prides himself on his Roman descent but receives the contemptuous answer : 'You belong to whoever will conquer you' ; and lastly by a garrulous Castilian. All of them fail in their suits, and Portugal as the most deserving wins her.

The *Call to War*, a tragi-comedy played in 1513 on the eve of the departure of an expedition against the African city of Azamor, is a stirring appeal in the manner of a Pindaric Ode. The heroes of antiquity come on the stage and incite all classes to go forth against the Infidel and promise them victory.

Estimates of the value of Gil Vicente as a dramatist have varied greatly. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries he was entirely forgotten, and from then until the end of the nineteenth, little read. But there can be no doubt that he was an incomparable lyric poet. He was also a moralist with a power of satire equal to that of Aristophanes, and a sense of the ridiculous which he uses to make his auditors laugh at his creations and even sometimes at each other. He condemns the greed for gold and the growth of luxury which followed from the conquests in the East, but is never bitter; he possessed a sense of justice, a genial nature, and a love of his fellows; and if he shared the national dislike of the Jews, he defended those who had remained in Portugal after King Manuel gave them the choice of baptism or exile.

Space will not allow me to examine each of the classes into which Gil Vicente divided his plays, and I must leave out altogether the minor works; the rest of this essay will be devoted to his religious drama, where in the opinion of some critics, which I share, he made his highest flights.

The early pieces are short and simple, and during the first ten years of his activity he gave no sign that he would be more than a Portuguese Encina; his professional duties and the work on the Belem Monstrance, which seems to have occupied about three years, probably absorbed his attention. But in 1513 a new lyrical power and a deep religious unction distinguish the *Auto of the Sybil Cassandra*, 'who knew by the spirit of prophecy the mystery of the Incarnation, and thinking she would be the mother of Christ, would not marry.' This is accentuated in the *Auto of the Four Seasons*, a regular Mystery, played at Christmas, 1516, before King Manuel in the palace in Lisbon. A seraph having announced the birth of the Redeemer, the Seasons appear, each in its appropriate character, to adore Him. Winter comes in the guise of a wretched shepherd, full of complaints of the weather and his sufferings, followed by Spring, who trips in gaily, singing a song

befitting the time he represents. Summer, an emaciated figure, comes next and gives a pitiful description of the diseases and miseries he is subject to ; fever, thirst and want of appetite oppress him, and his days seem a thousand years. After an altercation between him and Spring, Autumn interposes and, satisfied with the fruits he finds, tells the other Seasons to go home and look to themselves. Jupiter then announces the discomfiture of Paganism in a noble chant, part of which was happily turned into English by Edward Quillinan, translator of the *Lusiads*. After this song, Jupiter and the Seasons, with David dressed as a shepherd, approach the Manger and offer the Infant Jesus their tribute of adoration and praise ; and the piece finishes with a *Te Deum*.

The trilogy of the *Boats of Hell, Purgatory and Glory*, (1517—1519) is the Portuguese *Divina Commedia*, though it derives from Spain rather than from Italy ; it contains similar elements to the Dance of Death, dear to medieval and even to Renaissance poets, artists and sculptors, and familiar to most of us from Holbein's drawings. The same personages of every age and class are represented, the same irony of death runs through it, and the aim is identical, a lesson to the living from the end of all human beings. The trilogy is a dramatic representation of the familiar text : 'Memento, homo, quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris'¹ ; but it differs from the Dance of Death by its Christian atmosphere and feeling, for instead of mere gloom and diabolical mockery the poet presents the conception of the Divine judgment and pardon for repentant sinners.

The *Boat of Hell* was performed for the consolation of Maria, wife of King Manuel, in her apartment during her last illness ; and the initial rubric offers an apology for its insertion among the Works of Devotion, for the somewhat unconvincing reason that the two other parts were performed in the Royal Chapel. It illustrates the rigorous accusation made by the enemy of man against every human soul the moment it leaves the body, and we are shown an arm of the sea—a kind of Acheron—with two boats, one belonging to Satan, the other to an Angel, the ferryman to Paradise. Though the subject could not be more serious, the piece is impregnated with satire, and it contains jests upon the presumption of the wicked and their anxiety to get into

¹ i. e., Remember, O man, that thou art dust, and to dust thou shalt return.

the Angel's boat and on the claim of Satan to carry them off as his lawful cargo. A proud nobleman, a wealthy usurer, a fool, a dishonest cobbler, an amorous friar, a procuress, a Jew who carries a goat on his back, a corrupt magistrate, a thieving attorney and a hanged felon, all strive to enter the Angel's boat ; but much to their surprise and rage are rejected and fall victims to the Fiend, who gleefully shows all on board except the Jew, whom he takes in tow as unworthy to mix with the rest of the worshipful company. The caustic remarks with which Satan greets the passengers, and the scraps of conversation as they meet and recognize their companions in life under such new and terrible circumstances, are inimitable. The Angel's boat has but a small freight : the fool, who never sinned from malice, and four knights of the Order of Christ, who enter into their reward forthwith, since they had fallen fighting the Moors in Africa.

Part of the dialogue between the nobleman, the Devil and the Angel will give an idea of the piece. The first approaches the Devil's boat and, finding its destination to be Hell, refuses to enter ; on being asked how he hopes to escape, he says that he has someone on earth praying for him.

Devil. One who will ever pray for thee !
 He he, he he, he, he, he,
 For pleasure thus thy life to shape.
 And for salvation still find scope
 With one who'll ever pray for thee !
 Come thou, or come you then, my lord,
 Since with us you must make your home,
 Bid them place your chair on board,
 For thus did your father come.

Fidalgo. What, what, what ! Is it even so ?

Devil. So and so ; they come and they go,
 Make haste, content you with the lot
 You chose on earth, and grumble not.
 The river of Death was yours to cross,
 And on this river too you'll toss.

Fidalgo. Is there no other boat to charter ?

Devil. No, Sir ; for this was your soul bartered,
 And you had given me a sign
 Before your death you'd go in mine.

Fidalgo. What sign was that ? What do you mean ?

Devil. Your past life was the sign, I ween.

The *Boat of Purgatory* treats of working men and women, including a ploughman, a huckster, a shepherd, a shepherdess and

a small boy, for whom the poet feels pity ; the only soul that falls to the Devil's share is that of a blasphemous gamester, who is carried away to the sound of a discordant song. The little boy is taken straightway into the Angel's boat, and the rest, after a lively war of words with the Fiend, escape condemnation, partly on their own merits and partly in honour of Christ's birthday ; but they are left to wander on the shore of Purgatory till having expiated their sins they are ferried over from the land of punishment to that of glory. Their parleyings with the Devil in defence of their actions are blunt and lively ; the little boy is at once spirited and pathetic.

- Boy. Mother, the bogey man ! There, see !
 Will you keep quiet, O, O, O !
- Devil. Come along, come now instantly.
- Boy. And would you lay your hands on me ?
 To the Devil, since he brought you, go.
- Devil. Baa, maa, Thou sorry fool,
 Though they have dressed thee up so fine,
 Thou'rt one of the damned, and we shall pull
 The brains from out those eyes of thine.
- Boy. I will take you, yes, I will,
 To my auntie's cottage door ;
 There we'll see those dogs once more,
 Your ancestors, and laugh our fill
 Over your descent so low.
- Devil. Baa.
- Boy. Mother, he's going to eat me, O !
 And won't my father beat you well ?
- Devil. Baa.
- Boy. And Our Lady, if I tell,
 Will kill you, kill you, and you know,
 If you are killed, then you will die.
- Devil. Baa.
- Boy. And as for Johnnie, O, O, O !
 If I call him, well know I . . .
- Devil. Baa.
- Boy. Must you *baa* continually ?
- Angel. What wouldst thou ? Whither wouldst thou go ?
- Boy. I left my mother crying so,
 Only because I left her there. . . .
- Angel. But she is wrong to feel despair
 For thou art even one of us,
 And ever more shall it be thus.

The *Boat of Glory* deals with high dignitaries, a Count, a Duke, a King, an Emperor, a Bishop, an Archbishop, a Cardinal and a

Pope. First the Devil appears, and inquires of Death why he has lately sent him only persons of low degree, instead of the rich and powerful ; and when the latter seeks to excuse himself, the Devil interrupts him :

They are flesh and bone as well,
Let them come then, let them come ;
They are ours by royal right.

Thereupon Death promises obedience and introduces the magnates one by one, mocking them as he leads them to the Devil's boat.

On their arrival, the Devil claims them all, taunts them with their wicked lives and points with gusto to the fiery regions beyond, specifying the torments reserved for each of them. They all pray for mercy in piteous tones, but the Fiend is ironical at their tardy repentance, and the Angel, to whom they appeal, refers them to the Saviour and recommends them to ask the intercession of the Blessed Virgin. They act on his advice, but no response comes, and the Angel refuses to admit them into the Boat of Glory, adding that he and his companions deeply regret that such gentlemen as they, such chosen souls, should go to Hell, but so it must be. The other Angels then unfurl the sail on which a crucifix is painted, and the wretched souls prostrate themselves before it, each in turn, and renew their supplications to the Redeemer, but no notice is taken of their prayers and the boat is pushed off, amid a great cry of lamentation from those whose fate appears to be sealed. At this moment, however, God's mercy intervenes in the person of Christ who comes from his Resurrection, and distributing the oars of the boat among the suppliant souls takes them with Him.

The final and general pardon forms a startling example of one law for the high-placed and another for the humble ; but though Gil Vicente dared not condemn such great persons to Hell, he rebukes their besetting sins in severe terms.

This trilogy illustrates the terrible truth of the saying : 'There is no death, there are only two lives' ; and we pass with relief from the three *Boats* to the *Auto of the Soul*, where the atmosphere is free from horrors. It is a Mystery, dealing with the temptation of a soul in her passage through life, her falls and final forgiveness. The argument explains its purport :

As it is very necessary that there should be hostelries by the roadside for the rest and refreshment of wearied travellers, so it is fitting that in this wayfaring life there should exist a hostess to give refreshment and repose to the souls that go journeying towards the eternal abode of God. This hostess of souls is holy Mother Church ; the table is the altar ; the food, the emblems of the Passion. The characters consist of the Soul (feminine in Portuguese), her Guardian Angel, the Church which is the inn, the four Fathers who serve in it, and two Devils.

When the play opens, the Soul is being conducted to the inn by an Angel, who speaks thus :

Human soul, by God created
 Out of nothingness, yet wrought
 As of great price,
 From corruption separated,
 Sublimated,
 To glorious perfection brought
 By skilled device :
 Plant that in this valley growest,
 Flowers celestial to give
 Of fairest scent,
 Hence to that high hill thou goest,
 Where thou knowest
 E'en than roses, graces thrive
 More excellent.
 Plant wayfaring, since thy spirit
 Tarrying here must needs return
 To whence it came,
 Thy true country is to inherit
 By thy merit
 The glory thou mayest win,
 O hasten on.

When the Soul expresses her fear of falling, the Angel encourages her to press on and take no heed of Satan's wiles :

God gave thee understanding pure,
 Imparted to thee memory,
 Free will is thine,
 That so thou mayest e'er endure,
 With purpose sure,
 Knowing that He has fashioned thee
 To be divine.

But the Angel gets in advance of his charge, and gives the Devil the chance to tempt her by flattery and gifts of fine clothes and trinkets :

Devil. Whither so swift thy flight,
 Delicate dove so white ?

 Seek not to hasten hence,
 Since thou hast life and youth
 For further growth.

 Live at thy will and rest,
 Taking thy pleasure.
 Enjoy the goods of the earth,
 Seek great estates
 And worldly treasure.

Seeing the tempter at work, the Angel comes back and urges on the Soul ; but as soon as he leaves her, the Devil returns and pretends to pity her, poor, barefoot, without joy in life :

Now don this dress, thy arm goes there ;
 Put it through now, e'en thus, now stay
 Awhile. What grace !
 What finery ! I do declare
 It pleases me

When the Angel reprehends her, the Soul excuses herself :
 I do what I see others do,—
 but the Angel warns her of the consequences :

O leave these slippers now aside,
 This gaudy dress and its long train,
 Thou art weighed down,
 Lest death come on thee unespied.
 And, in thy pride,
 These thy desires and trappings vain
 Prove but thy shroud.

The Soul promises to follow in the Angel's steps, but soon falls again before the Devil's eloquence :

Devil. All things in light of reason grave
 Their seasons have.

 There is a time here for delight

 It is too early yet to die,
 Time later to repent on earth.
 And to seek Heaven.

 What think'st thou is the use of gold,
 And what the use of precious stones ?
 And for brocade

Oh, surely hold
That for the souls, the blessed ones,
They were all made.

He then decks the Soul with a necklace and rings, and offers a mirror that she may see the effect ; she is delighted, and to the Angel's protestations and warnings declares herself too weak to struggle further. The Angel encourages her by the promise that only two steps are needed to reach the place of refreshment, Mother Church and her Doctors ; and the Soul, now repentant, repulses the Devil's further temptations. Met by the Church personified, she confesses her sins, asks for help, and enters the inn with the Angel ; she is then seated at a table, and the Doctors come with four dishes, containing the instruments of the Passion, and place them on the table ; St. Augustine blesses them after a beautiful prayer, one of Gil Vicente's finest lyrics. The Soul casts off the dress and jewels which the Devil had given her, and is invited to the last course of the banquet, the crucifix, which is offered to her by St. Jerome. After it has been adored, all repair to the tomb of the Redeemer singing the *Te Deum*.

The plays of Gil Vicente had some vogue in the neighbouring country and were printed there, as in Portugal, in *folha volante*, before the collected edition of 1562 ; in fact he exercised a more fruitful influence in Spain than at home ; Menendez y Pelayo calls him 'the most national playwright before Lope de Vega' and 'the greatest figure of our primitive theatre.'

We are still without a complete critical edition of his works,¹ but from 1912 to 1922 D. Carolina Michaelis laid foundations for it in her *Notas Vicentinas*. In 1919 Braamcamp Freire devoted a stout volume to his life and the chronology of his plays ; and thanks to the energy and fine taste of Snr. Afonso Lopes Vieira some of them have been staged with success. Alone of foreign countries, England has taken a share in the Vicentian revival ; two of his pieces have been represented at Oxford, while Mr. Aubrey Bell has translated several of them and many of his wonderful lyrics.² The versions I have quoted are from his pen.

London.

¹ The task has, however, been undertaken by Snr. Marques Braga, and Vol. I was published at Coimbra in 1933.

² *Four Plays of Gil Vicente*, Cambridge, 1920 ; *Gil Vicente, The Ship of Hell*, Watford, 1929 (under the pseudonym of A. F. Gerald) ; *Lyrics of Gil Vicente*, Oxford, 1921.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By JOSEPH F. THORNING

NOW that the United States has accepted representation in the International Labour Office at Geneva, it is natural to review once more the reasons advanced for and against this country's entrance into the League of Nations.

In the first place, it must be granted that the United States has a concern in almost every major question that falls within the sphere of the League's consideration and responsibility. The two outstanding activities of the League in recent years revolved around disarmament and the tangled situation in the Far East. In the discussion of each of these questions the United States was not only represented but took a leading part. It has also co-operated in the social and humanitarian efforts of the League, notably in the suppression of the opium trade and the traffic in women and children. Washington has in fact had official representatives or unofficial observers present at Geneva whenever any question touched its interests in any part of the world.

The United States, however, has not had any direct representation in the Assembly or Council of the League, nor has it contributed financially to the upkeep of the institution. At best it has been a sort of left-handed co-operation, without the slightest degree of legal partnership or corporate responsibility.

The anomalies and disadvantages of this arrangement are obvious. It is, first of all, a blow to the moral prestige of the League not to recognize it as something more than a catspaw to draw hot chestnuts out of the fire. World solidarity is bound to be lacking as long as one of the largest and most powerful nations remains outside the fold. The members of the League can scarcely formulate long-range policies when they have no assurance of what action an important extra-legal quasi-partner will take to thwart those policies either actively or passively. Furthermore, formal abstention from the League tends to create or deepen the impression among the people of that country that they have no responsibility for conditions or difficulties in other parts of the world. Isolation of itself tends to foment isolation. Aloofness breeds aloofness. Finally, it should not be forgotten that a much better impression would be created on world opinion if the United States were to enter the League as a matter of free choice and on the basis of fundamental principle, than if it were at some later date to have recourse to the Geneva institution as a sort of political haven, a point of vantage sought only under compulsion of circumstances or from motives of temporary expediency.

On the other hand, the objections to the entrance of the United States into the League are as numerous as they are familiar. As Mr. Frank H. Simonds trenchantly remarks, 'the failure of the League arises uniquely from the fact that it is an international institution in the hands of people who can only think and act nationally.' In other words, the representatives of France, Great Britain and Italy do not by their mere presence at Geneva become citizens of or spokesmen for humanity in a Parliament of Nations, but remain the mouthpieces and automata of the Quai d'Orsay, Downing Street, and the Chigi Palace. Many critics of this situation, in the

interests of truth and straightforwardness, would prefer the old Concert of Europe or Council of Ambassadors that would throw the weight of the Great Powers in favour of or against a certain continental policy. Simply to furnish an international sounding-box at Geneva for the aspirations, ambitions or fears of a host of petty nationalisms partakes somewhat of the nature of lost motion, besides conjuring up the monumental illusion of international solidarity. A short trip through Europe, allowing intimate contacts with the native population of peasants, shopkeepers and workers, will disclose the cynicism that has been roused by the nationalistic manipulation of League personnel, and the sense of the League's impotence that is very widely entertained as a result of the failure of its peace machinery to function in the face of armed occupation and the *fait accompli*. The ordinary citizen is apt to dismiss the whole League idea as a gigantic swindle acted out with the elaborate fittings of a costume-play and the broad gesticulation of nineteenth-century drama.

These are the more general defects from which the League suffers. There are, moreover, specific obstacles to the United States participating in it. These may be grouped as follows :

1. We now enjoy all the material advantages of participation, with none of the onerous obligations of membership.

2. The American people have an instinctive dread of formal association with foreign nations in the pursuit of foreign policy that may lead, however indirectly and remotely, to an alliance for the purposes of war. Akin to this is the feeling that American statesmen are invariably worsted when they sit down at the council table with the more experienced, shrewd and far-sighted European diplomats.

3. The very eagerness of the League and its members to secure the participation of the United States makes the American people suspect that there is 'more in it' for Europe than for the United States.

4. An influential group of American citizens would oppose to the end any arrangement whereby the British Empire would enjoy superior voting power to the United States even in such an innocuous 'debating society' as the League Assembly.

5. A general belief that the United States can be of greater benefit to the League as well as to the cause of world peace by remaining outside the petty quarrels and jealousies (e. g., minority questions) that take up much of its time and attention.

Upon analysis, one must agree that many of these objections or obstacles are representative of emotional attitudes rather than of logically deduced conclusions from indisputable premisses. And yet they are not for that reason to be despised. Although lacking the objectivity and solidity of reasoned grounds of refusal, they nevertheless catch up and embody for the average man and woman of the country a good deal of practical experience. Until the process of education in these attitudes can be sublimated and altered, it would seem premature to urge the immediate entrance of the United States into the League of Nations. For the present it may suffice impartially to present the facts on both sides, to stress the principle that an association of nations is a proper ethical and Christian ideal, and that the obligation of the United States to co-operate on world problems is vital and pressing, whether this country is or is not formally represented in the League itself.

Washington.

THE CORPORATIVE IDEAL

By J. STEENKISTE

(*Concluded*)

THE STATE AND CORPORATIONS

THE very task of introducing corporations bristles with difficulties, which their growing popularity in several countries may perhaps render less formidable, but which it will require State assistance to overcome. Private initiative and the enthusiasm of the apostles of the corporative ideal can succeed in creating scattered units. But a multitude of unrelated groups, composed merely of volunteers and leaving out less willing individuals—workers and industrialists—, are bound to fail in their attempt at renovating society and economic conditions. Legislation, therefore, seems indispensable.

But what are the relations between the State and corporations? Is the corporation merely to have the status of a juridical or legal person, i.e. a person created by a fiction of law, and living only by favour of the State; or is it a natural group endowed with *real personality*, and therefore in some respects independent of the State, an institution in a way bound by its laws but at the same time secure in the possession of rights which are its own and not a creation of the State?

The choice between these two alternatives is seldom fully discussed. A distinction is briefly outlined or just mentioned between the *historical* meaning of the term

'corporation', (viz. the ancient guilds), the *juridical* meaning which applies to the Italian corporations, and the meaning attached to the term by *Social Catholics*, especially since the days of that distinguished French social worker, La-Tour-du-Fin. They understood by it, not an artificial institution, but a *professional group* which is entitled to receive the full legal recognition of the natural right, which every such group possesses, to live and organize itself in a political society. This is a rather summary disposal of the question. It would allow many to dismiss the corporation as a fad of a handful of socially-minded Catholics. Anyone who has even a bowing acquaintance with Maitland, E. Barker and Otto Gierke would object to such an off-hand treatment of the point at issue.

Modern*pluralists would certainly scorn the idea that the group, as distinct from the members composing it, is nothing more than a legal fiction. The 'group-being' for which they claim a higher personality is to many of them a reality, not merely a common idea or purpose entertained by its members. Not all groups, however, deserve to be called and treated as persons. A mere partnership, which E. Barker defines as 'a combination of individual persons for greater ease in securing their own personal benefits,' would have to be ruled out. Only those groups which 'have a genuine unity of purpose binding their members together, as members of one body, in the pursuit of a common (not individual) good, are real persons, which law must recognize by giving the fact of their real personality true legal expression.'

Professor E. Barker does not seem to endorse Gierke's views on the distinct, corporate existence of the group. It is one thing, according to him, to plead the cause of the liberty of associations; it is another to plead that associations are beings or minds or real persons. Gierke,

he adds, often confronts the reader with the dilemma : organism or mechanism ; but Barker himself proposes a third alternative, 'the organization of men, created and sustained by a common human purpose.'

Yet Gierke's doctrine differs from the positivism of Duguit which, at least in this author's earlier conceptions, does away with natural law and bases positive law on the economic fact of solidarity—which fact presumably imparts to groups their autonomous value. Though tempted by the biological organic theory, Gierke does not accept the likening of the group to a physical organism. Nor does he refer anywhere to the more recent system of Durkheim with its psychological theory of the group-mind—a social mind which thinks in and through the brains of individuals. Barker's interpretation is that 'the group he has in mind, with its group-personality and group-will, is not a psychological tissue connecting the threads of individual minds : it is a sort of higher reality, of a transcendental order, distinct from, and something superior to, the separate reality of the individual. Gierke borrows from Hegelian philosophy, rather than from group-psychology, a Hegelian world of graded manifestations of the eternal mind ; a world of values, higher and lower, which does not come within the ken of the psychologist.'

These considerations, which merely skim the surface of a large body of literature and controversy, are not irrelevant. If the corporation is a real person, the State has to deal with it according to the claims of its personality.

Gierke contends that the group 'can will, can act,' and is a person distinct from the persons who unite into the group : 'behind the legal group-person, there is a real group-being, just as there is a real individual human being behind the individual legal person.'

This view, and especially its Hegelian background, raises difficulties. Such a 'super-person' has no physical existence, and yet behaves as if it had : it has mind and will and power to act. There are group-emotions, group-thinking, group-decision, and group-life. Would it not be possible to defend Gierke's position, stripped of its Hegelian trappings ? A modern Catholic writer adopts the following definition of the personality of the group : 'a symbolical representation of a collection of spiritual *relations*' (*italics ours*). Representation is not a mere pictorial or mental substitute for an absent object : it means 'rendering present'. Nor is 'symbolical' the same as 'metaphorical' or 'fictitious' ; but the word conveys the notion of outward, sensible signs or elements in which the spiritual reality becomes, so to say, incarnated. The group, then, made up of a number of human beings linked by common spiritual bonds or *relations*, such as a common purpose, is a true moral person. The philosophical notion of relations would perhaps bring Professor Barker into closer agreement with Gierke's view.

Since the corporation is a group founded on the nature of things and a personal reality with undeniable rights, the State should recognize it, respect it, give it a legal status, promote its growth and encourage its activities. The very necessity of devolution in the over-centralized modern State, submerged in a mass of secondary affairs with which it is unable to cope, ought to persuade public authorities to promote the movement towards corporatism. It is unfortunately the general tendency of modern States to extend their intervention beyond their legitimate sphere. The personality of the State does not demand that it should swallow up the personality of the groups. The latter, on the other hand, while autonomous to the extent their nature requires, cannot usurp sovereignty and should acknowledge the State as a co-ordinating

agency, regulating group-life in so far as the common welfare of the whole nation postulates a superior unifying moral power.

THE CORPORATIVE ORDER

To judge the value and efficacy of the corporative remedy for the present ills, the genuine group system should first be given a trial. The Italian, Austrian and Portuguese experiments are not yet decisive. In none of these cases has the corporation, as described in these pages, been exactly realized or developed to its full stature. It is even contended that the corporate state in one of these instances has failed, in spite of appearances, to improve the economic outlook, in particular the condition of the workers, their wages and standard of life. Such criticism overlooks the qualification that the failure, if failure there be, is attributable, in no small measure, to world influences over which no particular State has full control.

Some estimate, however, of the corporation as a factor of serious merit, calculated considerably to improve the abnormal conditions of the present day, can be formed from its nature, aims and ideal.

A brief description of the nature of the corporation group has been attempted. It remains to sketch in a few words the general aims of the corporative organization, which together forge an ideal worthy of earnest social reformers.

Stated in the broadest terms, the corporative order has for its main object the restoration of society on a better, more normal, and genuinely moral basis. It stands midway between a defective capitalism on the one hand and the socialistic outlook on the other.

It is superfluous to rehearse the sins of capitalism ; they are public knowledge, thanks to the eagerness of

its foes to make the capitalist's confession and strike *his* breast. Capitalism, understood in a technical sense, means production with the aid of capital.¹ Fairness demands that we should acknowledge the benefits which have resulted from the system. To see nothing but evil and malignity in it savours of blind partisanship. There are in every country capitalists who realize and fulfil the letter and the spirit of their obligations. Nor is the motive and practice of profit-making unjust in itself. And the slogan 'wagery is slavery' calls for reservations. At the same time, it cannot be doubted that enormous abuses have contributed to give the system a bad name, and whatever its merits, it has helped, consciously or unconsciously, to create an abyss between the owning class and the 'propertyless'. Its excesses have led to the present deadlock and turned its victims into irreconcilable enemies. The individualism which seems to be part and parcel of the capitalistic scheme of things has wrought havoc and is yet far from being extinct.

It is these evils that corporative organizations profess to counteract. For the ethics of unrestrained individualism they substitute the human principle of *solidarity*. This word may puzzle readers who have no acquaintance with continental literature. Professor A. R. Lord offers a simple definition of the term: 'The ideal of fraternity, with equality as its condition, the two combining into a spiritual condition—for which the name of solidarity has been invented.'² Individualists forget the social aspect of human nature, the bonds uniting men, and the duties that flow from this recognition. For them the self is supreme and other selves are mere instruments or stepping-stones. The worker does not count; only his

¹ Cf. *The Christian Democrat*, February, 1933.

² *Principles of Politics*, p. 142.

work, an article of exchange like any other, has negotiable value and alone deserves regard. They forget, too, the meaning of wealth with its two functions, personal and social ; or rather, they remember the first and forget the second. The corporative system is mindful of all these principles, which are overlooked and transgressed by the rank individualist.

Its aim is to put order in these values and to neglect none. But especially the worker's position in the scale of human, social and economic values is to be vindicated, and the corporation makes it its first and foremost duty to see that this is done. How it will achieve this in practice would make a long story, and a story with different phases in every country prepared to accept and adopt the corporative solution. By its very nature the corporation would establish many points of human contact between worker and employer, provide for a share of responsibilities and enable the worker to shoulder them. To make a running commentary on a detailed scheme of universal utility, offer academic advice to specialists and statesmen, and supply a string of copy-book maxims in order to sprinkle the medley with the salt of moral advice, is obviously not our purpose here.

The principle of solidarity is one pillar of the corporative organization. The principle of human *personality* is another.

Here the corporatists join issue with Socialism in its several post-War shapes and hues : Collectivism or State Socialism, Guild Socialism, Syndicalism, and Communism. That socialists often have the interests of the worker at heart may readily be conceded. It also redounds to their credit that they have exposed the wrongs of the submerged masses and the injustice to which they have been subjected. This credit, however, is not their exclusive

possession, and others besides socialists have also taken up the cause of the workers. But their methods, their aims and the doctrine underlying both have been justly criticized. Their attitude towards religion is often one of contempt and hatred ; and where they hold the reins of power, ruthless persecution is their common practice, —in the name of the universal brotherhood of men ! They try to justify their policy by describing religion as the ally and supporter of the rich and of all those whose vested interests incline them to oppose every change as revolutionary. Violence and destruction, war to the extermination of everybody that disagrees with them or is suspected of disagreement, are relied upon as the only effective means of hastening the desired millennium.

The corporative movement does not proceed on these lines ; its protagonists are resolutely opposed to socialism in any of its *avatars*. One of their weightiest objections to socialism is that the system and its creed are not human. Society, they insist, is not a herd. It is composed of personalities endowed with definite rights which demand to be respected, and extreme socialists deliberately trample them under foot.

What is the use of rights and liberty, the socialist may argue, to the starving and destitute ? How can the oppressed resist those who have economic privilege and political power concentrated in their hands ? This is exactly what corporatism intends to remedy, but not by jettisoning man's most precious possessions and deepest instincts : his spiritual self, his needs, which, are not merely of the material order, and his tendency towards a supreme, moral Good. To exalt the community at the expense of the personality of individuals is as objectionable as to exalt that personality at the expense of the group. Socialists do the one and individualists the other.

The distinction between the social aspect of human

beings and their personality has been clearly expressed and insisted upon of late by Catholic writers in various countries ; to quote but one of them :¹

An individual is simply the unit of a number. Only individual things can, strictly speaking, be counted, and consequently only a material being can be an individual. Therefore . . . an individual as such should never be more than a part of a whole. . . . Communism wishes to destroy, not individuality—in fact that is all it wants to preserve—but personality. . . . Personality is that which makes a man a man, or in other words, a rational and free creature. It is that which makes a man more or less free and independent of material things, of his fellow-men and his own baser nature. It is that which makes a man a whole by himself. The greater the personality of a man, the greater is his independence with regard to all things below God. Personality is that which makes a man sacred.

This personality, which is the source of man's greatness, is not quite the same as the psychological personality referred to in current usage. The concept demands some effort to be grasped, as it goes beyond the received meaning of everyday parlance. But it cannot be dismissed as unreal.

Not only does the corporative order recognize personality ; its task is to harmonize personality with work and with property. The communist, logically in his own way, would destroy private ownership, which is bound up with personality and the exercise of the rights of the person. By the same logic he destroys the family and the other eternal bases on which personality rests : religion and freedom.

That harmonization will assuredly tax the energies of corporatists : to adjust work to the requirements of personal value, in particular, will be no easy matter. The skilled worker finds, it is said, delight in the intelligent performance of certain duties, even when connected with the machine. But what of the unskilled labourer ? How is he to discover in his drudgeries the necessary scope for his personality to develop ? To state the difficulty in the words of John Galsworthy :

¹ *The Commonweal*, April 20, 1934.

The tendency of modern 'Production' is to centre man's interest not in his working day but outside of it. The old artificers absorbed culture from their work. In these days culture, such as it is, is grafted on to workmen in their leisure. While at work they press buttons, turn wheels, toil with monotony at the section of an article—so many hours of machine-driving a day, the total result of which is never a man's individual achievement. The sort of specializing which consists in setting thousands of human beings during their whole working lives to such soul-destroying jobs as fixing the bristles in a hairbrush is the utter negation of human nature.

Whether it will have to try to minimize the deadening effect of truly servile labour by distributing the burden of such labour more equitably, or by increasing leisure and the occasions for cultural development, or by increasing opportunities for qualitative occupations, the corporatist leaders will not shirk their appointed mission. They will not succeed in a day, nor satisfy at once every desideratum. Nor will they promise to solve without a hitch all the momentous problems which torment a distracted world. They hope and mean to do their best, their human best, to turn to the fullest account the invaluable and yet untried resources of the corporative system to improve social, economic, moral and even political conditions, and make this world a tolerable place to live in, particularly for those less favoured by fortune and circumstances, and a happier training-ground for a better world to come. Their success will depend, in large measure, on the good will and co-operation of all who are alive to the excesses of capitalism in the past and the real dangers of a communist 'general overturn'.

Trichinopoly.

THE SHELLAC INDUSTRY

BY P. M. GLOVER AND R. W. ALDIS

THE shellac industry is of the greatest importance to India and provides employment for a very considerable number of people, from the *raiya*t who cultivates the raw product, to the middlemen, the manufacturers, the brokers, and the shippers who convey the finished article to the consumer.

The cultivation of lac is practically an Indian monopoly. It is grown over a very wide area including Assam and Burma ; but the chief areas of cultivation are Chota Nagpur, the Feudatory States of Orissa, the Central Provinces, and a few adjacent areas in Bengal and the United Provinces. This area produces about 90% of the lac of commerce, Chota Nagpur alone being responsible for 50% of India's annual output of lac. Ceylon, Java, the Federated Malay States, Indo-China and Siam produce a small amount of lac, and even of this the greater part finds its way to India, *via* Calcutta, for manufacture into shellac. The annual production of lac in India varies between 800,000 to 1,000,000 maunds, and the exports of shellac of all kinds (including seedlac) vary from 400,000 to 600,000 cwts., which are valued at between two and three crores of rupees at the present time.

The insect which produces lac is one of the scale insects and is known to science as *Laccifer lacca*. It lives as a parasite feeding on the sap-juices of certain trees, which are therefore known as lac hosts. Among the



[Reprinted from *A Practical Manual of Lac Cultivation*.
Lac on *Acacia Catechu* (Khair').

more important of these are the *Butea frondosa* (Palas), the *Schleichera trijuga* (Kusum), the *Zizyphus jujuba* (Ber), the *Acacia catechu* (Khair) and the *Zizyphus xylopyra* (Ghont). The insect starts life as a minute red-coloured larva just over half a millimetre in length. These larvae, which emerge (or *swarm*) in large numbers from the bodies of the mature female insects, are active and capable of crawling a considerable distance.

The lac from which swarming is about to occur is known as brood lac. The larvae are introduced to the host tree on which it is proposed to raise a lac crop by tying a number of sticks of brood lac to it : this is known as inoculation or infection. In order to ensure a maximum crop these trees are pruned some time prior to utilization as hosts, so that they shall bear as great a number as possible of long green succulent shoots on which the larvae may settle. The larvae settle on these young shoots, insert their mouth parts, which are in the form of a sucking tube (the *proboscis*), through the bark into the sap-carrying tissues of the tree, and start feeding by suction. The larvae, which are roughly 30% male and 70% female, begin to grow and to secrete round their bodies a coating of resin which forms a cell in which they live ; and by the coalescence of one cell with another, as resin secretion continues, a continuous or semi-continuous encrustation of lac is formed round the twigs. At a varying time after settlement of the larvae, the male insects emerge out of their small cells, fertilize the females, and die. The females never leave their cells but continue to secrete lac ; within their ovaries the eggs which will produce the young of the next generation develop ; thus the female is almost entirely responsible for the production of lac. The female insect lays her eggs within the lac cell in a space known as the incubating chamber, which is formed by a contraction of her body ; within this

chamber the eggs hatch, and the larvae emerge from it through a hole known as the Anal Tubercular Pore. When mature, the lac is cut from the tree for use as brood or for sale. This cycle occurs twice a year, but there are two series which overlap. Lac grown on trees other than Kusum swarms in June-July and October-November, giving a long and a short crop termed the *Baisakhi* and the *Katki*. Lac grown on Kusum, or on other trees using Kusum brood, swarms in June-July and February-March, giving two crops of approximately equal duration known as the *Jethwi* and the *Aghani*.

After being cut from the tree the lac may be sold for manufacture before the larvae have emerged, in which case it is known as *ari* ; or it may be sold after swarming, when it is called *phunki*. The process of manufacture consists of three steps. The lac is first scraped away from the stick by hand or in the case of Kusum lac it is crushed in a roller-crusher, then crushed into small grains, and any pieces of stick removed by picking and winnowing. The next process is that of washing to remove the soluble impurities and the red-coloured lac dye, the resulting product being called seedlac. A certain amount of seedlac is sold, but the greater part is converted into shellac. This is done by melting it in long sausage-shaped cloth bags, about two inches in diameter, before a charcoal fire. During the heating process the bag is twisted, and this pressure, combined with heat, squeezes the melted resin material out through the cloth. The plastic mass is well basted by means of an iron spoon in order to mix its constituents, resin and wax. Then, if button shellac is being made, small quantities of the molten material are dropped on to a zinc sheet, where they spread out into circular buttons about three inches in diameter and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick. If sheet shellac is being made, a portion of the molten material is spread out into



Scraping *Zizyphus Jujuba* lac from the twig.
Reprinted from *A Practical Manual of Lac Cultivation*.

a thin sheet on the surface of a porcelain cylinder containing hot water. The sheet so formed is then removed and stretched into a large thin sheet which is broken up when cold, the resulting flakes being the shellac of commerce.

This process, while fairly efficient, results in a number of by-products which sell at a low price and yet contain quite a high percentage of shellac. Of these the more important are *molamma*, a dust-like substance separated from the seedlac ; *kiri*, the dirt and refuse which remains in the bag after the melting process and which is removed by splitting open the bag and lifting it out ; and finally *pasewa*, which is obtained from the cloth of the bags by boiling them after use in diluted soda solution.

Lac yields two distinct products, a dye similar to cochineal, which is also an insect product, and a resin. In early days it was the dye which made up the bulk of the trade, but with the discovery of aniline dyes, both cochineal and lac dye trades came to an end. Fortunately, about this time the importance of the resin and the methods of utilizing it had been discovered in Europe, and it is now the resin which makes up the lac trade.

Lac has been known from very early times : in the *Periplus*, written about 80 A. D., lac dye is mentioned as being conveyed to Aduli on the African coast of the Red Sea ; and in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (about 1590) it is recorded that Akbar the Great made use of the resin mixed with pigment to prepare varnishes for the screens of public buildings. The first recorded export of lac to Europe took place about 1607. At the present time the consuming countries in order of importance are the United Kingdom, America and the Continent.

The industries into which shellac enters are many and varied. The most important is the gramophone

industry which absorbs 30 to 40% of the annual output ; the electrical and paint and varnish industries utilize about 35% ; and the hatting trade a further 10%. Other industries include such diverse projects as sealing-wax manufacture, photographic work, the confectionary trade, munitions and fireworks.

From the manifold uses to which shellac is put, it might be supposed that it holds a safe place in the world market. This is not, however, the case. For although shellac has not been synthesized and no product has yet been produced in the laboratory capable of fulfilling its manifold uses, synthetic substitutes have been produced which are extremely satisfactory for the purpose for which they are designed. Among these, Bakelite, a phenol-formaldehyde condensation product, is now largely used in the electrical trade. In the varnish trade this and other aldehyde condensation products and cellulose preparations are firmly established, partly owing to the ease with which they can be applied. The shellac record still stands supreme in the gramophone industry, though attempts have been made to oust it. Another direction in which synthetics have made great strides is in the now rapidly developing moulding industry. The synthetic resin industry is extremely well organized and has progressed very rapidly in spite of trade depression.

One of the difficulties in the shellac trade is the fluctuations which occur in its price. Besides, since cultivation is largely in the hands of poor and uneducated *raiya*ts, crops tend to be neglected when prices are low, and to be cut indiscriminately without due provision for the future when prices are high. Finally, a number of factors may result in short crops, the most important being climate, faulty methods of cultivation, and insect pests.

Owing to these facts and to the possibility, not then very serious, of competition from synthetics, the Government of India instituted an inquiry which was carried out by H. A. F. Lindsay, C. B. E., I. C. S., (now Sir H. A. F. Lindsay) and C. M. Harlow, I. F. S., with the object of placing the industry on a sound economic basis. Its report, which was published in 1921, recommended research into the subject. For this purpose the Indian Lac Research Institute was started in August, 1925, at Namkum, five miles from Ranchi, in the very heart of the principal lac-growing area. It is provided with laboratories for biochemical, entomological and physico-chemical research, and has its own lac factory, which was completed in 1930, and a plantation in which as many as possible of the important lac hosts are represented.

The primary object of research was to devise improved methods of cultivation, to improve the quality of lac produced by growing healthy strains, and to minimize the effect of insect enemies. Later, the scope of research was widened to include such important projects as the counteraction of the inroads of synthetic substitutes, and to find new uses for shellac in the industries which were rapidly being developed by the synthetic resin trade.

A brief description of a few of the principal activities of the Institute will give the reader an opportunity to judge the considerable importance of its work.

A thorough survey has been made of the life-cycle of the lac insect, a *sine qua non* of all further research ; and a similar survey of its relationship to its host-tree is partially completed. This, together with an investigation of the bionomics of *L. lacca*, has enabled the Institute to give valuable recommendations as to resistant and healthy resin-secreting strains and advice on the kind of host-trees to be utilized for each crop, and in general to advocate improvements in the methods of lac cultivation.

A study of the time and method of pruning host-trees has led to important conclusions as regards the production of the maximum number of suitable shoots for colonization by the lac insect in the shortest possible time.

An examination of the morphology and anatomy of the lac insect has shown that the female insect is alive at the time of swarming, and has led to the evolution of a simple method of forecasting when swarming will occur and thereby avoiding the too early or too late cutting of lac for use as brood. The factors governing swarming and fertility have also been determined, and valuable results have been obtained on the safe despatch of brood-lac on long journeys at reduced temperature, and on the inducement of swarming from brood-lac in which it has been delayed by adverse conditions.

Research work of the utmost importance has been and is being carried out on the insect enemies of the lac crop and on the methods by which they may be controlled. Two main types of enemy occur: Parasites and Predators; the former, of which there are about eight species, belong to the *Chalcidoidea*. The annual damage done by these enemies has, however, been shown to be under 5%. Among the Predators, two insects of prime importance occur, the caterpillars of the following moths: the *Eublemma amabilis* (*Noctuidae*), and the *Holcocera pulverea* (*Blastobasidae*). Both species are cosmopolitan in lac-growing areas, and their combined damage amounts to approximately 35%. A careful study of these insects and of their relationship with the lac insect has enabled the Institute to recommend controls of sufficient simplicity to be carried out by the *raiyats* who are the main cultivators of lac. Besides, a thorough survey of the insect enemies of these lac predators has resulted in the discovery of certain insects which can be bred in the laboratory and are parasitic on the larvae of these moths. The

possibility of using these insects to control the predator enemies is under investigation, and promises well.

Pests of the trees on which lac is grown are also enemies of the cultivator in that they retard growth, divert part of the tree-energy which might be nourishing the lac insect, and may in some cases even kill the trees they attack. These pests are largely sporadic, and measures are devised against them as they occur.

The work done by the Institute on the chemistry and technology of shellac covers a very wide field.

The problems of shellac manufacture have been examined, and information on new mechanical means of purification (e.g. solvent extraction) has been collected. It is not advisable at the present moment to modify the traditional process, since the consumer has learned to judge and appreciate the quality of hand-made shellac. This is a factor which time will undoubtedly change, but meanwhile the possibility of improving the uses of by-products, the large percentage of which is the chief disadvantage of the old process, is being studied.

It has been discovered that one of the most important by-products, *Kiri*, can be used in the manufacture of moulded plastics. *Kiri* is extracted with solvents to get the shellac into solution. This solution is mixed into a paste with finely powdered wood. The paste is dried and ground and is then called 'moulding powder'. This powder is heated under pressure in a closed steel mould; the shellac fuses, and on being cooled cements the wood into a moulding which is strong, does not break when dropped, and has a pleasant polish. From one steel mould several thousands of mouldings can be turned out rapidly and cheaply. The cost of this moulding powder is only a few annas per seer.

Other investigations have been directed to the varnish industry. Although shellac is highly valued by this

industry, it suffers from a few defects the removal of which would undoubtedly extend its usefulness. Of these defects the low water resistance of shellac is perhaps the most important. Considerable work has been done on the possibility of improving this property, and interesting results have been obtained. It has been discovered that the addition of small quantities of certain chemicals to shellac varnish results in the varnish film undergoing a profound change on drying. It loses its solubility in alcohol, alkalis and other solvents, and becomes remarkably resistant to water. A polish for table tops and other furniture is being developed which will be non-spotting with water, i.e., water will leave no white spot on its surface as it does on ordinary French polish.

Work is also being undertaken on the problem of standardizing shellac products. There are a large number of different grades, 'marks' and types of shellac, button-lac and seedlac on the market. This causes considerable confusion to the ultimate consumer. The possibility of establishing a series of standard grades into which each existing grade could be fitted is being examined by the careful analysis of the various commercial types of shellac.

Close touch is kept with the producing and consuming industries by the Information Bureau of the Institute, which freely offers its advice and assistance on all problems connected with the production and use of shellac.¹

Namkum. (Ranchi)

¹ A detailed account is given in *Lac and the Indian Lac Research Institute*, which may be had from the Director.

THE OBERAMMERGAU PASSION PLAY

BY MARK STRAHL

PLAGUE broke out in 1631 in the villages around Oberammergau in Bavaria. While village after village succumbed, Oberammergau remained untouched for two years, thanks to the rigorous quarantine it enforced on the outside world. For two years these preventive measures were successful. But one day Kaspar Schisler, who had hired himself out as a humble day-labourer in the plague-stricken village of Eschenlohe, felt an uncontrollable desire to return to his wife and children. Perhaps he already felt the finger of death and wished to see his loved ones once more. Perhaps he merely desired to ascertain that they had bread to eat and a roof to cover them. He evaded the quarantine and returned to Oberammergau. The next day he was seized with the dread disease. On the third day he was among the dead. And within less than a month eighty-four of the villagers had perished.

The people of Oberammergau were appalled. If this plague were not stayed, there would soon not be enough living men to bury the dead. To whom could they turn in their distress? They made a solemn vow to God that if the plague stopped they would act Our Lord's Passion every ten years to the praise and glory of His name. Heaven mercifully accepted their vow. The plague stopped.

At once the villagers prepared themselves for the fulfilment of their vow; and in 1634 the Passion Play took place. Whether this was its first performance cannot be said with certainty. It is likely that it was a resumption of an old custom which had fallen into disuse.

The spirit of last year's tercentenary Passion Play may be gauged from the Introduction to the official text: 'If we celebrate this year the tercentenary of the existence of our play, we do so, not in the spirit of pride and presumption, but entirely with the

consciousness of the responsibility that must rest upon us in the performance of so holy a task.' And it is in the same spirit that we must judge it. For besides being a sacred drama, it is to the performers an act of devotion. It is not their aim to shine in the histrionic art, but to execute their rôles in a way worthy of the occasion.

But the deep impression which the play leaves on those who see it disarms all criticism. For the sacredness of the play, and more especially the sincere devotion and reverent attitude of those who represent it, raises it above the region of ordinary drama, and consequently also above the common standards of criticism. Indeed, the artists need have little fear of criticism, since the excellence of their acting so fascinates the onlooker that he is only with difficulty able to withdraw his mind from the contemplation of the subject, to analyse its means of representation.

A visitor was so struck with the play that he asked to see the director. What was his astonishment on being ushered into the presence of young Father Daisenberger ! 'I', said the Father, 'undertook to educate my parishioners to their dramatic vocation.' He had thought it necessary to present the Gospel history, not through a mere statement of facts, but in its connection with the types, figures and prophecies of the Old Testament. Hence we find the scenes of the Passion continually interspersed with scenes or *tableaux vivants* from the Old Testament which are types or prophecies of them. Thus, Christ's parting from his Mother at Bethany is foreshadowed by a *tableau* of the Bride in the Cantic of Canticles lamenting the absent bridegroom, and by another of Tobias taking leave of his parents before setting out with the archangel Raphael. Before the Last Supper, there is an impressive *tableau* of the manna in the desert. The sale of Joseph to the Medianites for twenty pieces of silver naturally leads to Judas's betrayal of his Master for thirty silver coins. Judas's despair is prefaced by Cain's. Jesus carrying the Cross is preceded by Isaac carrying the wood of the sacrifice to Mount Moriah ; the Crucifixion is preceded by the hoisting of the brazen serpent.

Thus Daisenberger has with great skill brought home to the audience the meaning of St. Augustine's words : 'In the Old Testament the New lies hidden : in the New the Old is made plain.'¹

¹ In *Exodum*, Quaestio LXXIII.

And lest these *tableaux* should lose their meaning and become an aimless display he has made the intervals between the acts an instructive diversion. Scarcely has the curtain fallen on a scene when from the colonnade halls on either side of the stage the choir of *Schutzgeister* (Guardian-Angels) slowly and solemnly come forth. They are led by the *choragus*, vested in brilliant robes, and carrying in his hand a ball-capped golden staff surmounted by a cross, as a sign of distinction. It would be difficult to picture a more dignified and unaffected choir. They wear a long white alb and a coloured mantle with ample folds, and a golden diadem on the head. Twice, however, these brilliant robes are exchanged for black—immediately before and after the crucifixion. They are resumed at the close, when the play ends with a burst of Hallelujahs over the Ascension of Christ.

The choir consists of forty-eight singers. Having ranged themselves in the fore-stage in a semicircle on either side of the *choragus*, the latter recites the prologue clearly and impressively. Then the choir bursts into song to explain the *tableau* which is to follow. An orchestra of fifty instruments accompanies the singers. In order to reveal the *tableau* the singers now divide into two graceful files on either side of the centre-stage. The curtain slowly parts and the picture appears. All the while such matchless arrangements of colour and form mingle with the tuneful strains of the choir that it becomes a feast at once for eye and ear. When the curtain closes over the *tableau*, the choristers resume their former position, singing all the while. When the singing is over, half of them file off to the right and half to the left, and the play proper begins. This is the procedure throughout the play.

If the community of Oberammergau have found in Daisenberger an able dramatizer, he has found in these isolated mountain villagers competent interpreters of his drama. Of the histrionic talents of these people there can be no two opinions. 'I have been in many theatres,' said a friend of mine, 'but I have never seen such wonderful acting.' No doubt the subject is of absorbing interest and skilfully dramatized; but this in itself would not prevent such a long drama, if poorly acted, from exhausting the audience. That the Passion Play holds your attention for four hours, and this, not once, but twice in the day, without the slightest mental fatigue, is conclusive proof of its excellence. As you watch

the momentous events of the Passion unfold themselves, unwittingly you lose all sense of the theatrical. In imagination you fancy yourself a contemporary with Christ on earth. You become a sympathetic onlooker in the tragedy of 1900 years ago.

In the person of Alois Lang you see Christ, as man, subject to all kinds of human tribulations, physical and mental. He becomes for you a shining example of every virtue. Here and there appears a glimpse of His power and divinity, not of powerlessness and constraint : 'He was offered because He willed it' (Is. 53,7). You see His meekness as He enters Jerusalem, mounted on an unwilling little grey donkey, surrounded by a throng of people shouting loud Hosannas. You see Him in His power when, in holy indignation He ejects the usurers, money-changers, buyers and sellers out of His Father's temple. You see His courtesy in the house of Simon, and His wonderful forbearance with Judas : 'Friend Judas', says Jesus to him, 'look at me ; is that which is done for me, thy Master, waste ?' When Judas pleads solicitude for the poor, He says again with all mildness : 'The poor you have always with you, but me you have not always.' The whole attitude of Christ here shows grief at the estrangement of this wayward disciple. He foresees that his avarice will make him the 'son of perdition'.

It would be impossible in an article to give an adequate idea of every scene in the Passion Play. But one at least must be described. I choose the rôle of Judas, because it seems to me the most difficult, and yet the best acted, in the play. Father Daisenberger has ably portrayed the character of Judas ; and no less ably does Hans Zwink act his part. Though vehement at times, he is always restrained in word and act. He is not the monster Judas, but the erring Judas. Till the final betrayal he is constantly with his Master. But he is the purse-bearer, and their common purse is almost empty. He has heard the Master repeatedly hint at His departure and death. He is in dread of poverty. He must provide for the future. The Sanhedrin bargain with him. They offer him thirty pieces of silver. The money is paid out to him and he betrays his Master. He sees little harm in it. His Master will surely know how to extricate himself from His enemies.

In two further scenes Judas is now fully conscious of the consequences of his crime. The Master must die !—he never expected such an eventuality. In his despair he bursts in upon the Council,

asking if it is true that they have sentenced Christ to death. They tell him : 'Christ must die.' Desperately he cries : 'Woe is me, I have betrayed the just, ye bloodthirsty judges, ye have betrayed the innocent.' Caiphas reminds him of his bargain, and offers him more money. 'I will have no more,' shouts Judas, 'I cancel this shameful bargain. Let the innocent go free ! I demand of you the innocent ! My hand shall be clean of his blood.' 'Thou shameful traitor,' retorts a priest, 'wilt thou dictate to the High Council ? Thy master dies and thou hast delivered him to death.' Judas seems dazed. 'He dies ! Then am I lost.' He raves out of the room and screams : 'Ye bloodhounds, have back your accursed blood-money !' So saying, he throws the purse down at the feet of the Sanhedrin. Caiphas, taken aback at the energetic denunciation of the frantic man, and somewhat in pity, asks him why he had made the bargain without reflection. 'What is it to us ? cry several of the priests. It is thine own concern !' 'Then will my soul be lost,' cries the maddened Judas, 'and you . . . (Silence ! Out from here !, shout all the priests) . . . you will all sink into hell with me !' With this he rushes from the room.

Only once more does Judas appear as sole actor, in a moving scene which makes the strings of compassion vibrate in every heart. The curtain parts upon the inner stage, revealing a desolate and gloomy landscape. Among bare rocks there looms against the sky the withered skeleton of a blasted tree. To this place Judas wanders after his ejection from the Sanhedrin. His restless agitation shows the agony of his remorse. He knows not where to go. No place is so secluded, none so dark, as to hide his shame. He walks about aimlessly here and there ; then he sits on a rugged stone, crumples up, with arms hanging limp on either side and head drooping low upon his knees, an abject picture of misery. All the while he soliloquizes : 'Oh, that the earth would swallow me up !' Thoughts of the Master he has betrayed rise up before him, of His love and goodness, of His timely warnings when he was already brooding treason. 'Accursed avarice,' he cries, 'which led me astray and made me blind and deaf ! Alas ! no longer a disciple, never more may I appear before the face of any of the brethren ! An outcast I, hated and abhorred by all, branded as a traitor even by those who led me astray ! I wander about with a burning fire in my heart. Oh ! if I might look on the Master's

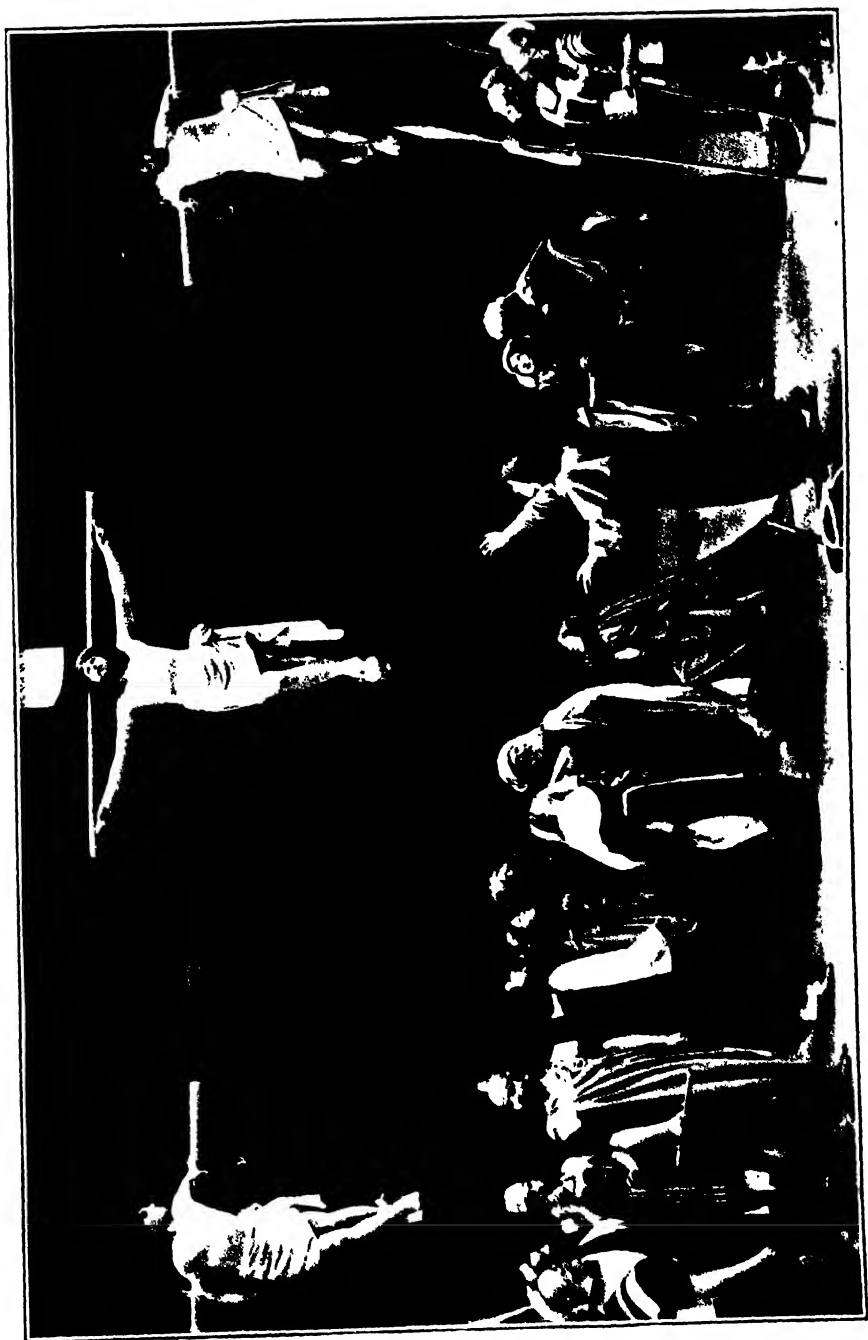
face once more, I would cling to Him as my only anchor ! But He lies in prison, has perhaps been slain already by His enemies. Ah, no ! by my guilt, by my fault ! I am the abhorred one who has brought Him to prison and death ! Woe to me, the scum of men ! There is no help or hope for me ! My crime is too great, it can be expiated by no penance ! For He is dead and I . . . I am His murderer.' He curses the hour in which his mother gave him birth, he wanders aimlessly about, heedless of all around him. Presently he catches sight of the withered tree. He stops, regarding it intently. Its extended arm offers him a terrible refuge from his present misery. He can endure this no longer, he will destroy himself. 'Not one step further,' he cries. 'Here, O life accursed, here will I end thee ! Ha ! Come, thou serpent, entwine my neck and strangle the betrayer.' With feverish haste he then unties the girdle from his waist and places the fatal noose round his neck. As he mounts a boulder and throws the other end of the girdle across the overhanging branch, the curtain is drawn.

Thus ends the life of the impulsive Judas. His better qualities lie dormant, withered by the curse of avarice, and show themselves only when face to face with the terrible consequences of his betrayal. His despair is well expressed in the introductory song of the choristers :

The guilty deed fails not to win its wages,
 The guiltless blood he sold cries from the ground ;
 Driven to madness by the worm that rages,
 And scourged by furies, Judas ranges round
 Wildly, and finds no rest
 From the fire in his breast ;
 Till, swept away by bitterest despair,
 He flings away in reckless haste
 The load of life he can no longer bear.¹

We might similarly describe the entry of Christ into Jerusalem, His condemnation by Pilate, and the Via Dolorosa, in which no less than six to seven hundred actors take part. In every scene we find the same artistic perfection of arrangement. The Renaissance artists, chiefly those of the Italian and Spanish schools, who through their works have built up in our minds an ideal of each

¹ Official English translation.



THE OBERAMMERGAU PASSION PLAY 483

person connected with Christ's Passion, are followed as closely as possible, not in costume only, but in the very physiognomy of the personages. As the actors appear on the stage, you do not need to be told whom they represent. You have seen them all before in Titian or Raphael or Murillo.

When the curtain has fallen over the final *tableau* of the Ascension and the choir of Angels have sung the closing hymn of triumph over the victory of Christ, one asks oneself how the Passion Play has affected the audience? It has brought home to the mind the sufferings of the Saviour more vividly than picture, sermon or meditation. Again and again one feels moved to tears. Many a groan and sob of compassion for the suffering Christ is heard during the play. It would take a heart of stone to leave Oberammergau without being changed for the better. It may, indeed, seem to some sacrilegious for an ordinary human being to play the Saviour on the stage, for one does not associate religious reverence with the modern stage. But the fact that ninety-nine out of every hundred persons who enter the hall with a prejudiced mind come out enthusiastic in its favour is sufficient evidence of the success of the play. We have here a sermon on the Passion of Christ *plus* the most perfect form of illustration.

All praise is, therefore, due to the community of Oberammergau for their unswerving fidelity to their vow for the past three hundred years. Their Passion Play is a reminder of the religious origin of the European drama and a survival of a powerful instrument of religious edification and teaching in the Middle Ages.

St. Mary's Abbey, Buckfast.



A POLITICAL NOTEBOOK

By "PUBLIUS"

THE NEW INDIAN CONSTITUTION .

AT long last the Indian Constitution, proposed in part by the Simon Commission five years ago, sketched in outline by Round Table Conferences of representative Englishmen and Indians, drafted by the British Cabinet in a White Paper, elaborated by a Joint Parliamentary Select Committee, debated in Parliament for the longer part of a year, has become the law of the land. It is not the ideal constitution for India. But then it would have required an ideal India—an India free from internal disunion and communal distrust, unhampered by the unequal political development of Indian States and British Indian provinces or by the disproportion between social progress and political ambition, undamaged by the purely tactical extremism of Indian as well as English die-hards. It is the best constitution in and for the unfortunate circumstances of India ; and as such it should be philosophically accepted and practically worked, especially as it will not be long before it will have to be amended.

The Act of 1935¹ will not set a term to political agitation in the country. Apart from the general causes of political unrest, the new constitution itself contains provisions that will stimulate discontent. The introduction of dyarchy in the Central government, the omission to provide for the fixation of responsibility, especially financial responsibility, on the transferred part of the Central government, the omission to provide for the

peaceful development of the constitution from within itself, the omission to provide for the progressive Indianization of the civil and military services of the country—these errors of omission and commission in the new constitution make it as open to easy and constant attack as provincial dyarchy has been in the last fifteen years. It may, therefore, be said to contain the germs, not the seeds, of progress.

A SURPRISING AMENDMENT

While the Constitution Bill was passing through Parliament, the latter was content just to dot the i's and cross the t's of the proposals of its own Select Committee. And that was so till almost the eve of its passage through the House of Lords. The amendments about which the representatives of certain Indian States made so much noise were calculated to satisfy the *amour propre* of the Indian princes. But the princes, their ministers and their learned counsel were satisfied—they must be easy to satisfy if these amendments satisfied them—and the cause of Indian federation was saved, at a cheap price. More serious and substantial was the amendment passed by the House of Lords, whereby the system of direct election was introduced in regard to the composition of the upper chamber of the federal legislature, the Council of State. While retaining the system of indirect election denounced by English and Indian opinion for the composition of the first chamber, the House of Assembly, the Lords have devised direct election for the second. This is against all the principles that have hitherto governed the constitution of Second Chambers. These are intended to be more conservative bodies, less dependent on popular feeling, exercising a steadying influence on the more popular branch of the

legislature. The result of the amendment is that the Council of State will be the more popular branch of the federal legislature, will be more in touch with popular feeling, more responsible to the people than the first chamber, by which, indeed, it will now have to be steadied. Why did the Lords do it? Did they want to do the wise thing by introducing direct election somewhere in the composition of the federal legislature, and being precluded by the great majority in the Commons from interfering with indirect election to the House of Assembly, did they try their reforming hand at the Council of State? Or was it the high property qualifications of the electors of the Council of State that tempted them to do a bit of reform on their own account? Anyway, the Lords have made the less powerful of the two chambers the more democratic. The humour of the result is made still more precious by the fact that in the case of certain minority communities, the Indian Christians, the Anglo-Indians, and the Europeans, the system of indirect election is to apply! If it were only a humorous situation that has been created by these fantastic proceedings of the Lords, one would be grateful to them for adding to the gaiety of Indian politics. But the ultimate results may take on the grimness of tragedy. Conflicts between the chambers of the Federal Assembly are bound to occur. They will be made more frequent and more bitter because the Council of State may always claim that it had some part of the people behind it, whereas the House of Assembly was one stage removed from the people. Why will they do such things? At the time the Montagu-Chelmsford Act was on the anvil, the Joint Select Committee thought it would do the popular thing by creating a non-official majority in the Legislative Assembly. They confronted it with an irremovable executive, and we have had to

live under the constitutional conflicts of the last fifteen years. Now the Lords make the Council of State more democratic than the more powerful branch of the federal legislature, and we shall have another armed crop from the dragon's teeth they have sown.

THE INDIAN FEDERATION

India is going to have a federal form of government. Not only has the Government of India provided for its formation, but the major Indian princes have agreed to join it. It will be like nothing on earth. It deviates widely from type. The union of federal units that are in different stages of political development, the right of each Indian State to choose the subjects of government which it shall consider to be federal—beyond a certain small minimum of common federal subjects,—the absence of any clear-cut distinction between federal sources of taxation and those open to the Indian States, the operation of the doctrine and practice of Paramountcy in regard to the Indian States, place the Indian federation in a class by itself. It is not a unitary State, for both the British Indian provinces and the Indian States have a large measure of autonomy and even sovereignty ; nor a confederation, for it is a permanent union, with no nonsense about rights of secession, for certain, though very few, permanent national purposes ; nor a federation, as political science would have it. Politics is an experimental science, in which are no permanent models, and most political questions are solved *ambulando*.

But even as it is, the Indian federation is a great step forward in the political progress of the people. It is to be celebrated not because, as has been so generally contended, for the first time in her history, India has been brought under a common government. That good fortune happened to India nearly a hundred years ago,

when the Indian States and the British Indian provinces were brought under the common, unitary, centralized government of the Crown. The advance denoted by federation is that new and fruitful ideas of government have come to bind the whole of India together. Federation is government by contract, by agreement, by discussion, by freedom. Although it may be true that just at present in most Indian States there may be little government by agreement or discussion or by the way of democracy, the association of Indian States with popularly governed British Indian provinces in a common federal government will soon introduce the ideas of freedom and democracy in the States. Even good company changes manners.

A GUIDE TO THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

The Government of India Act, 1935, is a prodigious constitutional document. Dominie Sampson, if he had read it, would have emitted his favourite exclamation as he turned each page over. In the Indian edition, it is contained in an octavo volume of 431 pages. Not since constitutions began to be written down has such a formidable-looking document been published. With its 478 sections, 16 schedules, and forms and lists, it is a veritable maze. 'A constitution ought to be simple and short,' said Napoleon. 'It ought to be short and obscure,' replied Talleyrand. The Government of India Act would have pleased Talleyrand, for it is long and, on account of the many difficult and complicated questions it has to deal with, obscure.

To such a long and difficult legal document a guide is welcome. Messrs. Eddy and Lawton must be congratulated on the promptitude with which they have produced this handy and reliable manual of the Indian constitution.¹

¹ *India's New Constitution (A Survey of the Government of India Act, 1935)* by J. P. Eddy and F. H. Lawton. Pp. XI+239. Macmillan & Co., Price Rs. 4.

It is also an efficient production, for they have compressed the ponderous Act into a duodecimo volume of 239 pages, leaving nothing important or relevant out. By means of bold type they call the attention of the reader to the peculiar and characteristic sections of the Act. The numerous body of students of constitutional law at our universities will be especially grateful to the authors for their frequent citation of, and reference to, constitutional cases, not only in India, but in England and the Dominions.

THE ESSENTIALS OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

Now that some kind of parliamentary government is to be introduced in India, it is good to be reminded of the essentials of this form of government. Such a reminder comes in time from R. Bassett in *Essentials of Parliamentary Democracy*.¹ It begins with a study of the British political system, and goes on to discuss the ideas and practices that are absolutely necessary for the efficient functioning of parliamentary government. From a survey of British political history the author shows how much the two-party system, the only real kind of party system, has helped the smooth working of parliamentary government and even the possibility of parliamentary democracy. For the proper functioning of the two-party system not only must neither party be revolutionary, for 'revolutionary measures and policies lead inevitably to revolutionary situations,' and these latter are incompatible with parliamentary government—but also a practice of co-operation and compromise between the two parties for the sake of the common good of the country. Proceeding to an analysis of democracy, Mr. Bassett finds that 'the essential thing to insist upon is that democracy is a method of arriving at political decisions.' He will have

¹ Pp. XVI+259. Macmillan & Co., 1935. Price 7s. 6d.

nothing to do with descriptions of democracy as 'a kind of social life, a kind of civilization.' I do not suppose he would deny that even democracy as a method presupposes a certain kind of social life or a certain kind of civilization, for not all political methods can be used by all peoples in all circumstances. Democracy, according to him, does not consist in getting certain things done, but in a certain *way* of doing them 'by which every citizen has the opportunity of participating through discussion in an attempt to reach voluntary agreement as to what shall be done for the good of the community as a whole.' Therefore 'the right of the majority to act upon its purposes is not unconditional,' 'the minority having limiting rights ; the right to influence the conduct of public affairs by the free expression of its opinion and by free political association ; and the right to have its wishes and interests taken into consideration.' In view of this definition and description of democracy, to ensure the success of parliamentary democracy there need be no agreement on fundamentals about social organization or ways of life or the foundations of society. All the agreement that is requisite is 'common agreement to seek agreement,' so that even the revolutionary aims of Congress in India are not incompatible with parliamentary democracy, provided Congress does not try to achieve its purposes by extra-parliamentary threats of dictatorship or disobedience, but will resort to parliamentary discussion and co-operation and compromise with other parties in India. Political fanaticism or zealotry, the achievement of democratic ends by means of dictatorship or by resort to direct action, are all opposed to the democratic method of government.

Students of politics will feel refreshed by Mr. Bassett's book, and the numerous body of public men in India will find wise guidance in it. The reading of solid political

literature is unfortunately not yet a regular habit among politicians in India. The daily newspaper and, at the most, a weekly review or monthly magazine, now and then relieved by a Government blue book or white paper, seems to be as much as the average politician can manage. But if political truth and the progress of the country, and not mere tactical victories against Government or rival political parties, are the objective, the study, every year, of one or two serious books on politics is not an excessive prescription.

THE ACCEPTANCE OF OFFICE

A great political organization in India is busy considering the question whether its members should, if they are elected to the provincial and federal legislatures in sufficient majorities, accept office. The authorities of Congress will consider the *pros* and *cons* of the matter and decide in its best interests. They will see, for instance, whether by accepting office they will not lose the popularity which they now enjoy of not having done anything by way of governing the country and administering its affairs. The limitations of office, its responsibilities, its difficulties, will not make it possible for them to carry out the pledges and promises they have been making to the people. The special 'safeguards' of the new Constitution will make this even more difficult. On the other hand, they may be able here and there to realize some of their ideas in legislative or administrative policy and give the country the experience of a political change. They may gain considerable political reputation and lose much of their popularity by accepting office. It is for Congress to decide whether it will incur these gains and risks.

But what independent political observers and those interested in the real political progress of the people are

concerned about, is the spirit in which Congressmen will use this instrument of acceptance of office. Will they accept office in order to get the best out of it for the good of the country, or will they do it in order 'to wreck the reforms'? If their object is only to show their abhorrence of the reforms, they need not go to the expense and worry of elections and undergo the nervous and moral strain of accepting office against their natural leanings. If Congressmen enter the Councils and accept office, it must be because they think they can thereby do good to the country, and they must stay there as long as there is the smallest chance of doing the least. For, if their claims to superiority to other parties are well-founded, their 'least' must be better than the 'most' of these other parties. The new constitution cannot be wrecked—there are enough provisions in it for the carrying on of the government of the country whatever Congressmen may do to it.

Moreover, as Mr. Bassett points out, 'obstruction in parliament or elsewhere is clearly contrary to the democratic method.' For that method requires co-operation, compromise, agreement with other parties. Revolutionary processes like wrecking a constitution must be gone through outside parliamentary legislatures. Every political instrument must serve the purpose for which it is shaped, or it will either break or hurt the people who misuse it. Council entry and acceptance of office, if they are not used for purely parliamentary purposes, will ruin the reputation of Congress. The comparative history of the Irish Nationalist Party and of Sinn Fein holds more than one lesson for the Indian National Congress. If it cannot shed its revolutionary methods it had better stay out and let those that believe in parliamentary methods work the reforms.



SOME RECENT BOOKS

DHARMA

Dharma and Society. By Gualtherus H. Mees, M. A. (Cantab.), LL.D. (Leyden). Pp. xvi + 206. London : Luzac, 1935. Price : paper, 9s. 6d ; cloth, 12s. 6d.

It is a tribute to the comprehensiveness of the word *Dharma* that it has taken Dr. Mees more than two hundred pages to define it. To those who have some acquaintance with Hindu thought this is not a new wonder, for they are aware of how many different and at least seemingly contradictory ideas are made to hide under harmless words like *ātma*, *māyā*, *varna*, *vidyā*, *avidyā*, *moksha*. . . . But Dr. Mees seems to feel bewildered by the meanings and shades of meaning which *Dharma* begins to take on as soon as he follows his authorities from the *Rig-Veda* down to Ramsay Macdonald and Venkateswara :

Sometimes we find *Dharma* as a mythological personage . . . (p. 6). At times *Dharma* appears to be something like the old Rita . . . (p. 9). Sometimes *Dharma* is ethical . . . (p. 1). Sometimes *Dharma* is taken in the sense of good works or merit (*punya*). . . . Sometimes, apart from being law, convention or an ideal, *Dharma* may be a religious duty . . . (p. 12). Sometimes *Dharma* is seen as identical with God, or the Absolute Sometimes *Dharma* is considered to be Divine Justice . . . (p. 13). Quite often *Dharma* is convention . . . (p. 14).

Embarrassed by all this oriental complexity, Dr. Mees digs for the etymology of *Dharma*, and discovers the root *dhar*. But Sanskrit roots are often as delightfully vague as the trees which live on their sap ; and *dhar* may have such different meanings as to hold, keep, sustain, support, maintain, owe. So he finally decides to quote a modern Hindu, Dr. Bhagavan Das, who ends a long dissertation with the following summary :

Briefly, *dharma* is characteristic property, scientifically ; duty, morally and legally ; religion with all its proper implications, psycho-physically and spiritually ; and righteousness and law, generally, but Duty above all.¹

Dr. Mees feels he may now rest, for he says : 'Of all the definitions I have found (and there is no subject of which there are more divergent definitions !), it is the most enlightening.' (p. 1). We confess that it makes the darkness only the more visible, though this is certainly a preparation for light.

Another will-o'-the-wisp of foreign Indologists is the word *Varna*. Professor Kern, speaking on this subject to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Amsterdam on March 13, 1871, had said : 'The great point is to distinguish between the natural classes, or orders, and castes, which cannot have arisen naturally but are artificial.' Dr. Mees accordingly distinguishes between the four classes (*varna*) and the numerous castes (*jāti*) :

¹ *The Science of Social Organization*, 2nd ed., Vol. I, pp. 49-50.

The conception of *varna*, literally meaning 'colour' . . . arose from a difference of class, which was partly a difference of race : of a superior white (the three higher *varnas*) and a dark-coloured aboriginal race. (p. 53)

But he adds that 'in Varna, *culture* was the momentous and determining factor, and not race' (p. 54). But here he again feels embarrassed, for it is difficult to say in what this difference of culture between the three higher *varnas* consisted. Jati, he maintains, is an artificial distinction based on hereditary specialization of occupation, hierarchical organization and mutual exclusion. But when he comes to explain it, he arrives at this 'tedious brief' definition :

A society subject to a caste-system consists of a number of subdivisions or castes which are exclusively endogamous, which show a strong tendency to be socially exclusive, which perpetuate themselves hereditarily, which are hierarchically superposed on a basis of standard supposedly cultural, and which by the working of these four tendencies within the social field of their own delimitations may split up into more and more castes indefinitely. (p. 71)

This is the experience of every student who like Dr. Mees sets out with sincere sympathy and boundless courage on a pleasure cruise in Hindu waters. To have realized that there is no chart or compass to guide him on his maiden voyage through places alternately deep and shallow, sandy and rocky, will be his greatest reward. Dr. Mees shows that he *has* realized this in what are probably the best forty pages of his book, where he traces the history of 'The Social Process' from prehistoric times down to the present day. (pp. 87-126)

His inquiry into Dharma and Society must have also brought home to him the *implications* (intended or not) of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's words at the second session of the Round Table Conference :

If one were to turn to any great philosophy or any great system of thought upon which could be built a harmony between races, a harmony between conflicting thoughts, where could one go to find it more readily than to the great philosophies of India itself ?

T. N. Siqueira.

IDEOCRACY

La Russie sous l'Uniforme Bolchévique. By V. Lazarevski. Pp. 256. Paris : Spes, 1934. Price : 10 fr.

However much we may write and rewrite the equations to the international situation, the problem remains hopeless of solution, for there is no Russian equation that is available. Official data are as unreliable as the partial information of travellers, and the successive *coups d'état* which characterize dictatorships are especially puzzling when brought about by such sophistic idealists as now keep the Russian people in bondage.

Yet an approach can be made to a satisfactory view of the Russian situation, and studies like the present one are welcome, for the problem is a vital world-riddle. M. Lazarevski takes his data from official documents and statistics ; though they are part

and parcel of State propaganda, he may conclude in all safety that all is not well with Russia and even run into an *a fortiori*. The constitution of the régime and its results are studied in their main outlines ; the Soviet machinery is dismantled and studied piece by piece. In the Russian Ideocracy, administration, industry and party are built up on the same patterns ; and unity comes from the fact that the same men are the living elements of all three organizations. Village Soviets, district groups, regional boards, and a Central Committee, are the stereotyped units of party, industry and administration ; party fighters occupying more and more key positions as one gets closer to the Central Committee of which Stalin is the real, if illegal, dictator.

In religion, family life, art and literature, the Soviet régime has stamped Russia with a characteristic mark. The material achievements are many : industrial production has gone up, though industrial produce has gone down : things 'made in Russia' stand no chance in a free market. Whatever improvement may have been achieved in the establishments visited by foreign economists on their State-conducted tours pales before the distress of the Russian countryside ; it is no compensation for the infamous measures adopted to prop up the régime, and it is no excuse for the slavery of the masses and the impiety and immorality with which they become diseased.

It is always risky to entrust philosophers with government ; but it is fatal when these philosophers start from wrong principles : the more effective and remorseless they are in their deductions, the more disastrous is the inexorable working of immanent justice. The doctrinaire idealists who govern Russia have secured from the first and held in force the vital centres of the nation ; and therein lies the secret of their continuance in power. Hence the remedy can only come from within. Soviet idealism is also rendering any co-operation with Russia dangerous to other nations. However desirable Russian brotherhood may be, all must feel chary of the present Soviet doctrinairism. M. Lazarevski is quite alive to such a peril ; and after going through his clear and sincere study, one cannot help feeling apprehensive of communist influence in India.

A. Lallemand.

Kesramal.

FINANCES OF INDIAN STATES

The Financial Problems of the States in Federal India. By V. L. D' Souza. Pp. V + 86. Bangalore City : Bangalore Press, 1935. Price not given.

Public interest in India is now very naturally focussed on the new Constitution, in which the position of the Indian States involves a number of serious and complicated questions. Perhaps the most intricate of these is the financial issue with which the present book deals.

The financial problem of the States in Federal India arises from two mutually opposed conditions :

1. In a federation all the federating units should bear the federal burdens on a uniform and equal basis.

2. The States concerned have no uniformity in respect either of their Imperial burdens, such as tributes, yield of ceded territories, customs, excise, salt, posts and telegraphs, currency and coinage and maintenance of armies available for Imperial defence, or of the immunities which they enjoy from Imperial burdens through their treaties, engagements and *sanads*.

And the problem is best solved by the principle of 'balancing the adequacy of the States' contributions to the Imperial Exchequer against the immunities which they enjoy from Imperial burdens.'

The financial relation of Mysore to the Federal Government is examined in great detail, not only because Mysore is an important federating State, but also to secure for it the needed relief from its burdens which are at present greater than its immunities. The author strongly pleads for the immediate abolition of the subsidy of 24.5 lacs of rupees due from it annually, for the very plausible reason that it is now, and will be in varying degrees for the first twenty years of the Federation, an entirely superfluous levy.

A clear, fair and closely reasoned exposition of a question often overlaid with sentiment and prejudice, the book is especially valuable for the enthusiastic loyalty to the ideal of the Indian Federation which is so evident in its pages, and which ought to dispel the notion prevalent outside the States that they regard the Federation as little more than a necessary evil.

M. Arokiaswamy.

Trichinopoly.

RELIGION

THE BLESSED TRINITY. *History—Theology—Spirituality*. BY VALENTIN M. BRETON, O. F. M. Translated by Rev. B. V. Müller, D. D. Pp. 248. London : Sands & Co., 1935. Price 3s. 6d.

The growing demand for popular accounts of Catholic theology is a welcome sign of the increasingly intelligent interest that Catholics are taking in their religion. Consequently, though the *Treasury of the Faith* series has only recently been completed, we now receive, in quick succession, the volumes of the *Catholic Library of Religious Knowledge*.

The present treatise on the Blessed Trinity, the most sublime of mysteries, naturally raises the question: does the author justify his claim to give the theology of the mystery 'written in simple untechnical language, understandable by anyone of average education'? He has divided the book into three nearly equal parts. The first is historical, and gives a very readable account of how the mystery was revealed and developed in the social consciousness of the Church. The second is theological, and tries to explain 'in simple language' the most abstruse of all theological speculations. The task may seem impossible, and we are not surprised if this part is not a complete success. It could, perhaps, have been improved by rendering the exposition less involved and making more use of

those illustrations which play so prominent a part in the theology of, say, St. Anselm. The third part is devotional, and studies what we may call the practical value, the value in our own lives, of the mystery of the Trinity. This part is largely new and well worked out, except for the too sketchy explanation of the presence of the Blessed Trinity in the soul.

J. Pütz.

MARIENPREDIGTEN AUS DER VATERZEIT. BY OTTO BARDENHEWER. Pp. 187. München: Kösel-Pustet, 1934. Price Mk. 4.50.

Twenty-one sermons on Our Lady, carefully selected, translated and annotated by the great scholar who died lately after a long life spent in the study of the Fathers. They cover the period from St. Ephrem (350) to St. John of Damascus (750), and include some documents which are not found in the great classical collections, like the sermon of Abraham of Ephesus. A scholar's homage to Mary, it will prove useful both for study and for spiritual reading.

J. Pütz.

THE WILFRID WARDS AND THE TRANSITION, Vol. I. By MAISIE WARD. Pp. XII + 428. London: Sheed & Ward, 1935. Price 15s.

Wilfrid Ward, the biographer of the makers of the English Catholic Renaissance of the nineteenth century, deserves to have his own biography worthily written. His daughter, Maisie Ward, has not attempted to write that biography in *The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition*. But she has furnished material for the future biographer, who, we hope, will not be long in coming. The book under review consists partly of the *Reminiscences* of Wilfrid Ward written by himself, and partly of a narrative, written by his daughter, of the course of events and movements in which he played a memorable part.

The son of W. G. Ward, one of the leaders of the Oxford Movement, and a lay lecturer in Theology at Old Hall, 'the noblest of ultramontanes, Ideal Ward', as his friend Tennyson called him, Wilfrid was educated for the priesthood in the ecclesiastical atmosphere which prevailed in his home. But finding that he had no vocation, and possessed of a hereditary competence which freed him from the burden of working for a livelihood, he devoted himself to his life-work, which was to bring Catholicism into the main stream of the intellectual life of England. By means of his masterly biographies of his own father, of Cardinal Wiseman, of Cardinal Newman, he made the English public, agnostic where it was not Protestant, acquainted with the workings of the Catholic mind confronted by the problems of the day. He then went on to establish contacts between Catholicism and its rivals in the race to obtain the intellectual allegiance of men. He wrote articles on the Catholic solution of religious and philosophical problems in *The Nineteenth Century*. He joined the Metaphysical Society of which his father had been a member and where Christian believers and Agnostic seekers after truth like Huxley and Tyndall met in friendly philosophical and scientific discussion. He was one of the founders, and later Secretary, of the Synthetic Society which consisted of those who desired to find 'a working philosophy of religious belief' and where Catholics and Anglicans, Hegelians and Unitarians and scientists, tried to understand each other's point of view.

In these and other ways Wilfrid Ward fulfilled the rôle of 'liaison officer', as his friend Sir Michael Sadler called him, between Catholicism and the rest of the intellectual world in England. How well and efficiently he filled that rôle is revealed in the pages of his daughter's pious memorial book. If Catholic thought and modes of thought came to be understood and respected in England, if Huxley lived to confess to the professors of Maynooth that St. Thomas Aquinas was, in his opinion, one of the master minds of Europe, if men like Mill and Balfour and Haldane came to esteem the foundations and principles of Catholic belief, it was largely the result of the subtle and insinuating influence of Wilfrid Ward's books, articles and speeches.

The layman in the English-speaking world, even in India, may learn from the pages of this book the way of a layman's influence in and for the Church. He may learn, for instance, that influence can be won only by hard and prolonged

study of the mind of the Church, by service in the cause of the Church, and by sincere loyalty to ecclesiastical authority; nowhere is the rôle of the lay 'liaison officer' more in demand than in India. For an India tired of the wrong kind of priestcraft and fed on Protestant prejudice against the priesthood looks to laymen to bring it into contact with Catholic Christianity. An Indian Catholic layman, efficiently equipped with a study of Catholic philosophy, theology and history, and soaked in Indian culture, would best be able to bring a knowledge of the Church and its thought into Indian society. How such a layman can be prepared for this difficult and delicate task may be learnt from the story of Wilfrid Ward's intellectual career and achievements as told in this book.

M. Ruthnaswamy.

MEMORIA HISTORICO-ECCLESIASTICA DA ARQUIDIOCESE DE GOA. Pp. X+416. Nova Goa: Tip. 'A Voz de S. Francisco Xavier', 1933

We think of India as a missionary country, and are thus apt to forget that India has a Christian tradition that goes back to apostolic times, and that there is a section of the country in which Christianity has taken as deep root as in any country of the West. This consoling fact is vividly brought before our minds in the book under review, which is a handsome volume published in commemoration of the fourth centenary of the Archdiocese of Goa, which occurred in 1933. We have here a record, written by experts, of all the aspects of the religious life of India in general and of Goa in particular.

Since it has been published in commemoration of a Jubilee, the jubilant note is necessarily dominant in it. A little more stress on the shadows would perhaps have added both to its historical and its practical value. Nevertheless, it serves a very good purpose, not only because it is a mine of valuable information not easily accessible to the average reader, but because it helps to dispel two prejudices—the prejudice against the religious aspect of Portuguese colonial policy, and the prejudice against the Goan clergy. Indeed, quite the most interesting part of the book is that which gives an account of the achievements of the Goan clergy, whose missionary zeal has not seldom passed the supreme test of martyrdom. No better justification could be found of that policy of Indianization which had already begun with St. Francis Xavier and which has received so much encouragement from the present Pope.

F. Correia-Afonso.

CIVIL-ECCLESIASTICAL LAW. *Applicable to Christians in British India.* BY JEROME A. SALDANHA, B. A., LL. B., EX-M. I. C., with *Notes on Canon Law* by Aristides Macry, S. J. Pp. IX+472. Trichinopoly. Cath. Truth Soc. of India, 1935. Price Rs. 2-9.

This very useful and cheap book supplies a want which not only Catholic priests and lawyers but even ordinary laymen have long felt: the daily papers often report cases connected with Church property and Christian marriage, or laws passed in British India or in Native States about Catholic schools and churches, which cannot be intelligently understood without the help of a reliable guide to Canon Law and to such civil laws as the Indian Christian Marriage Act of 1872 and the Native Converts' Marriage Dissolution Act of 1866.

The first part of the book is an enlarged edition of Mr. Saldanha's *Hints on Civil-Ecclesiastical Law* published in 1922, revised in the light of his long experience as a judge and a legislator and of recent cases and enactments. A useful feature of this edition is that it contains the complete text of the more important Acts which deal with its subject.

The second part is the work of an eminent professor of Canon Law, and though modestly called 'Notes' is a clear and authoritative commentary on those laws of the Church which if better known would prevent many a mistake and misunderstanding. The Code of Canon Law is the work of the wisest jurists of Christendom and is a masterpiece of conciseness and comprehensiveness beside which our elaborate civil 'Acts' shrink into childishness. But it is written in Latin, a language dead in more than one sense to many modern laymen. It is, therefore,

a needed service that Fr. Macry has done them in writing these 'Notes', which show a knowledge both of Canon Law and of its local applications (known as 'statutes') in many dioceses in India.

Of the get-up of the book, the clearness and variety of its type, its handiness for reference, it is unnecessary to say more than that it is worthy of St. Joseph's Press at Trichinopoly.

T. N. Siqueira.

LITERATURE

VIRGIL, FATHER OF THE WEST. By THEODOR HAECKER. Pp. 120. Translated by A. W. Wheen.—London: Sheed & Ward, 1934. Price 2s. 6d.

The neat little volume before us, the fourteenth of Messrs. Sheed & Ward's *Essays in Order*, more than maintains the reputation of that excellent series for sound thought couched in a distinguished style. Herr Theodor Haecker has been well served by his translator; for, though here and there one finds some obscurity, owing no doubt to the translator's scrupulous fidelity to his text, the excellent English of the translation reads like an original work by a deft hand. Herr Haecker's thesis is that Virgil represents the perfect natural man of the West; underlying his work we have the vision of the Roman Empire, which still exercises a considerable influence on life and thought. And Virgil, with his lofty conception of love and of work, is the most perfect expression of the *anima naturaliter Christiana*. This view is not original, being traditional with Catholics since the Middle Ages, when Virgil almost ranked as a prophet. But it is presented by Herr Haecker in a fresh, original and convincing manner.

The book is of interest not only to Western readers but to all those in the East who are seeking for a synthesis of cultures. Herr Haecker does not believe in closed types of humanity: 'Man, be he of a thousand types and a thousand ages, remains eternally and unalterably man.' Men in the East may, therefore, learn much from Virgil; but they have also a contribution of their own to make to the reconstruction of civilization. 'The West has, no doubt, much to learn', says Herr Haecker, 'from Eastern theocratic art, and by contrast one cannot but deplore the decline of Western art into a godless humanism which no longer represents a balanced mean, but has become instead a goal and an end in itself; but far be it from us ever to surrender this fundamental principle of the West and Western art, the principle of humanity.' After reading Herr Haecker's book, the Eastern reader will ask himself the question: 'Who is the Father of the East?' Whoever may be considered to have a right to the title, we are sure that he too will be found to be an *anima naturaliter Christiana*, for divine help has not been withheld from non-Christian cultures. And it will be also realized that Eastern cultures will find their correction and their perfection in the Christian ideal.

While discussing his main thesis, Herr Haecker throws out by way of *obiter dicta* many interesting and profound suggestions on a variety of subjects. The essay is pregnant with aphoristic wisdom. The lover of Virgil will find here his favourite passages rendered more significant by a new interpretation. A very stimulating book, indeed, for those who are not afraid of grappling with deep thought.

F. Correia-Afonso.

CARDINAL NEWMAN. His place in Religion and Literature. By F. A. D'CRUZ, K. S. G. Pp. 661. Madras: Good Pastor Press, 1935.

It is difficult at this time of day to say anything new about Newman—at least, in his praise. Those who thought him a deserter from their communion tried to find safety in contempt; but his new co-religionists trumpeted his greatness so tirelessly in two-volume 'lives' and 'selected essays' and 'studies', that even a lifelong student of him like Mr. D'Cruz must feel that all the wind has been taken out of his sails before he puts to sea.

Still he has re-told the well-known story in a fresh and personal way so rare in this second-hand age. He divides his book into four parts and considers Newman, first as an Anglican, then as a Catholic, then as an apologist, and lastly

as a literary man. Newman's apologetics are the most difficult part of his writings to judge and interpret ; but Mr. D'Cruz has acquitted himself remarkably well for a layman. In slippery questions like the nature of the assent of faith, the 'progress of dogma', the infallibility of the Church and of the Pope, the relation between reason and revelation, on which violent controversies have raged among theologians, he has kept his head and calmly refused to slip and fall.

It is a pity, however, that such a labour of love should have been so ill served in its printing, for there are many mistakes and slips in this otherwise attractive book. The index, too, might have been much more useful if it had been compiled on the basis of *subjects* instead of *persons*.

But these are not the author's faults. He has given the Indian reader at a cheap price a life of Newman which contains the best that has been said and written on this great 'sign of contradiction' for nearly a century, and shown that if Catholicism has come out of the catacombs in England and become a living force to be reckoned with, it is due to a movement which was begun by John Henry Newman.

T. N. Siqueira.

MAN AND NATURE or *Essays and Sketches*. By MORTON LUCE. Pp. XIII + 270. London : G. Bell & Sons, 1935. Price 7s. 6d.

The *Essays and Sketches* which are collected into this book are as different as the reviews from which they are reprinted : the birds and the trees in Tennyson were first examined in *The British Review* ; nature and love in Shakespeare, in *The Nineteenth Century* ; the art of Swinburne was discussed in *The Anglo-French Review* : the evolution of language, fitly enough, in *The Quest*.

But varied as the subjects of these essays are, they show one constant and favourite line in which Mr. Luce's studies seem to have lain—nature. He has counted up all the birds and trees in Shakespeare, in Tennyson and in Swinburne. He has watched the development of the power of observation in these poets from the borrowed, stereotyped similes of their early poems to the less laboured and less 'artistic' but deeper and more spontaneous metaphors of their mature works. He lingers with evident relish over the kingly indolence of Shakespeare's

Fear no more the heat o' the sun,

and

The uncertain glory of an April day,

which he rightly prefers to the careful workmanship of the well-known

I know a bank whereon the wild thyme blows,

or even of the Puckish

The cowslips tall her pensioners be. . .

But Mr. Luce's preference among English poets of nature seems to be given to Tennyson. He examines the birds and the trees in Tennyson in two of the best of his essays. It must be admitted that even Tennyson sometimes repeats the classical *gradus* epithet, but what other English poet has described the turtle-dove as 'purring', the eagle as 'yelping', the thrush as 'lispering', the linnet as 'trilling', and the nightingale as 'bubbling'? Who else has observed nature so minutely as to write—

In the spring a fuller crimson comes upon the robin's breast ;

In the spring the wanton lapwing gets himself another crest ;

In the spring a livelier iris changes on the burnish'd dove—?

Though Tennyson never rises to the 'inspired' abandon of Keats and Shelley, and therefore never rises above the second rank, neither Keats nor Shelley was capable of the accuracy of descriptions like :

A million emeralds break from the ruby-budded limes—

and

The twinkling laurels scatter silver lights.

They could not have so happily mixed the useful with the sweet as to say :

Hope, a poisoning eagle, burns
Above the unrisen morrow.

But though nature is Mr. Luce's *forte*, it is not his only subject. He compares Spenser's treatment of love with Shakespeare's with remarkable judgment. He describes Frederic Harrison as a social reformer in a neat little essay reprinted from *The Nineteenth Century*. He has a very sensible article on what he calls 'The Hybrid Art', where the following illuminating definition occurs :

'Verse is the result of the principle of proportion (and selection) introduced into articulate sound, and music of the same principle introduced into inarticulate sound.' (p. 95)

The second part of the book consists of a selection of Mr. Luce's own compositions in verse, most of which were originally published under the titles of *Thysia* and *New Idyllia*. Some of these would be unnatural if they were good poetry, for they are on subjects like 'A Football Match', 'The New Juggernaut', 'Trespassers will be Prosecuted', 'The Philosophy of a Strike', and 'Mud'. But there are flashes of poetic insight especially in the sadder poems which incline one to agree with Mary Webb when she says : 'He can create. . . so keen a loveliness that it cuts one to the heart.'

T. N. Siqueira

VERNACULARS

KALVARIYILEA KALPAPADAPAM. *The Immortal Tree of Calvary*. By M. PADMANABHA PILLAI, M. L. A. *From the author, Changannacherry*.

This is a Passion Play, in Malayalam, in twenty scenes, beginning with the conspiracy of Annas and Caiphas against the life of Jesus, and ending with His Resurrection. The author says that he was attracted to the theme on reading Marie Corelli's *Barabbas* as a student, and has since read the life of Christ in the Bible and in the works of Patterson Smith, Meschler and Farrar.

The characterization in this play shows consummate literary skill, the dialogues are natural, and the atmosphere and local colour leave little to be desired. It is also to the author's credit that he has shaken himself free from the pseudo-classical models of Sanskrit playwrights which appear to die hard in this province, and has made a genuine effort to follow the modern prose dramas of contemporary Europe.

But in his deviations from the well-known Christian traditions Mr. Padmanabha Pillai has disappointed his reader's expectations. The characterization of Judas, in particular, is singularly unfortunate. In order to account for the devil that entered into the traitor's heart the author has invented Judith, a sister to Judas, who, through her influence on Caiphas and Judas, delivers the Sinless One into the hands of His bloodthirsty enemies. The Judas of the play is moved by the purest of motives and fondly hopes that his sister Judith will be converted from her evil life on seeing Christ miraculously extricate Himself from the trap laid by His enemies. But alas ! his hopes are shattered when the Jews rush on his dear Master and Lord ; in extreme madness and despair he commits suicide ! The author might perhaps call this poetic licence, but we fail to see any artistic justification for such a treatment of a character who has always been the type of a soul that hardens itself by repeatedly resisting the grace of God. Mr. Padmanabhan's portrayal of Judas, therefore, lacks verisimilitude and naturalness of development. Besides this, Judas's charity, instead of covering a multitude of sins, causes the loss of his own precious soul !

Another way in which the author has offended against good taste is in introducing the vulgar and obscene in close contiguity with the purest and most sublime life of the Son of God. This may have been done to throw into bold contrast the purity of the Sinless One and the sinfulness of those around Him ; but this juxtaposition of Divine purity and vulgar obscenity satisfies neither the moral nor the artistic sense.

That the author himself feels uneasy about this introduction of obscenity seems plain from his Preface, where he forbids the staging of this play without his express permission, lest irresponsible acting of the obscenities should mar the solemnity of its sublime scenes. But perhaps it would have been more prudent to omit the vulgarities altogether and to convey the needed impression by suggestive dialogue.

Barring these defects, however, *The Immortal Tree of Calvary* is a masterpiece of dramatic art, and entitles its author to a respectable position among the Malayalam playwrights of to-day.

K. E. Job.

BHUGOL ETLAS (*Geographical Atlas*). By PUNDIT RAMNARAYAN MISRA. Pp. III + 107. Allahabad : Bhugol Karyalaya. Price Rs. 2.

A writer in *The Teachers' Journal* for August, 1935, lamented that in 1919 434 scientific books were published in English and only 9 in Bengali. This lament could be made not only over Bengali but over all the other vernaculars of India. Books to amuse, books to portray beauty and high ideals—of these there is no lack in any of the 18 major vernaculars of India; but of what Ruskin terms 'books of knowledge', there is a well-nigh hopeless deficiency. We hasten to add, however, that the deficiency is of late being made up at a fairly encouraging speed in several vernaculars, and more especially in what is now widely called 'the national language of India.'

For recent progress in the publication of 'books of knowledge' in Hindi no small praise is due to the two scientific magazines published in Allahabad, *Vigyan* (Science) and *Bhugol* (Geography). The Hindi atlas before us marks the beginning of the twelfth year of *Bhugol's* existence, and is in fact a *viseshank* (special issue) of the magazine. The 91 large pages of miscellaneous geographical illustrations, and the 11 pages of index—with the English spelling of all names given after the Hindi words—mark a tremendous advance over the little twenty or thirty page school atlases that so far were Hindi's best. We heartily congratulate the publishers on the book, and trust that the Hindi public will encourage them to bring out yet more such 'books of knowledge'. For future editions of the atlas it would be well to double the size of the cross-section view of geological layers on page 10, and thus give us a larger and more easily readable type.

P. Dent.

SCIENCE

EVERYDAY BIOLOGY. BY F. L. FITZPATRICK and R. E. HORTON. Pp. XIV + 611 + XLVI. London : Constable, 1935.—Though Oxford University Press, Bombay. Price 8s. 6d.

Ruskin says that in acquiring knowledge we are 'as children gathering pebbles on a boundless shore'. This is especially true of Biology which is, perhaps more than any other subject, world-wide in its extensiveness. But Messrs. Fitzpatrick and Horton have accurately mapped out its boundless shore.

'The materials of the book have been arranged in seven units. Each unit deals with a specific, fundamental principle of biology. The first unit serves as a general introduction. It includes a discussion of the changing environment and the history of human progress in that environment. The second unit deals with the cell principle as exhibited by the structures of plants and animals. Psychology, considered as representing every phenomenon, is the subject of the third unit. Adaptations of function and structure are discussed in the fourth unit. The fifth unit deals with reproduction in plants and animals. This is followed by a sixth unit on variation and heredity. The seventh unit has as its subject the consideration of other organisms in relationship to human welfare.'

'Thus each unit provides student activities and experiences which relate to a basic concept or group of concepts in the field of biology.' For example, the first unit, dealing with the changing environment, is based on the general notion that

conditions of life vary in a changing world. This notion naturally supposes that we first get acquainted with living organisms and their surroundings or 'environment'; while thus engaged we note that a given organism is usually found in a special type of 'environment' or 'habitat', and that there are many inter-relationships among organisms; this preliminary survey of the distribution of life reveals living forms adapted to all the zones of the earth, on land, in sea and in air; this fact leads us to enquire to what extent living things are affected by conditions of pressure, the presence or absence of water and oxygen, food, and temperature; and as we cannot avoid observing that conditions within a region undergo changes, that the earth upon which we live must be very old, we turn to the rocks for its history and find it written there. No argument is necessary to convince us that man is the dominant organism on the earth, that his progress has been marked by increasing control of his environment, and that his activities have greatly affected the lives of plants and animals all over the world.

The seven units are distributed over 38 chapters, and followed by a Glossary of terms and an Index. 266 figures and 4 coloured plates greatly help towards the understanding of the text and add to the attractiveness of the book.

A very good textbook, which reveals an enormous schoolroom experience and is a welcome change from the numerous books which give no help, either in substance or in method, to the teaching of biology.

J. F. Caius.

RADIO ROUND THE WORLD. By A. W. HASLETT. Pp. VIII+196; 7 plates. Cambridge Un. Press, 1934. Price 5s.

It is no exaggeration to say that in England alone between 20 and 30 new books on wireless and kindred subjects are published every year. All, or very nearly all, are meant for the mathematician, and forget the mere man who yet wants to know the why and the wherefore of wireless.

Radio Round the World is a welcome exception. It is a compendium of the present knowledge of wireless and its applications. It tells us in simple language and without any formula what every radio fan wants to know: what wireless waves are, how they travel round the world, and how the sun helps them on their way. The why and the wherefore of wireless are in real danger of being lost in the flurry of achievement. *Radio Round the World* comes to the rescue, and this in such a fascinating way that the reader is urged to read on to the end.

It is not, however, a primer, and will be read with interest and profit by every one who refuses to be satisfied with the mere twiddling of turning and volume controls. The chapters on radio-mirrors are of special interest in India in view of the research work carried on by the Universities of Calcutta and Allahabad. Numerous and illuminating details are given on the method followed to discriminate between the different ionized layers, the times of their maximum and minimum ionization, and their effect on the propagation of radio waves.

We should in conclusion like to call attention to the fact that the G and H regions at 380 and 1100 miles from the earth are not mentioned by the research workers in India, though echoes have been detected at Allahabad pointing to the existence of the D-layer at 35 miles, to which, however, the author does not refer.

A. Briot

ECONOMICS

SOCIETY AND ENTERPRISE. By A. T. K. GRANT. Pp. 201. London: Routledge, 1934. Price 5s

Mr. Grant begins by explaining the three well-known tests of economic progress—1. A rapid rate of advance in the accumulation of material goods. 2. A greater measure of equality of income. 3. Economic security against sharp business fluctuations,—and contends that, under existing conditions of private enterprise, an attempt to harmonize these somewhat divergent aims would be like wanting to eat your cake and have it too. In the Victorian era, a rapid advance in production was maintained by sacrificing the equally important consideration of equitable distribution. Since the War the taxation of business profits in order

to improve distribution has checked business enterprise. He therefore suggests that if the State takes over the ownership of industries and assumes risks, a harmony between the three divergent aims can be established, and we can then decide how much to eat of the cake, how much to keep, and how to prevent what is kept from getting stale.

He admits the objections to socialism only when applied to a bureaucratic and centralized *management* of industries by the State, but not when applied to State *ownership* of them. If risk-bearing becomes a social function, the State will have to solve the problem of allocating the capital between the various industries, and of deciding what provision has to be made for the future. He does not answer these questions, except by saying that 'the State's decision as to how far material resources should be distributed between satisfying a nearer or a more remote posterity is not likely to be a wide one.'

He himself has said elsewhere that 'if the idealism of the present day is not to be embittered with disappointment, if the dissatisfaction with things as they are and the urge towards things as they ought to be, is not to prove fruitless, we must devote attention not to sweeping ideas, but to technicalities and apparent trifles.' One would have liked him to pay greater attention to these 'technicalities and apparent trifles'. For any plan of remodelling society more rationally is of little use if the innumerable facts that are apparently unimportant but really of the utmost significance are not taken into account. It is easy enough to criticize the existing economic structure; it is easier to visualize a new economic system which may be more satisfactory than the present. But it is difficult to evolve a detailed plan which will work.

L. Govindarajan.

LABOUR AND HOUSING IN BANGALORE CITY. BY R. K. SRINIVASAN, M. A. and C. NARASIMHA MOORTY, M. A. Pp. V+56. *Bangalore City : Bangalore Press, 1935.*

This useful little book is the first of the University of Mysore Economic Studies. The authors have collected and discussed the data relating to the huts and tenement houses of the labouring classes in Bangalore, and discovered the evil of overcrowding, with its attendant miseries. They then pass in review the measures adopted by public and private agencies elsewhere to combat this great social evil, and conclude by suggesting the creation of a housing trust for Bangalore, composed of representatives from the Municipality, the Government and the employers of labour, with a definite programme of work.

Studies like this serve a double purpose; they set a method of social investigation, and they lead to a useful social policy. But it would have been more useful if the authors had discussed the financial implications of their scheme and compared it with those adopted in other countries. But we are grateful to them for pointing out a great social evil, and providing an example of social investigation which may with advantage be imitated by other universities.

M. Appadorai.

SUGAR INDUSTRY AND LABOUR IN THE UNITED PROVINCES. BY R. D. AGAR WALA, M. A., B. COM. Pp. XII+158. *Allahabad : Leader Press. Price Rs. 3-8.*

At the present time, when an endeavour is being made to develop the sugar industry in India, a book like this is very welcome.

The first part describes in untechnical language the methods of manufacturing sugar, and offers suggestions for their improvement which though not original are not unnecessary.

The second part, where Mr. Agar Wala gives us the results of his personal investigations in the United Provinces, is distinctly more valuable than the first. The establishment of the primary processing industries in rural areas has greatly increased seasonal employment. A large percentage of the labour employed in sugar factories is agricultural. The conditions of labour in the sugar industries compare favourably with labour conditions in other industries, and the relations between employer and employee are not strained.

L. Govindarajan

PREPARING LEADERS OF INDIA

BY G. R. HUNTER

TO some observers the future of India appears doomed to unescapable deterioration. They appeal to history to show that in the past she has never been united or prosperous except under an autocracy, usually of foreign origin. They appeal to biology to urge that progress is a perquisite of the temperate zone, and that both man and his domesticated animals tend to degenerate in the tropics. They point to the mosquito, vegetarianism and child marriage as insuperable barriers to physical regeneration. They point to diversity in race, language and religion as insuperable barriers to that development of a sense of social and political community of interest without which a democratic state is doomed to disruption. They harp on the alleged 'pathetic contentment' of the cultivator, the 'zulum' of the police, the 'venality' of the lower and middle ranks of the civil administration, and the 'aloofness' of the upper ranks ; the 'exclusiveness' of caste and its 'inhuman' attitude toward the 'depressed' classes ; the obscurantism of orthodoxy and of the *purdah*.

It will be the endeavour of this paper to show that after conceding what is admissible in these contentions it is still possible to remain optimistic as to the future of this vast country, and that because of one factor—Education. For education properly directed has the power to overcome the momentum of history, to modify the tendencies of biology, and to circumvent the influence of

climate. How this force of education is to be directed to its object—this is our immediate inquiry.

I

The answer is suggested by the very nature of the difficulties we have to face. A glance at the past history of India shows that the most obstinate enemy to her progress is her climate. How otherwise can we account for the marked degeneration in India of the many virile races that successively established themselves in this country? We will not allude to the disappearance of the prehistoric civilization of the Indus valley, as it may have been due to conquest and not to internal decay. But the Aryans kept their vigour in India only for the period between the Rigveda (c. 1200 B. C.) and the Upanishads (c. 483 B. C.) ; or, if we accept their own tradition, we must date the period of their decline even earlier, from the beginning of the Kali Yuga, that is, from the great war of Mahabharat, about 800 B. C. An even more rapid decline in the enervating plains of India is seen in the Graeco-Bactrians, the Partho-Scythians and the Kushanas, for two hundred years are about the longest span during which many of them succeeded in 'practising activity', as Asoka would say.

When we turn to the Mohammedan invaders, we find the old story repeated. After two or three centuries of domicile in India the Pathans seem incapable of producing other than effete, vicious and ineffectual dynasties. Similarly, the fourth or fifth generation of the descendants of that Babar who had swum all the rivers he encountered on his conquest of Hindustan had to be carried to the battlefield in palanquins.

The same tendency to degenerate in the tropics is noticeable in the European settlers in India, though

the English combat this tendency by dispatching their offspring to England during the biologically critical period of youth and adolescence, seeking their brides mainly from fresh stock with no tropical antecedents, and returning at short intervals to Europe for recuperation.

If the historical argument is considered insufficient, appeal may be made to biology and medicine. Both biologist and physician agree that climatic extremes of all kinds—of heat, of cold, of humidity,—exercise a deleterious influence on the full development of the physical and mental faculties. Extreme cold benumbs the brain as well as the body ; extreme humidity induces depression ; extreme heat, though perhaps less directly harmful to the brain than extreme cold, nevertheless saps vitality, exhausts energy, undermines the will to effort. This is, no doubt, the reason why no high civilizations appear at any time to have flourished in Lapland, in the Siberian Tundras, in Northern Canada, or in the valleys of the Amazon and Congo, while they seem to have flourished in such tropical and sub-tropical areas as Mexico, Southern Egypt, Southern India and Indo-China, only concomitantly with the invasion of a conquering race from cooler climes.

Climate is, indeed, the principal obstacle we shall have to overcome or circumvent. But that it can be mastered is shown by the experience of other countries. England's damp and chilly climate, and the ague for which it was execrated by its Roman and Norman conquerors, was a serious obstacle to its development till it was overcome in the eighteenth century by progress in drainage and house-building. And now these very defects of its climate have been turned to account in the great textile manufactures of Lancashire.

America in the Panama Canal zone has recently shown what a change in public health can be brought about by the elimination of the mosquito. Much, no

doubt, can be done for the improvement of public health in India by similar measures : by a general use of mosquito-curtains ; of flit ; of damp-proof houses, suitable drainage, &c. But to make these measures reach the masses of India, to rid the plains of India of mosquitoes and excessive temperatures, is wellnigh impossible. For the masses of India, therefore, the evils of its climate can at best be mitigated, not overcome or circumvented.

But the future of a nation does not depend entirely, or even principally, on the standard of civilization attained by its masses, but rather on the standard attained by its élite, its administrators, technical experts, thinkers and leaders.

It is to the task of circumventing climatic drawbacks as far as India's leaders are concerned, that we therefore turn, not in any anti-popular spirit, but because it is the only objective within our present scientific means, and because the improvement of the Indian masses will be expedited by the existence in the country of an intelligentsia equal in vigour, knowledge and material resources to that of the most advanced nations of the world.

This, then, is my immediate concern : to suggest how we may provide for the physical and intellectual development of the Indian intelligentsia. It is generally recognized that the English, alone of the many invaders of India, have succeeded in escaping the ravages of its climate. Is their example of any help in our present inquiry ? Are their means or similar means available to the future rulers of India, who, unlike its present rulers, are born, bred and married in India ? To copy exactly the English method is neither financially possible nor nationally desirable, even for the intelligentsia. But is it not possible to secure the results of the English system by a suitable local adaptation of the English method ? The secret of English virility lies, not in latitude or longitude,

but in temperature. Longitude is of no significance, as New England and Japan have shown, while latitude is conditioned by altitude, which indeed can be a pretty complete substitute for it, as the history of the Transvaal, Rhodesia and Kenya suggests. Cannot India herself provide for her intelligentsia climatic conditions as cool, salubrious and invigorating as those in England? Are not ideal climatic conditions to be found in India in areas sufficiently extensive and sufficiently distributed for our purpose? Will it not be possible by planning in advance to cope with the problems of migration, settlement, education and finance that will arise? Cannot India on her own soil provide conditions for the evolution of a body of leaders in every sphere—police, administration, the fine arts, the liberal professions,—a body not exclusively hereditary, though taking full advantage of inherited capacity, a body in physique, energy, vigour, thrust, staying power, equal to that English aristocracy of service which in the 18th and 19th centuries produced the civil and military officers who built up the British Empire, not only in India but sporadically throughout the islands and continents of the world? It will be observed that I have made no suggestion for the improvement of the brain-capacity of the Indian intelligentsia. That is because in my opinion the Indian intelligentsia is, and historically appears always to have been, comparable in pure intellect to the most advanced intelligentsia of Europe or of any other part of the world; and that, no doubt, because the deleterious effect of climate directly affects the reasoning faculty little, if at all, but very greatly affects physique, and those qualities which depend on physique—energy and endurance. It is in energy and endurance that I find the Indian intelligentsia to-day handicapped *vis-à-vis* their brethren in America, Europe and Japan. It is to the means of removing this climatic handicap that I now turn.

II

And we should begin with the cradle of the intelligentsia. Following the English example, the Indian leaders of the future will do well to send their wives to the hills during pregnancy. Probably in most cases this will mean only sending them to their mothers-in-law ! For the husband's father will probably be a retired lawyer, businessman, or Government officer, already settled down in the hills. Indeed, the most useful function of the retired intelligentsia, as I see it, is to settle down in the hills and bring up their grandchildren in health and vigour !

Eminent scientists have recently discovered that there is in our atmosphere at levels above 3,000 ft. a virtue not to be found at lower levels, which they attribute empirically to certain solar radiations which fail to function below that level. Birth should always, therefore, if possible take place in the family's hill-residence. If this becomes the rule, there need be no fear of inadequate medical attendance. The supply of doctors follows the demand with considerable alacrity, especially in the hot weather !

Childhood spent entirely in the hills may be the ideal, but if it means separation from the parents for long years at a stretch it is to be deprecated. Here again the English practice of keeping young children with their parents down in the plains during the healthier months, and only sending them away for the hot weather, will probably be found the most suitable.

The period of adolescence—the school-going age—now claims our attention. And here we reach the crux of the whole matter. The years from seven to twenty-one are the most critical for the development of both mind and body. If education is to be given at all it is in these

years that it must be given. And the physical strain set up by the intensive education that circumstances now-a-days—especially the fierce military and economic competition of modern nations—impose upon the intelligentsia of any nation, falls upon a body undeveloped, in process of growth, a body biologically at the crisis of its career. To give its overstrained student; anything less than the best available climatic environment is, for a modern nation, to commit political suicide. Hence a more complete submission to the dictates of hygiene, a greater sacrifice of parental wealth and happiness for the adolescent than for the young child, is inexorably demanded by the national interest. Where hot-weather visits to the hills were sufficient for the health of the young boy or girl, nothing less than an all-the-year-round residence in the hills is required for the adolescent student, with at most brief visits to the parents toiling in the plains at such times as are either healthiest in the plains or least healthy in the hills. School holidays and university vacations would be fixed on this principle. In practice, in the Central Provinces it would mean a long vacation from July 15 to September 15, when the hills on account of excessive moisture are least healthy, and a short vacation—say, December 15 to January 15—when our plains are least unhealthy.

But there are practical difficulties in the way of such a scheme. In the first place, it means that all the educational institutions—from primary school to university—that are to serve our future intelligentsia are to be situated in the hills : a great expense both in capital outlay and in annual upkeep. In the second place, it means that parents will not see their older children for about nine months in the year. To this one can only reply that the best is never attainable without sacrifice, and that the English in India have accepted the sacrifice

in an even greater degree than need ever be demanded of Indians. For the English parent in India has had to educate his children in England at an average annual cost of £300 per head, and an average separation of two years at a stretch for mothers and four years for fathers. As against this, the Indian upper-class parent will be invited to educate his children in the hills at an average annual cost of about £100 per head, and with an average separation for both parents of six months at a stretch.

A partial recognition of the principle that the education best in results must, in the nature of things, be both costly and located with an eye to climate seems to underlie the recent institution of an Indian Public School at Dehra Dun. But by the limitation of its size, as well as by financial and other limitations, it will not be possible, even if it were desirable, for a single institution like Dehra Dun to cater for the supply of leaders in every walk of life or for every province. To meet this need, each province will have to have its own Dehra Dun, and much else besides.

It might be suggested, perhaps, that Indian children might be sent to Europe for the whole of their education, preferably to England, to Preparatory School, Public School, and University. But this will never give us more than a handful of scholars, owing to the expense and to the lack of sufficient vacancies in English institutions. And it is in any case of doubtful utility. For it has been observed that those Indian boys who spend their whole adolescence in England and return to India unable to speak any Indian tongue tend to become denationalized and unfitted to play their part in the uplift of their province and nation. And if any should still insist that the best types of educational institutions are to be found in old countries with a long educational tradition, we will invite a glance at Capetown and Sydney.

III

To return now to our scheme, and endeavour to fill in some of the outlines :

We picture, say in fifty years time, the Mahadeo and Maikal hills in the Central Provinces dotted with residential towns, like Cheltenham and Bournemouth, full of well-to-do grandfathers ! Attached to each of these residential towns are one or more 'preparatory' schools, receiving the grandchildren, mostly as day-scholars, but as boarders also if desired, from the age of seven to fourteen. In other places, not too near the residential towns, but preferably at some distance in the isolation of the country or jungle, we picture some half-a-dozen or a dozen 'public' schools, receiving normally 100% of the output of the preparatory schools, but as boarders, not day-scholars, and receiving also such of the boys of the poorer classes, educated in the primary schools of the plains, as shall have succeeded in winning scholarships. These scholarships should be open to all preparatory and primary (=English Board) school boys, rich and poor alike, the rich boy always having the right of resigning the emoluments (but not the honour and title) in favour of the next in order of merit. These scholarships have the merit of providing an annual standard of comparison between the quality of education provided in the preparatory and the primary schools, while at the same time fulfilling their most essential function . that of securing that no outstanding ability shall be lost to the nation through lack of educational opportunity. Lastly, at one selected spot—like Tamia—we picture a University, receiving normally 100% of the output of the public schools (here departing from the English custom, whereby about half the products of the public schools enter direct upon their careers without

the advantages of a University course). This university is imagined as a vocational university of the type of Oxford : a university whose whole organization, official and unofficial, curriculum, recreation and amusements, are devoted to fostering the vocation of leadership, and that to such good purpose that to-day all concerns that require good leaders, from Imperial Chemicals and Persian Oil down to the Army and the Metropolitan Police Force, are recruiting graduates of Oxford. Now we, in our scheme of improving the quality of the Indian intelligentsia are similarly concerned in producing men who in any walk of life will be able to lead—not to drive, like Pharaoh or Mussolini, but to *lead*, like Pericles or Chatham.

One hopes all these institutions will be as free from Government control as their counterpart in England. Leadership and freedom are interdependent, and the resulting effects on freedom of Government control of education in the most advanced countries of Europe where it exists, such as Italy and Germany, reinforce one's belief that the principal cause of the comparative excellence of the preparatory school, public school, and university in England has been the freedom of these institutions from State control.

But if one desires educational institutions free from Government control, one must be prepared to pay the price. Government cannot be expected to contribute to the cost of institutions over which it has no control. High class educational institutions catering directly for the needs of a well-to-do intelligentsia—an aristocracy—, and only indirectly and ultimately for the uplift of the nation through the aristocracy, cannot expect the general tax-payer to go on paying about two-thirds of the cost of the higher education of the rich man's son. To-day the tax-payer's unwillingness is concealed, partly through the force of

tradition which ever since the days of Macaulay has looked to the State for all improvement in education, but largely because the present legislatures are almost exclusively representative of the beneficiaries of higher education. Under the reformed franchise we are likely to get more emphasis laid on the claims of primary education, with the collateral suggestion that those who want higher education should pay for it themselves.

This is the attitude of the English nation who, in spite of its homage to democracy, still in its heart believes in a quasi-hereditary aristocracy of service. For all the well paid appointments and jobs, not only in the civil and military services of the Crown but also in the liberal professions, and to an increasing extent even in industry and commerce, are reserved to an hereditary aristocracy of service—to the sons of those who send them to those expensive private educational institutions, the preparatory school, the public school, and the university. Nominally, of course, all appointments are open to everybody, irrespective of birth and place of education, and thanks to an elaborate system of scholarships this is true for a very small percentage of brilliant boys of the masses; but about four-fifths of the posts involving leadership, whether governmental or private, are held by men who have been through these institutions at their own expense. For proof of this one has only to look up the educational antecedents of the Members of the House of Commons, the officers of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, the superior civil servants, the barristers, doctors, priests, poets, novelists. Then there are other vocational institutions for further training in some of these careers which are so expensive as to be confined to the well-to-do. Thus there are expensive Inns-of-Court for those who would be barristers, academies like Sandhurst for those who would be military officers,

and so on. And the system works so well that it is now being extended to new spheres in business and in Government service, the most striking example of the latter being the recent recruitment of the upper ranks of the police from among Public School men. And indeed, not only within Britain and the Empire but in the world as a whole, wherever leadership is required there is a constant demand for the English Public School man—from the railways of Argentina to the oil-fields of Persia. And there is nothing democratic about the personnel of the English Public School. To be a Public School boy is virtually a hereditary profession with a certain class of English boy. But he pays his own money—or rather his father does. The Public Schools are self-supporting; they neither expect nor receive grants-in-aid, for they value their independence. If India, then, wishes to follow England in this her most characteristic achievement—the production of a quasi-hereditary aristocracy of service trained in self-supporting, educational institutions,—then the Indian intelligentsia, like the English, must be prepared to pay for these institutions.

With regard to curriculum : the essence of the scheme being that these institutions are self-supporting and free from outside control, it is manifestly impossible to prescribe their curriculum in advance or from outside. But a few suggestions may be offered. In the preparatory schools it would be sound to follow the English practice, except that Sanskrit or Persian or Arabic would be substituted for Latin as the classical language, and Hindi or Marathi would be substituted for French as the modern language. Specialization at the preparatory school stage should be avoided like the plague, and every subject taught in a given preparatory school should be compulsory for every child in it.

Co-education also is a bane, though pecuniary considerations may impose it as a necessary evil in the university stage. Each sex best pursues its studies, games and sports in isolation from the other. This has been traditionally realized and observed from time immemorial in both East and West ; and to-day the best minds in education are anxious to see recognition of the principle restored in the case of university education also. There is a strong move in Oxford and Cambridge Universities to free themselves of their women students by providing for them a separate women's university. Whether our future Indian intelligentsia will succeed in making their university purely masculine, and if so how they will provide for the university studies of their daughters, I do not pretend to be able to foresee ; but at least let us hope that they will succeed in avoiding co-education in their preparatory schools and public schools.

Another problem is religious instruction. The preparatory schools being entirely self-controlled will be free to please themselves in this matter. And presumably both preparatory and public schools will be denominational as they are in England. In India we are already familiar with the principle in our State-aided schools. Since the vast majority of mankind in India, as in England and elsewhere, still believe in a future life, and consider that correct religious instruction will through its influence on conduct determine happiness in that life, it is natural and proper, and in no way a thing to excuse or regret, that every parent should desire to secure what he considers correct religious influence for his child. And since the power of example and environment is even greater than the force of mere precept, the life, habits, manners, beliefs—the conversation, in a word,—of his fellow students during nine months out of twelve, and sixteen hours out of twenty-four, will influence him far

more than the conversation of his parents during three months, and the preaching of his priest during, say, one hour a week ! So that even to arrange for religious instruction by different religious teachers within the precincts and curriculum of a non-denominational school would be insufficient, and nothing less than a school frankly organized on denominational lines as in England would meet the case.

Lastly, a word may be said about athletics. While the value of organized games is now universally recognized for their aid in developing the team spirit, loyalty, solidarity, subordination of the personal to the corporate advantage, yet we are no longer, even in England, convinced of the necessity of making organized games compulsory. It is sufficient if some sort of exercise adequate to secure the fullest physical development be compulsory. There are always some boys who hate organized games, admittedly often through 'funk', and the nervous disadvantages of forcing them to play may well outweigh any anticipated physical or moral advantages. Our hills will provide numerous alternatives, such as tree-climbing for little boys, khud-climbing for bigger ones, swimming, diving, &c.

With regard to the curriculum of the public school : one supposes it will follow the English model with such modifications as the experience of Dehra Dun may suggest. Doubtless, as in England, specialization will begin at this stage, and the school will be divided into 'classical' and 'modern' sides. For though there are some subjects which can be mastered at a later stage, like Law, Economics and Politics, and can therefore conveniently be relegated to the university stage, yet there are others, such as classical languages, Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, which cannot be mastered unless their intensive study has commenced in youth.

We now turn to the university. Here we picture for our Tamia University something as little like Nagpur University as can be imagined. In the first place, a quasi-monastic atmosphere of calm and solitude—far from capitals, towns, factories, and, if possible, lady-students. In the next place, a university free from Government control, and independent of a Government grant; a university which sets its own standards without paying any attention to the standards of other universities in India, or to the recommendations of the Inter-University Board. Seeking no recognition of its degrees by other universities, it would be content to be judged by its results, confident that, provided the State places no bar to the admission of its alumni to the All-India and provincial competitive examinations, it would justify its teaching by capturing all the highest places filled through these examinations. Catering exclusively for the products of our public schools, it would confine its curriculum to those elements which are calculated to turn out leaders of men—organized games, sports, and educative studies, that is, pure unapplied science, mental, moral and natural. Limiting itself to education of the mind, it would eschew 'technical training', as being no part of its function, deeming a knowledge of these—essential as they are for every leader of men—to be best acquired after the university course, in office, workshop, or special institute. Our University of Tamia will not attempt to produce all the agriculturists, all the retail chemists, all the mechanics and railwaymen, required in the Central Provinces. Therefore, it will not attempt to establish or include specialized colleges of law, medicine, agriculture, engineering, or science. Yet it will be confident that it will give to the province its leaders in all these special vocations from among those of its alumni who after a scholarly training in the humanities will, upon leaving her portals,

enter these specialized institutions for their purely 'vocational' training.

A word may now be said as regards staff. For all these contemplated institutions, from the preparatory school to the university, it is obvious that the highest world-standards must be aimed at—equality with the best of America, Britain, or Japan. Consequently, nothing less than the best staff should be employed. How far India will be able to supply this staff depends upon its development, in which we may expect Dehra Dun to play no mean part. But if India alone cannot meet the demand, we must not hesitate to import from abroad. Even to-day, after so many centuries of development, Oxford herself is not ashamed to do this. She scours the whole world for her staff. Similarly Japan, Germany, America and all the leading countries compete in the international market to secure the best men, regardless of race. So should we. In particular should we beware of succumbing to a narrow provincialism.

And now we must look for a moment at the other provinces of India. Madras possesses ideal sites in the Nilgiris; to Orissa the Nimgiris and Meghasant can be recommended. Bombay has the Western Ghats, Sind the Kirthar Range. All the other provinces have the Himalayas to draw upon, except Bihar, which has a plateau, near Ranchi, rising to a height of 3,615 feet in Mt. Saru.

In conclusion, I shall perhaps be asked what of the existing educational institutions in India—the vast system of primary schools, middle schools, high schools, technical institutes, State-aided universities? In reply I can only say that these do not come within the purview of this paper. I am concerned only with what the well-to-do classes can achieve of their own effort, with their own

class and for the national advantage, independently, and without any statutes from the legislatures or grants from the administration. As for the existing institutions, presumably they will continue to exist and multiply, and fulfil their useful function of providing technical training for the masses and middle classes,—clerks for Government and business offices, skilled artisans of every kind, trained cultivators, trained transport workers, journalists and pleaders,*—all forming that vast and useful body of men who execute good work, but who do not initiate it, who are the led, not the leaders. The power of original creative thought is not demanded of them, and their training in our existing institutions neither supplies it nor need supply it. The power of original creative thought is only required in our leaders. But in them it is a crying need, a need which our present institutions,—partly on account of the pressure of numbers upon standards, but chiefly on account of situation,—do not, and probably cannot, adequately satisfy. Hence this essay.

Jubbulpore.



THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF ST. THOMAS MORE

By M. RUTHNASWAMY •

CAN saints have political philosophies? It is one of the paradoxes of Christianity that they can. Hinduism does not allow its saints to be statesmen : its division of man's life into the successive stages of Brahmachari, Grihasta, Vanaprastha and Sannyasi does not provide for the pursuit of saintliness and statesmanship at the same time. The Walis and Sufis of Islam have nothing to do with politics. The Bodhisatvas of Buddhism, even more than its Bhikkus, suppressed all political desire. Outside Christianity the only people among whom the leaders of religion have laid down the law in politics is the Chinese ; but Confucius and Mencius were moralists and philosophers rather than saints. Christianity, on the other hand, has produced saints that have lived in the world and dealt with its problems—merchants, doctors, teachers, porters, and even politicians. St. Augustine in *De Civitate Dei*, St. Gregory VIII in his *Letters*, St. Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa Theologica* and *De Regimine Principum*, have contributed *ex professo* to the statement of the Catholic theory of the State ; while a crowd of other holy men, like Clement of Alexandria, St. Bonaventure, St. Bernard, St. Robert Bellarmine, have dealt incidentally with this or that problem of political conduct. The Church has recently canonized still another Saint that has thought and written on the State.

Like most Englishmen that have made a mark in political thought, St. Thomas More did not write special treatises on politics but hammered out his political ideas in the workshop of actual experience. Occasion is what brings out the Englishman's thoughts on politics. In the Middle Ages it was the great controversy between the Empire and the Papacy that produced John of Salisbury and William of Occam's writings. The challenge of the Tudor monarchy brought forth Fortescue's book on the Constitution of England. Bacon's Essays were the occasional reflections of a statesman. Milton's political tracts were a counterblast to the despotism of the Stuarts. The political philosophy of Edmund Burke is to be studied in a large number of Parliamentary speeches and pamphlets on the events of the day. In this as in other matters of private and public conduct More was a typical Englishman. His political thought is to be derived largely from the occasional reflections and utterances of a busy public man. Few English statesmen have had such varied experience of affairs.¹ His political philosophy, if it was derived from principle, was proved and tested by that experience, 'the very mother and mistress of wisdom,' as he himself calls it. And it was in the course of that experience that he enunciated most of his political principles and gathered them all up in his classical work on politics.

He began his political career with a characteristic protest against excessive taxation, 'the only thing that withdraweth the hearts of Englishmen from the Prince.' Against the demand for an 'aid' for the marriage of the King's eldest daughter the young More is said 'to have used such arguments and reason . . . that the king's demands were clean overthrown.' In another

¹ Cfr. *The New Review*, Vol. I, pp. 409 ff.

public act More sought that economic independence which he thought necessary for a defender of popular liberty. On his return from a diplomatic mission to Flanders in 1515 the king offered him a good pension, but he refused it because, according to Professor Chambers, the latest and best of his biographers, he thought it was 'incompatible with his post in the city'.¹ When he was elected Speaker of the House of Commons in 1523, he put forward that splendid plea for the freedom of speech in the Commons which is a *locus classicus* in the annals of Parliament. He asks the king 'to give all your Commons here assembled your most gracious licence and pardon, freely without doubt of your dreadful pleasure every man to discharge his conscience and boldly in everything incident among us to declare his advice.'² According to Hall, the M. P. chronicler,³ More addressing Parliament as Lord Chancellor said that if a prince were 'compared to the multitude of his people and the number of his flock, then he is a ruler, a governor of might and puissance so that his people maketh him a prince, as of a
 'In his m'heep cometh the name of a shepherd.'

teristic ideas are writings, too, many of More's charac-
 told by Professor Chambers,⁴ 'More, in his *Epigrams*, we are
 ate hatred of royal tyranny in a way, he never permitted
 to himself later when he was a servant of the King.' In
 his *Life of John Picus, Earl of Mirandola*, he celebrates,
 among the other social and individual virtues of the man
 he admired and imitated, his love of liberty: 'Liberty
 above all things he loved, to which both his own natural
 affection and the study of philosophy inclined him.'

¹ R. W. Chambers, *Thomas More*. London, 1935, p. 120.

² Quoted in Chambers, p. 203.

³ Quoted in Chambers, p. 241. ⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

⁵ *The Life of Picus, Earl of Mirandola in the English Works of Sir Thomas More*, edited by Campbell & Reed. London, 1931. Vol. I, p. 359.

The *History of King Richard III*, the genuineness of which, as a work of More's, Professor Chambers has established, 'is as much an onslaught on Tyranny as are some of More's epigrams'; he there speaks of 'the execrable desire of sovereignty' and the 'immoderate appetite of worship (i. e. dignity)', and inveighs against the 'pestilent serpent of ambition and desire of vainglory and sovereignty which among states where he once entereth creepeth forth so far till with division and variance he turneth all to mischief.'¹ Speaking of the Protector Gloucester's usurpation he says: 'As the thing evil got is never well kept, through all the time of his reign never ceased there cruel death and slaughter till his own destruction ended it.'² And towards the end of his life he gave Thomas Cromwell this advice: 'You shall in your counsel-giving unto his Grace ever tell him what he ought to do, never what he is able to do. For if a lion knew his own strength, hard were it for any man to rule him.'³ Still later, to Norfolk's advice: *Indignatio principis mors est*, he replied that the only difference between their fates would be that 'I shall die to-day and you to-morrow.'

The counterpoint of Liberty is Order. In *King Richard III* we find frequent references to the disorders that followed the death of King Henry VI. He makes King Edward IV say: 'For where each laboureth to break that the other maketh, and for hatred of each other's person impugneth each other, there must it needs be long ere any good conclusion go forward.'⁴ He makes the King implore the nobles assembled around his death-bed to keep the peace, 'for if you among yourselves in a child's reign fall at debate, many a good man shall

¹ *English Works*, Vol. I, p. 405.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 448.

³ Quoted in Chambers, p. 220.

⁴ *English Works*, vol. I, p. 404.

perish, and haply he too, and ye too, ere this land find peace again.'

Even in his writings on religious controversy More could not avoid dealing with political ideas. For the Protestant controversialists were denying the fundamental notions of that Christian polity which Europe had known for centuries. In his *Dialogue* on Tyndale, the translator of the New Testament, he is forced to deal with such topics as the Constitution, the relation between Church and State, and religious toleration, though the subjects of the controversy were such religious things as the worship of images, the Bible as the source of Christian doctrine, the government of the Church, and so forth.

But it is when we turn to his more deliberate work, the *Utopia*, that we meet the main stream of More's political philosophy. His *Utopia*, 'the most famous book', according to Lord Acton, 'that England produced since the invention of printing', was written in Latin, but in the Europe of the Renaissance it exercised a wide influence. Its popularity is attested by numerous editions, the first at Louvain in 1516, the next at Basle in 1518, and another soon after at Paris. According to Erasmus, 'a burgomaster at Antwerp was so pleased with it that he knew it all by heart.' It was translated into English in 1531, into French in 1530, and soon afterwards into German, Italian and Spanish. It became famous enough for Rabelais to refer to the Utopians in his great work. It was the first of a series of Ideal Commonwealths that have stirred the imagination and fired the enthusiasm of modern Europe. Like most of such works of imagination it has been misunderstood and misinterpreted. Professor Chambers says that it has become a textbook of socialist propaganda, and that it did more to make William Morris a socialist than ever Karl Marx did. Another testimony is that no

treatise 'is better calculated to nourish the heart of a Radical.' What would St. Thomas More have thought if he knew the contradictory uses to which his book has been put ?

Like most great men that have thought and written as well as acted in politics, he, too, has been accused of inconsistency. Lord Acton thought that he had defended divorce in the *Utopia* and opposed the divorce of Katherine of Aragon. The same historian thought that 'under the sinister influence of the official theology of Henry VIII's court, the apostle of toleration became a persecutor of Lutherans.' Murray, the historian of the political thought of the Reformation, feels 'it is obvious that the More of the *Confutation* and of the coarse and scurrilous *Vindicatio Henrici VIII a Calumniis Lutheri*, is no longer the More of the *Utopia*¹ ; while Creighton², an Anglican historian, sees in More's policy of persecution 'merely expediency and the thirst for power.'

It must first be remembered, however, that the *Utopia* was written in the youthful days of the New Learning as a playful exercise of the imagination to please the curious ears of a group of scholars. It was also an age given to satire. Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*, Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, Pietro Aretino's *Satires*, made fun of the ideas and practices of the time. More himself was famous for his sly, subtle, lambent, genial humour, laughing at others and (the perfection of all humour) laughing also at himself and his own country. Besides, the theories of the *Utopia* must be judged in the light of his life and character. Where they contradict this, it would be only just and proper criticism to conclude that they are not his own ; those which agree with it may be taken to be his permanent convictions.

¹ R. H. Murray, *The Political Consequences of the Reformation*. Ch. VII.

² Quoted in Chambers.

Armed with this *apparatus criticus* we are in a position to understand and estimate the ideas and influence of the *Utopia*. Let us first get out of the way the ideas for which More has been wrongly praised or condemned. He is said to have recommended Divorce and Communism. We shall not make use of the legal quibble that the praise of these two practices is put in the mouth of Raphael Hythloday the traveller, for then we should have to exclude most of the ideas of the *Utopia* as not More's own.

His advocacy of Divorce in the *Utopia* can hardly be said to be unqualified. 'Matrimony', says the traveller, 'is there never broken but by death ; except infidelity break the bond, or else the intolerable wayward manners of either party.'¹ Divorce is allowed in these exceptional cases, but the party on account of whose conduct the divorce is allowed 'liveth ever after in infamy and out of wedlock.' The reason for divorce alleged by Henry VIII against Catherine of Aragon is especially inadmissible in *Utopia*, for 'the husband to put away his wife for no other fault but for that some mishap be fallen to her body, this by no means they will suffer.' Incompatibility of temper as a reason for divorce is allowed in *Utopia*, but it must be 'by the full consent of them both.' In any case, divorce must be sanctioned by 'the authority of the council ; which agreeth to no divorces, before they and their wives have diligently tried and examined the matter.' And the council is loath to consent to it 'because they know this to be the next way to break love between man and wife, to be in easy hope of a new marriage.' Utopian divorce is, therefore, not the easy way out of a difficulty that modern divorce has come to be. But still divorce is allowed. To understand this advocacy of divorce we must

¹ *The Utopia of Sir Thomas More*, edited by H. B. Cotterill. London, 1908. pp. 110-111.

remember that More was writing about a country and a people that did not know Catholicism. Utopia was inhabited by people who lived by the light of reason, not by the light of revealed religion. Mere natural reason would find an argument for divorce.

Similarly, with regard to More's advocacy of communism, it must be remembered that he was writing for an ideal race of men, 'among whom with very few laws all things be so well and worthily ordered that virtue is had in price and estimation.' In such circumstances, as among the early Christians and in religious orders, it is possible that 'all men should have and enjoy equal portions of wealth and commodities.' And the reason why he advocated this community and equality of goods is that 'where every man under certain titles and pretences draweth and plucketh to himself as much as he can, so that a few divide among themselves all the whole riches, be there never so much abundance and store, there to the residue is left lack and poverty.' Raphael Hythloday is fully persuaded that 'no equal and just distribution of things can be made, nor that perfect wealth shall ever be among men, unless this propriety (i. e., individual ownership) be exiled and banished.' More in his own person refutes these arguments, for he thinks 'that men shall never there live wealthily where all things be common. For how can there be abundance of goods or of anything, where every man withdraweth his hands from labour?'¹ We shall not be far wrong if we explain More's defence of community and equality of goods as a protest against that accumulation of property in the hands of a few which had begun in his time in England.

On Toleration and Persecution More is said to have enunciated theories which in practice as Lord Chancellor he threw to the winds. Let us see how far he allows

¹ Op. cit., pp. 53-55.

toleration in *Utopia*. King Utopus, we are told, remembering that he had been able to conquer the people of Utopia owing to the weakness caused by their religious dissensions, made a decree 'that it should be lawful for every man to favour and follow what religion he would, and that he might do the best he could to bring others to his opinion, so that he did it peaceably, gently, quietly, and soberly, without hasty and contentious rebuking and inveighing against other.'¹ But 'to him that would vehemently and fervently in this cause strive and contend was decreed banishment or bondage.'² Conversion by force King Utopus would not have, for he thought it 'a very unmeet and foolish thing and a point of arrogant presumption, to compel all other by violence and threatenings to agree to the same that thou believest to be true.' But religious toleration, even of opinion, is not absolute in Utopia. There is one fundamental dogma, 'to do doubt or dispute which' is not open to a citizen of Utopia. No one may disbelieve the doctrine of the immortality of the soul or of divine providence. 'For,' says More, 'you may be sure that he will study either with craft privily to mock, or else violently to break, the common laws of his country, in whom remaineth no further fear than of the laws, nor no further hope than of the body.'³ Neither did he as Lord Chancellor, even assuming that all the charges against him of persecution of heretics are true, contravene the principle which he laid down in *Utopia* and for which he has been justly praised. There was no such contradiction as Lord Acton alleges between More's theory and practice of toleration.

(*To be continued*)

¹ Op. cit., p. 130.

² Ibid., p. 131.

³ Ibid., p. 132.

LEGEND OF THE WESTERN OCEAN

BY RUARAIÐH ERSKINE OF MARR

THE Western Isles of Scotland are lands of mystery, of legend, of myth and twilight-history. Much, and doubtless the most valuable part of this *seanachas* (lore) has perished, passed entirely from human ken ; but some of it remains, and on this the collectors have been busy of late. No living collector of old-world Gaelic lore has made a better search for it, nor with superior skill and charm transformed to literary shape that which he has gleaned all through a now fast waning harvest, than the author from whose writings I have taken and translated the following legend. It is not only that Mr. Kenneth MacLeod, himself an Islesman, is both notably gifted and most favourably situated for purposes of search, but also that he has in a high degree a faculty which some as knowing and as industrious as himself have lacked—the power of making literature of abiding worth and charm out of that which he has picked up. No one who has not the Gaelic language on his lips and in his heart can do the work which MacLeod has done. With him, both the qualifications named are, as it were, so much birthright ; but his love and knowledge of his subject, his acquaintance with the myth and legend of the Celtic past, his prospector's sense of potential values—all these, great as they are, would not have made him the master collector of modern times but for his poetic gifts, his sense of letters,

and his power to shape and turn the phrase that justly ranks as literature.

In the belief of the people, says Mr. MacLeod, the Western Ocean was a living creature, with human feelings, and with power of good and evil over nature. Ever would she roam the four red bounds of the earth in quest of the graves of her own children ; and in the Black Art there was neither spell nor charm that belonged not, two-thirds, to the Sea ; and the third that belonged not to her was locked up in the right hand of the King-of-the-Elements.

. . . Still, to go no farther into the matter, it is sufficient to say that love and hate, life and death, joy and sorrow, succeed one another in rapid interplay in the lore of the Sea, calling for literature whose depth and whose strength are as the depth and the strength of the Sea herself. Or if to put it in another way is allowable, compared with the literature of the Sea that of the Land is for the most part but as a burning wisp of heather set in comparison with a live coal from the smithy furnace.

But there is one thing (he continues) which one must allow about the Ocean, and that is that in her old age she is grown lazy ; and further, that it is not unseldom that she is seen beyond her own bounds ; and thereby also hangs a tale :

Long twenties of years ago (says the tale-teller from Eigg) men were as the gulls, so that they could not drown ; and from the White Strand of Moidart to the place of the Sun-Down—and, by the Great One, great distance is that !—in neither bay nor deep could the Sea find a single one to go on tour with her. But to-day the depths are spotted with the pick of mankind ; and little is their worth, indeed, if she could not find among them one to go on tour with her. And, according to the tale, such she has found—travel companions, or, as is sometimes said to them, *Sea-lovers*—as expert as ever sat on thwarts, or thrust an oar through thole-pins ; and there is neither bay nor harbour in island or in offing in which you may not see them, whiles, bringing to pass the will of the Sea.

When I was growing grey (says one of the race of the Seals of North Uist) we found one day the corpse of a man in a tangle of weed ; and since we knew not who he was, or whence he came, we thought to bury him by the edge of the shore, so that the Sea might not have far to go to find him—if to find him she wished. But when we came to raise him, we saw that he had pink well-cared-for nails to his fingers ; and we said to one another that he, at all events, was of the gentry, and so we must bury him suitably along with other Christians in the graveyard of the Church-of-the-Trinity ; and that was done. In the mouth of night a boat was seen coming thro' the narrows, without a stitch of canvas to her, though with such a way on her that I for one could never wish for a better. But bare of sail though she was, she it was that was speeding ! In the twinkling of an eye her side was against the quay : six young fellows leapt out of her ; and the Good One knows what they bore on their shoulders as they came down. *Och ! Och !* the Sea will claim and get her own : 'tis a vain thing to deny her.

Land folk are apt to lament the state of the Sea-lovers, judging the matter would not be half as bad as they think it if they had died the death-of-the-pillow and been laid to rest with their kinsfolk 'neath the turf of the graveyard.

God ! would that thou didst sleep
In the hamlet by the shore,
In the Church-of-the-Trinity
Where many are thy kinsfolk ;
Then might tears from my two eyes
Grey, like dew, thy grave.

Still, for all that, one must needs allow that though many are the Sea-lovers who have voyaged back to Land-of-the-Living, yet not one of them has ever been heard to speak ill of Land-Under-Wave.

Two-thirds of the home is to be content with it ; and it would seem that the Sea-lovers are well pleased both with their home and with their foster-mother. But though

pleasant and credible the tale, yet 'tis hard to impose it on the women—at all events, on such of them as have lost the treasure which the Sea has got. No mother ever loves the foster-mother ; and the mother is yet unborn who should say from the bottom of her heart : 'My dearest wish is that my children may be more happy with their foster-mother than they were with me.' And 'tis neither blot nor flaw in the love of women if the Sea's kind care of their own should put a heat into their tears and a bitterness into their hearts, which her cruelty could never put there. Greedy enough is the grave ; but more than flesh and blood and bone it neither seeks nor gets. But the Sea seeks and gets that and the whole : the entire man, both body and soul. It may be 'there is hope from the mouth of the Sea, but none from the mouth of the grave' ; still, when hope is dead there's naught in the grief which says : 'The grave has taken my son from me,' in comparison with the grief which says : 'The love of my son, *that* has the Sea taken from me.'

Still, though great the hate of women for Land-Under-Wave, yet greater than it is their love of those who have perished ; and some there are, at all events, who, for the sake of their dear ones, would willingly exchange this life for theirs.

Mouth of glee and laughter-music !
 Alas ! that I am not with thee
 On ridge of ocean, on fringe of shore,
 Whate'er the spot the tide has left thee.
 Side by side, my love, as of old,
 Side by side without thought of parting.
 Ah ! woe's me, my dear one hears me not,
 The billows drown my anguished sighs.

However, there have been some who were more fortunate than this one, and who got what they sought.

'Tis now about fifty years since Allan Donn sailed from Stornoway to tie the knot 'twixt himself and the

jewel of the Isles, the daughter of the Laird of Scalpay in the Hebrides ; but, between raising and lowering sail, the Sea-mischief got a grip of him, so that at the time when it was right for him to marry he was lying beneath the foam of the waves ; and to this very day the Sea-widow grieves and laments in the words of her lay :

I beseech thee, O King-on-Throne,
That I go not into earth or into shroud,
Intq hole-in-the-ground or hidden place,
But into the weed that held thee, Allan ;
Allan Donn ! with thee would I roam.

And with him she roams the ocean. When the hour of her release came, the wish of her friends was to ferry her over across the narrows to the resting-place of her forefathers ; but though many is the attempt they made to reach that journey-end, yet fate and storm and the Sea were against them, so that the tale's end is that the sea-war fulfilled the wish of the maid, who sang ' . . . into the weed that held thee, Allan.'

There's many a legend in the deep besides the Sea-lovers. The old men would say that naught exists on land that has not its like under wave—sea-cattle, sea-wolves, sea-cats, sea-serpents, and so on. But still those there are that are of the myth and legend of the Sea above the rest—the Seal, the Swan, and the Mermaid. Not one of them is native to the Sea, though long is their sojourn under wave.

If right were kept, to-day the Seals would be Kings of Scandinavia ; but in their youth they were so comely in their persons and so imperious in their ways, that their foster-mother conceived the hate of death of them ; and she felt she could not live till she had lowered their heads and humbled their hearts. She spent seven days and seven years learning the Black Art ; and when she had got that

which should suffice—and a woman's craft along with it—she set her foster-children under spells and under crosses, 'they to be neither fish nor mammal as long as they breathed ; that their sea-wish should be for land, and their land-wish for sea, as long as wave should beat on shore.' To this very day, then, the *Children of the King of Scandinavia* are under spells, singing their lays on the reefs, ever grieving the present, ever lamenting the past ; and, would say the old men, 'Who is there but would know at once by their two eyes, and by their music-ear, that the blood of Kings runs in every vein ?' And according to the myth, a part of the spells was that thrice each year (at full moon) they must resume their natural shape, to the end that their sense of what they had lost might be sharpened, and their sorrow increased, by seeing their kin in the power of their enemies. And it was said formerly that, should you chance to see one of them at that very time, you would give the love of your heart to her or to him ; and that, should marriage be at all in your thoughts at the time, a wedding would surely follow. The seed of these unions is yet in the Isles. Clan Codrum is one of them, and it was said, too, that of them is everyone in whose voice and breast is music better than his fellows.

It is scarce necessary to say that it is not lucky to kill a Seal, and that the hunter who does the like is ever unfortunate. The bard of the hills may sing :

For thee I would slay goose and seal and swan,
And the birds on the topmost branches.

But if he were an Islesman he would be more prudent ; at all events he would be taught prudence despite himself, as has happened before now. One day when the men of Canna were out on a hunt in the Isle-of-Seals, they espied in the sea-weed the whelp of one of them, gazing

earnestly at them with his two great warm eyes, as though he were about to say : ' 'Tis of the breed of Kings I am : slay not their whelp.' But slain the whelp was by the man of the quickest hand and the hardest heart ; and if slain he was, the wind and the Sea rose up in fury, so that there was not a man of them that could stand on foot, but must cling, like the limpet, to the rock. Quoth the man of the hardest heart 'twixt two great squalls : 'This, comrades, has not come without a cause. There are two Protestants among us, and it must needs be that Mary and her Son are displeased.' On the heel of the words the twain were seized, and then what they must do was to sacrifice themselves, or their creed, to the Sea. But the two time-servers would do anything under the sun save part with their lives ; and so the end of the business was that both were baptized into the Holy Catholic Church. However, this appeased neither wind nor wave ; and so, on the third day, says the man that was wisest and oldest of the band : 'My own opinion is, men, that of itself creed has nothing to do with death or murder, and tha /if the seal-whelp yet lived perhaps our lot would be better than it is.' Each of them then swore that never more would he slay or molest a Seal, if this time he should get off with his life. That night the men were back in their homes in Canna.

If there be legend in the story of the Seal, there's legend and more in the story of the Swan. In the myths she is called *The Daughter-of-the-Twelve-Moons* ; and the old men would be conjecturing that when there was a halo about the moon the Swan would be mute. But be that as it will, there's no doubt but that the Swan is a King's daughter.

In the days of legend, according to the myth, there were two queens, who were so beautiful that it was not

possible, to say which of the two was the superior, both being present ; and the end of the matter was that one put the other under spells—she to pass from side to side, in the form of a bird, graceful on sea, ungainly on land, sweet-voiced under moon, dead-dumb under sun ; and to this very day the Swan is under those spells. Perhaps an explanation of the myth is to be found in the sun's envy of the moon. However, it is in our lore that when the Flood subsided the moon was full, and that it was so bright that night that a man might see the prick of a sea-louse in his foot—if prick in it there was. This put the sun, and she crouching in the ocean, to rage and fury. I will rise, says she, though it is long before the bird tastes water ; and I will break in pieces the moon, and all the stars. That she did, and if she did it, the moon lost a third of her light ; and to this day she lacks it. Perhaps, then, it's that third which we have in the shape of the Swan, the daughter-of-the-twelve-moons, and she sweet-voiced under moon and dead-dumb under sun.

Now we know whence are the Seal and the Swan ; but whence is the Mermaid ? Well, then, that is not hard to tell.

Once upon a time there was a lass, and on a day of days to the spring she went for a drink of water. Says she, seeing herself in the pure spring : 'I know not if in Scotland there is another woman as beautiful as I am.' 'How foolish art thou, love of women,' says her body-servant, coming from behind, unawares, 'though Scotland is big, the world is bigger.' 'If bigger, 'tis no better,' says the lass, 'and anyhow, I've seen it myself—the pick of the knights from the four red bounds of the earth, and each ready to swear and vow that my like he had never seen, either before or after him.' 'That may be,' says the serving-woman, 'yet though the world is great 'tis small

compared with the ocean ; and many is the secret in the keeping of the deep.'

That very night the lass went to a famous professor of the Black Art, and says she : 'O ! man of the Black Art, give me of the science of the Sea.' 'I will make a fish of thee,' says he. 'That would not suit,' says she, 'I would need a woman's eye in my head, so that I might see and know the beauty of my sex.' 'I will put,' says he, 'a woman's head on a fish.' 'It would not suit,' says she, 'I would need a woman's heart in my breast, so that I might proffer, and accept, love, if lovers there were.' 'The wish of thy heart to thee !', says he ; and together they went towards the ocean. And ever from that night a golden-haired lass, swimming the waves, and always seeking that which she can never find—a woman as beautiful as herself—is to be seen ; and if tradition be true, though she got science of the Sea, yet never happiness along with it ; and when she gives her love, always does she give it to warm blood, and never at all to cold.

So it was, and so it is (concludes MacLeod)—everything to the Sea ; and the story of the Isles is written.

London.



THE BENGAL RESOLUTION OF 1935

By T. N. SIQUEIRA

THE New Review was not alone in celebrating a great centenary in the history of Indian education.¹ The Education Department of the Government of Bengal has commemorated Lord William Bentinck's Resolution of 1835 in another Resolution (No. 2517 Edn.) which aims at correcting the evils of school education in this province. A few remarks may here be made on this document because, though intended only for Bengal, it holds many a useful lesson for the rest of India as well.

Though the population of Bengal is about the same as that of Madras, it has spent only Rs. 1,27,67,000 in 1933-34 on education, while Madras has spent as much as Rs. 2,49,65,000; out of this total expenditure, Bengal allotted only Rs. 30,11,000 to primary education, and Madras, Rs. 1,42,09,000—more than four times as much. In spite of the apparently flourishing state of education in Bengal, then, there has been no real progress since 1917, when the University Commission (presided over by Sir Michael Sadler) pointed out its defects in great detail and suggested a carefully considered scheme of reform. Yet the expenditure on education in Bengal in 1934 was the same as in 1922. The post-graduate and research departments have been developed during the

¹ October, 1935 : Vol. 2. p. 297 ff.

ast decade, but the primary, middle and high schools have suffered.

Education in Bengal, and to a smaller extent in the other provinces, has become top-heavy, and the gulf between the representatives and the represented in the New India has widened instead of closing up. The reason for a policy like this, which is the clean contrary of what is needed, is difficult to find. There is certainly a glamour attached to higher education which tempts Ministers and Vice-Chancellors and Directors of Public Instruction to pursue the wandering fires of fame—that last infirmity of noble mind—into costly research and post-graduate departments and attach little importance to the silent increase of literacy or the quiet organization of secondary education. Still, the education of children in the elementary and middle school is of immensely greater importance for a country's well-being than the provision of laboratories and libraries for advanced university work.

That has been one of the greatest defects of educational policy in India : it has produced leaders without producing those who are fit to be led, it has produced electors who are unable to take an intelligent interest in their own government—in trite journalistic jargon, teeming dumb millions.

The Resolution says that Bengal has been guiltier of this mistake than any other province. Here during the five years 1927-1932 the number of lower primary schools (with three classes and one teacher) increased by over 5,500 more than all the other provinces put together ; but the percentage of pupils who proceeded beyond the infant class was as low as 13—which explains why literacy has not increased in spite of the remarkable increase in the number of primary schools. The percentage of trained teachers in primary schools in Bengal was only 28.1 in 1932, while it was 59.4 in Madras and 73.3 in the

Punjab. The greatest number of those who teach are unfit for the work and have little interest in it, for their pay is often as low as eight rupees a month and they have sometimes to teach three classes at the same time.

This picture may seem overdrawn to those who come to Calcutta for the first time and see the Bengali school-boy with the traditional shining morning face, leather portmanteau in hand stuffed with *Readers* and exercise books, creeping *not* unwillingly to school. But the Government Department of Education would be the least inclined to paint too thickly the defects of a system for which they are themselves responsible. When, therefore, they confess that 'there is much that is ill-designed, inefficient and wasteful in education in Bengal,' their confession cannot err on the side of modesty.

The root of all this failure is not deep to dig. But when the pickaxe touches one root it finds a whole family of them united in a cordial (if vicious) merry-go-round. The teachers are inefficient because they are poorly paid; they are poorly paid because they are inefficient. . . . The Resolution says: 'The schools . . . have been staffed by teachers who are often neither numerous enough nor sufficiently qualified, trained or well paid nor so imbued with a sense of vocation as to be equal to the high responsibilities of their task' (p. 4, col. 2). This is easily said by prosperous 'educationists' (whatever the word may mean); but who is to blame for this inefficiency and want of 'a sense of vocation' of the teacher? In the days when Latin was not so dead as it is now, a vocation was a call to a nobler life: to what noble life is the school teacher called? To the luxury of twenty rupees a month (if he rises to be head-master) with the prospect of retiring at the age of fifty-five on a handsome pension of rupees ten only; to six

hours of yelling a day to a crowd of restless little urchins divided into imaginary rooms and classes in a long open shed ; to periodical nagging by a District Board Member or Municipal Councillor or Sub-Inspector of Schools who sees fit to visit the school and lay down the law on methods of teaching. Is it any wonder that the teacher does not carry about him a high sense of such a vocation ?

The first* and most urgent need, therefore, is the improvement of the teacher. For on him the success or failure of any system of education will really depend. It is not every unemployed graduate with a pair of healthy lungs that can be entrusted with the future of a country. Only the very best in natural gifts and acquired habits—the cleverest, the most learned, the most balanced, the most refined of manner, the most irreproachable of conduct—should be chosen for this most responsible of professions, the education of the young. The Bengal Government resolves to train its future teachers better but it does not seem to be aware of the importance of choosing them with more care and treating them with greater consideration.

But to have better teachers more money must be spent in paying them better and giving them fewer hours of work, for a contented and respected staff will do much more work than is 'in the bond'. This the Government of Bengal seem to be prepared to do. But they are determined to spend the same amount as before (and that is far less than other provinces spend) on primary and secondary education. Bengal has a fairly efficient but enormously expensive university department, with princely buildings and imperial laboratories and libraries and teachers, but it has not yet realized that it is elementary and secondary education that gives the tone of literacy and civilization to a province, and not higher

education. If the total expenditure on schools, therefore, is to remain the same, and the teachers have to be better paid, the only way is to reduce the number of schools.

And this is what the Government of Bengal have decided to do : 'There are at present over 60,000 primary schools in Bengal. . . . Government . . . desire that . . . the number should be reduced to about 16,000. . . ' (p. 6, col. 2). It must be admitted that they have a certain reason for this decision. Most of the existing schools have only one class and one teacher each, and 'these 60,000 schools probably do not produce 60,000 literates in the year' (ibid.). What, then, is the use of giving grants-in-aid out of public funds to schools which do not even teach their pupils to read and write ?

As it stands and as we have put it to give it a fair hearing, the objection to these schools is unanswerable. What is a primary school for if not to increase literacy ? But there is another view of the question which suggests itself to all those who have watched these primary schools with more patience and sympathy than official inspectors and visitors can be expected to possess. Is literacy the only object of a primary school ? Is education meant merely for increasing knowledge ? It is not our intention to insinuate that our universities are an expensive form of idleness ; but if we were to ask what real knowledge their graduates possess when they first put on cap and gown and take their diplomas, and whether colleges, too, should not be scrapped for not promoting knowledge as they ought, we should deserve to be called cynics. Yet the argument is exactly the same : if Government grants are not to be given to primary schools which do not promote literacy, why should they be given to colleges which do not promote 'higher education' in any real sense ?

But the primary school has its usefulness even if it has only one class and only one teacher ; even if at the end of it the pupils are not very 'literate'. For it brings different children for a time together, teaches them what silence and self-restraint mean, trains them to obey a master and even a fellow-pupil who has been elevated to the dignity of 'monitor' or 'leader', gives them some idea of cleanliness, tidiness and method, makes them acquire a modicum of politeness, and enables them to sign their names and read a letter. Those who have never cared to *realize* the condition of many an Indian village will turn up their noses at these elementary virtues of a primary school ; but missionaries who have *lived* among the poor and depressed can tell what a transformation even the most rudimentary school has effected—the happiness, the sense of discipline, the desire for knowledge it has created—*ex nihilo*—in the children and, through them, in their neighbours and relations, and in the whole village. •

To argue, therefore, that because the village primary school does not increase the percentage of literacy in India it has no reason to exist, is to show a picturesque innocence of reality and confirm the opinion of those critics who think that Indian education is still in the hands of men who have either never left England or never returned to India. We are certainly very far from maintaining that all the 60,000 primary schools in Bengal (or anywhere else in the world) have risen to the top of their usefulness ; there are many among them which do not justify the public or private money spent on them ; but *melius sic esse quam non esse*—better thus than not at all. The remedy for disease is not death but recovery.

And how is this recovery to be planned ? The Government of Bengal, like their Madras cousin a few

years ago, have bethought themselves of *Concentration*. A magic word in the pedagogy of the day : to make up for the pupils' want of concentration, of which every teacher thinks it fashionable to complain, the Education Department gives the good example of concentration—not of mind or heart, but of schools ! One good school, it is argued, is better than ten bad ones. Instead of giving meagre grants-in-aid to all the little private schools which litter the countryside, is it not better to start one big Government school in a radius of every two or three miles ? The makers of the Bengal Resolution seem to be conscious of the weakness of this proposal when they explain how, in spite of the reduction they advocate in the number of schools from 60,000 to 16,000, 'there would still be in general a school within less than two miles of every child' (p. 6, col. 2). Two miles is nothing to a West End or (for Calcutta colour) Park Street dweller with a (by anticipation) 1936 Daimler or Vauxhall to spin along in. But does he know what two miles are in a roadless village, across rice-fields and ponds and canals ? And to children below eight who go to a primary school ? A village school is inaccessible to those who live beyond a furlong away from it : all these will simply have to do without any education whatever.

But oh, the beauties of 'Concentration' ! The large airy rooms (20 × 12 × 16 !), the learned, well-paid teachers (headmasters on Rs. 20, others on Rs. 15 !), the 'rural and vocational bias' (a fashionable phrase) of the curricula—these are the Pisgah-visions that attract educationists by their distant enchantment. But when we come down from the mountain, how different is the view ! We know what has happened in other provinces of India where 'concentration' has been attempted—the falling-off in numbers, the degeneration which the lack of the healthy rivalry of private schools naturally produces, the want of

religious and moral education which is inevitable in a system of undenominational and State-managed schools, the general indifference of the public towards institutions which have been started and are conducted independently of them. These evils are incomparably greater than the loss of money which may result from the existence of a few hundred inefficient private schools in a province of fifty million inhabitants which, however inefficient, still have their own use in the general economy of things.

Concentration, then, is not the magic Moly which will preserve education in India from all the dangers that beset it. But can compulsion be used to prop up concentration? By forcing all the children of school-going age to attend school—and, since no other school will be 'aided', this means the Government school—a great improvement in literacy can be obtained, and the popular dislike of the Municipal or Board school can be overcome. This step, however, the Government of Bengal do not contemplate, because it is costly and wellnigh impossible to carry out. While approving of these reasons we would add a better one, that it would be *morally* wrong to force parents to send their little children to schools which are two miles away from their homes and which are unable to provide for the most important side of education—the teaching of religion. Compulsory education has been introduced in many countries; but it has succeeded only in those which first provided enough schools for even the smallest children to attend without too much hardship, and which allowed private, denominational schools to exist side by side with public and undenominational.

But the Bengal Resolution proposes another kind of compulsion: 'that, once a child joins school, it should be compelled to remain at school till it has finished a primary course, or for five years' (p. 6, col. 1). The motive for

this compulsion is that it 'will give the children and the teachers a real opportunity to teach and to learn'; for five years of school are more likely to produce literacy than one. Nothing can be said against the force of this argument except, perhaps, that it is open to the same objections or reservations as compulsion in general, and that it seems to proceed on the assumption that five years of school are necessarily more useful than one—even if the school is consistently inefficient!

So far we have examined only the organization of education in Bengal. The Resolution also proposes a new policy in the curriculum of primary schools. The greatest defect of the prevailing system all over India (with negligible exceptions) is that all the lower stages of education are made to lead up to and prepare for the university, which seems to have captivated the imagination and monopolized the resources of educators. India is, in fact, the only country in the world where there is such a disproportionately high number of graduates compared to the general literacy. From the Infant class of the primary school the thought of graduation seems to haunt the curriculum and cast out all other thoughts. The Bengal Resolution rightly regrets this and urges that the primary school should in future be an independent unit with a self-contained course and a definite purpose of its own. This can be secured only by revising the entire syllabus. For the unreality of a curriculum which is meant merely to 'feed' the high schools and ultimately the colleges of the province is obvious when it is considered how few of its victims ever reach the high school or the college.

But even more important, perhaps, than the curriculum is the way in which it is taught. In education, the accessories, the background, the aids, are much more important than the subject taught. The same lesson, in

the same *Reader*, if it is to be assimilated in Calcutta and in Rupsa (a beautiful-named Bengal village), must be explained and illustrated differently : the Calcutta boy or girl has what is called an urban mind—certain modern inventions and comforts and articles of dress and furniture and modes of speech are familiar to them from childhood. The teacher has to take this for granted and make up for their ignorance of things rural, of natural sights and sounds, of bird and beast, which are almost instinctive knowledge to the Rupsa child with its 'rural mind'. I have seen a teacher in a southern village explain the beauty of the Taj Mahal to a class of boys who had never seen anything better than thatched houses—which, like poets, seem to be born, not made. He was speaking to them of marble and fountain and ceiling and painting and dome (duly translated into the vernacular) ; but they could not for the life of them 'figure' the Taj Mahal. To them the Tamil words for marble and dome were just words, full of sound, if not of fury, signifying nothing.

Experience like this is responsible for the Bengal Government's plan to give primary education a 'rural bias'. Such an education, given in the actual surroundings of the village and in terms of those surroundings, will certainly be more *real* than the parrot-training which has so far passed for education. It will also make the village boy love his village and its occupations, and dream, not of migrating to the nearest smoky town to be a clerk—in a far humbler sense than Chaucer's one from Oxenforde—, but of improving his land and his cattle, of building a more airy, storied house than his ancestors have left him, of being a leader of his village and the hub of its life.

It is impossible to say too much in favour of this ideal, when one knows how great a loss to the country this universal migration of the rural population to towns and cities has been. But there is a danger of the remedy

being worse than the disease. The Government may give so 'rural' a 'bias' to primary education that village life may for ever stagnate and cut itself off from what is really good in the outer world. Statistics show that in the present system two out of every three boys who finish the primary course pass over to the middle school and are thereafter lost to the village; in the future school even those who are gifted with higher talents may be stifled in their rural surroundings and prevented from seeking a more suitable sphere for their activity.

These are the main lines on which the Government of Bengal intend to reform primary education. We shall comment more briefly on their plans for *secondary* education, because they are of less importance for the general welfare of India and raise very few new problems.

Corresponding to the new type of primary school which we have already discussed, there will also be a new kind of middle school, complete in itself, 'providing a satisfactory general training for the boy who wishes either to proceed no further or to pass on to a technical or vocational school' (p. 10, col. 1), instead of being, as it has so far been, a mere rung in the ladder leading to matriculation. This is a reform long overdue. In Europe the middle school is an important and independent institution which equips boys with such a general education as will enable them to choose either a more theoretical high school course of classics or science or a more practical technical or vocational course. Much of the unemployment which exists among educated Indians to-day may be reduced by the judicious diversion of boys into more useful and congenial channels at the end of the middle school course.¹ But that can be done only when this course is a unit by itself, clearly marked off

¹ Cf. *The New Review*, August 1935, Vol. 2, pp. 139-140.

from the primary and the high school, and with its own definite object to achieve.

The Government's plan of reviving the middle vernacular schools in rural areas is not equally satisfactory. It is true that in 1932 Bengal had more than ten times as many middle English schools as Madras (1845 to Madras's 174) ; but the substitution of purely vernacular schools for all the English schools in the villages, though it may produce more contented farmers and reduce the migration of villagers to the towns, will have one great disadvantage which is, perhaps, more important for the general good of the nation—it will widen the gulf between town and village and make the spread of democracy still slower and more difficult than it now is. When all the true lovers of India are complaining of the inability of the masses to take an intelligent share in their own government through their representatives, is it wise to keep English—so far the only common language of India—out of the village altogether and make it a monopoly of the town ?

In the high school, however, a much-needed and excellent change has been proposed. The Government of Bengal remarks : 'The high school should be an avenue to the college, but it should also be a stopping point for a considerable number of the pupils who do not wish to proceed further' (p. 10, col. 1). The Indian high school has been for a whole century so exclusively considered as a road to the college that it has lost all significance as a means of education. In Bengal alone twenty-five thousand students complete this stage of their education every year. Are they all fit for matriculation ? Were they all fit, when they started, for a high school course of general culture ? Will they all be fit for life after matriculation ?

It is, therefore, with the greatest joy that we welcome the Resolution to make the high school a more useful

institution than it has been and to map out its curriculum in such a way as to give it an independence and a self-sufficiency which are most urgently desirable. May the high school have able defenders against undue domineering by the university ; may its destinies not be left, as they are in many parts of India, to the tender mercies of university potentates who offer to protect and defend it against all its foes provided it supplies them with more pupils and larger funds to carry out their plans !

But all these wishes can be realized only when the true spirit animates every rank of the educational department, from Ministers of Education and Directors of Public Instruction down to the Infant class teacher ; when their only desire is to draw out all the good that is latent in their charges and, by their example even more than by their words, to raise them to higher ideals and nobler visions, till every one of them grows into the best that his natural talents and diligent efforts make it possible for him to be. Curriculum, method, medium, teacher—the last above all—these are the human means to the end. But the end itself is divine : ‘The end, then, of learning,’ says Milton in his *Tractate on Education*, ‘is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright.’ In education, therefore, more than in any other profession, ‘neither he that planteth is anything, nor he that watereth ; but God that giveth the increase.’ The secret of teaching, then, is the subordination of these human instruments to the Divine Educator.

It is not, however, in any carping spirit, but with genuine admiration for the good will and sincere zeal which have inspired the authors of the Bengal Resolution, and with a prayer that they may truly educate the millions of Indian children for whom before God they are responsible, that these few remarks have been written.

Calcutta.

MARXIAN RATIONALISM

By C. C. CLUMP

MARXISM has been aptly described as 'a *tour de force* of unparalleled dexterity and brilliance'. The disjoined fragments are marshalled together ; social, philosophical and scientific tendencies are forged into a single system ; social factions are welded into a single party. Everything fits, and nothing is superfluous.

It cannot be denied that the content of Marx's doctrine was conditioned by the intellectual activity of his time. Rationalism had reached its apogée, and posited human reason as the sole source and final test of all truth, while rational idealism had built up a world of categories containing, in an abstract Idea, the expression of all reality. The inevitable reaction against this extravagant Spiritualism took the form of an outspoken Materialism, which found a powerful support in the brilliant success of the natural sciences. Only that was counted real which could be tested by sense experience. Such was the intellectual atmosphere from which Marxism was destined to draw its inspiration.

But its distinctive feature cannot be understood without the personality of its author. 'The purpose of Marx's intellectual activity,' writes an admirer, 'was the revolutionary overthrow of the existing order.' It is as a revolutionary that Marx championed his theories of sociology, economics and philosophy, and his whole doctrine assumes a true perspective when read in the

context of Engels's words at Highgate Cemetery on March 17, 1883 : 'Before all else Marx was a revolutionist.'

The immediate philosophical background of Marxism is Hegel's theory of the dialectical process of thought. Dissatisfied with Kant's transcendental idealism, which limited all human knowledge of metaphysical reality to the acknowledgment of a noumenal substratum of things, the indefinite *Ding-an-sich*, Hegel set out to prove that the noumenal substratum is an ever active process, which constantly passes into its opposite in order to return to a higher and richer form of itself. Being tends to become its opposite non-Being, and both are united in the concept of Becoming ; it follows, therefore, that Becoming, and not Being, is the highest expression of reality. It is, moreover, the highest expression of thought, because then only do we attain the fullest knowledge of a thing when we know what it was, what it is, and what it will be—in short, when we know the history of its development. Hegel's triadic process is, therefore, a Becoming, whose character depends on the nature of the concepts contained in the final synthesis ; and an absolute logical necessity regulates the process.

This revolutionary side of Hegel's philosophy Marx made an integral part of his own social doctrine ; while adhering to the materialist thesis that matter is the sole reality and that every event in the universe is a result of the activity of matter, he incorporated the dialectical process into the movement of matter. 'Marx and I,' writes Engels in his *Anti-Duhring*, 'were almost the only persons who rescued conscious dialectics . . . by transforming it into the materialist conception of nature. . . . Nature is a test of dialectics. . . . In the last analysis, nature proceeds dialectically and not metaphysically.' Marxian materialism is thus different from the old materialism, which was non-historical and non-dialectical.

It was Marx's great ambition to reconstruct and interpret the development of society on the principle of causality of organic activity, and this *tour de force* remains a great example of applied materialism. His is essentially a philosophy of action. 'Motion,' he wrote, 'is the form of existence of matter'; and this, applied to social evolution, means that the interacting processes of productive relations determine the social structure of humanity. 'For the mode of production of the material means of life determines, in general, the social, political and intellectual process of life. It is not the consciousness of human beings that determines their existence; but, conversely, it is their social existence that determines their consciousness.'

It is clear, therefore, that for Marx the concept of a class or social group is determined solely from the economic point of view; the control over the forces of production is the only principle of division in society. Hence, according to him, from objective conditions, social environment and productive forces (thesis), there arises a consciousness of needs and purposes which, in recognizing the objective possibilities in the given situation (antithesis), sets up a process of action (synthesis) destined to actualize these possibilities. In other words, the economic or material infra-structure of society creates new ideological supra-structures from which arise new social forms; and the process of the material infra-structure is dialectical, that is, not in a straight line, but, so to speak, in spirals, in the same Hegelian sequence of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. As Marx expresses it, 'the economic infra-structure determines the ideological supra-structure.' By the introduction of dialectics into the materialist interpretation of nature and of history, Marxism not only explains the determination of social consciousness by matter, but also posits the inevitability of the social revolution caused by

a dialectical reaction of consciousness upon matter. Its fundamental postulate is the identification of a physically determined process (as in the case of organic matter) with one which is governed by a logical necessity (as in the case of dialectical thought). This postulate Marx merely assumed but never tested.

Given this radical division of society into classes by productive forces alone, it is not difficult to understand how by a process of abstraction from reality Marx proceeds to embody these social groups and their mutual relations in conceptual unities or categories. These categories are collective concepts abstracted from particular concepts of social phenomena, that is, universal static concepts of dynamic social forms. They are by nature immutable, while the particular phenomena from which they are abstracted are variable. 'The categories', writes H. De Man, 'are the raw material of Marx's intellectual constructions.' It is evident that such collective concepts are essential if we would reduce to unity the opposing tendencies of economic groups or classes and interpret human activity on the same principles as are used in the study of the mechanical movements of organic matter. Such rational nominalism explains, to some extent, the strange absence of all reference to the individual in orthodox Marxian 'groups', which express the content of the socio-economic structure of social evolution and can be scientifically analysed according to Dialectical Materialism ; but for this very reason it denies the reality of human personality. As M. Berdyaev says, 'The most striking unhuman error of Marxism consists in refusing to see man above the classes.'

For Hegel, the Absolute Idea is the motive power of the dialectical process of thought ; for Marx, the dialectical process of society finds its origin in the very nature

of the categories—which are posited in pairs : bourgeois and proletariat, capitalism and socialism ; and the logical incompatibility which exists between the categories embraces the whole of life. This universalizing of antitheses is a natural consequence of Marx's extreme conceptual realism : he took the abstractions of thought for the realities of being, and refused to admit that social differentiation is affected by other elements and conditioned by other principles than the forces of production. Like the categories, the relation of opposition (e. g. between capitalism and socialism), and the relation of causal identity (e.g. between capitalism and bourgeoisie, between socialism and proletariat) are immutable, in spite of the changing aspects presented by these phenomena through the evolution of society. It follows, therefore, that the end of Dialectical Materialism, which is actuated by the logical incompatibility of the categories, is included in the very cause of the process. Class war is necessarily contained in capitalism since it creates a 'socialist consciousness' in the proletariat. Hence the socialist future of society is a necessary result of its development, and the efficient cause of both the social evolution and the social revolution is immanent in the very cause of the process—the social category.

Perhaps the most characteristic result of Marx's antitheses is his fondness for the transposition of a conceptual mechanical law of causality into the domain of reality—the extension and application of movement according to the laws of matter and of thought to the sphere of reality. The dialectical movement originates from the nature of the categories ; the process is accomplished within the economic infra-structure, and moves towards the final synthesis—the social revolution—which is already expressed in the antinomy of the categories. Marxian thought

is thus a perfect *a priori* method which deduces the future evolution of society on the principles of Darwin's material causality and Hegel's teleological idealism.

As an auxiliary method of scientific research, Dialectical Materialism undoubtedly has its uses. The social phenomena of the past can certainly be scientifically investigated by means of a theory of causality built on abstraction. But the legitimate use of such a method to explain and predict the future evolution of society is invalidated by its very assumptions. For there is a fundamental difference between a development which is a simple mechanical process, and a development that is essentially in the order of volitional and psychical activity.

In making the forces of production the sole basis of social differentiation Marx forgot the psychological element in society and the important rôle that it plays in the evolution of civilization. This is easy to explain, for, being influenced by the biological interests of his time, he assumed the organic nature of social progress ; and his method of reducing human tendencies to exact quantitative dimensions and rigid formulae necessarily excluded the free psychical activities of human society. The result is that, while Marx's philosophy is extremely idealistic, many a prophecy of his has proved to be false. The present Labour Movement, for instance, is neither the outcome of mere forces of production nor a mystical supra-structure imposed on the masses from on high. It is essentially the expression of the ethical ideas, ideals and rights which are natural to man. But orthodox Marxism is fundamentally materialistic, and considers the whole content of social progress as determined by material or economic forces, and the ideological supra-structure as determined by the material or economic infra-structure.

This is obviously a very superficial view of civilization. Indeed, it is not possible to base a purely material civiliza-

tion on economic factors alone, since every society is essentially a human order and must take no less account of human nature than of external nature. Even the Communist Revolution that brought the U. S. S. R. into being was not purely materialistic, for it was carried through, not in the name of material efficiency, but of moral ideals—social justice and equality. In short, forces of production alone can no more create a civilization than good food alone can make a genius.

Marx's incorporation of Hegel's dialectics into his materialist conception of society is meant to explain the revolutionary activity and the inevitable result of human progress. Unfortunately, Hegel's dialectics have been borrowed at the sacrifice of logic, for a dialectical process is only possible when there is a real integration within which the development can be accomplished—which is impossible to an atomistic and nominalist materialism.

It is not within the scope of this study to discuss Marx's concept of a universal class, or the economic determinism necessarily implied in his system, or even the organic nature of social development which he postulates. But enough has been said to show that the weakest point in Dialectical Materialism is the confusion between extreme rational nominalism and realism. Marx himself never proved the legitimacy of transposing the laws of thought into the domain of reality; he merely assumed it: 'Dialectics is the science of the general laws of motion both of the external world and of human thinking.' Hegel the idealist had conceived the conflict of positive and negative, producing new categories of thought; Marx the materialist reduced it to a material process, claiming for it the validity of a universal truth. This claim must stand or fall with his initial assumption.

Louvain.

A DROP OF WATER

From the earliest times,
In all countries and climes,
I've travelled,—a tireless rover ;
Ever wrapt in a spell
Of beauty I dwell—
An ornament all the world over.

'Mid the wavelets that break
On some wonderful lake,
I'm rocked on a watery pillow ;
Midst the breakers that roar
On some hard-beaten shore,
I ride on the crest of a billow.

Now wrapped in the shroud
Of a wandering cloud
I slumber in silent seclusion ;
Then appearing again
In the pelting of rain
Down I tumble in dizzy confusion.

Now sailing at ease
On a warm, summer breeze,
Unseen do I ride—like a wizard ;
Or wildly dash past
On the merciless blast
Of a bleak, cutting, snow-bearing blizzard.

I often repose
On the crystalline snows,
That iciness never regretting ;
For translucent I gleam
With the colours that stream
From the sun in its glorious setting.

From the deepness that lies
In the star-spangled skies
Like a jewel I drop in the dawning ;
I alight at that hour
On some uplifted flower
And sleep in its petals till morning.

When the golden orb glints
With a myriad tints
From the rose-bearing place of sunrise
I again glow bright
In the shimmering light
That eastwardly spreads on the skies.

And when eventide fails
On the hills, in the dales,
And a sleepiness comes with the gloaming,
Then lured I'm led on,
To a dreamland I'm drawn,
Where the misty veils rest from their roaming.

From the earliest times,
In all countries and climes,
I've travelled,—a tireless rover ;
Ever wrapt in a spell
Of beauty I dwell—
An ornament all the world over.

FRANCIS G. WEST

ARCHBISHOP JOHN OF MONTECORVINO

PATRIARCH OF THE ENTIRE ORIENT

BY MARION A. HABIG

THE Mongol Empire was the largest in the history of the world ; and it attained its greatest extent under the Great Khan Kublai, who ruled from 1260 to 1293. By the middle of the thirteenth century the Mongols had subjugated the greater part of Asia. They had vanquished the Chin Kingdom, in Cathay or northern China as early as 1232. But the Sung Kingdom in Manzi or southern China was still independent ; and as long as a neighbouring country remained unconquered, the Mongol conquerors would not rest ; the Great Khan Mangu entrusted the campaign against southern China to his brother Kublai, who conquered it in 1279 and succeeded him as Great Khan.

The Mongol Empire now included all Asia except Japan, India and Arabia. Kublai governed China himself ; and the khans of Chagatai, Kipchak and Persia were his vassals.

Kublai was more than a warrior ; he was also a good ruler. He improved the wretched highways of China ; he built the Grand Canal from the Yangtze to Pe-i-ko ; he reduced the disastrous famines of China by storing up the superfluous grain when the crop was good ; he introduced paper money, called *chao* ; he even composed a new alphabet, which was adopted not only by the Mongols but also by the Chinese, the Tibetans, and the Uigurs.

It was in the very year of Kublai's death (1293) that Friar John of Montecorvino¹, the founder of the first Catholic missions in the Far East, set foot on Chinese soil. When Clement V appointed

¹ Cfr. *The New Review*, May 1935, pp. 428 ff.

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him first Archbishop of Khanbaliq and Patriarch of the Entire Orient in 1307, he vested him with spiritual authority over 'all souls dwelling in the entire empire of the Tatars.' He held this position till 1318, when Pope John XXII erected the archdiocese of Sultanieh (Soltania) in Persia, and placed a Dominican friar at its head. But his own archdiocese still comprised not only all China but also Chagatai, Kipchak, and part of Asia Minor, and eventually included the suffragan sees of Zaitun in south-eastern China and Almalek in Chagatai, and the four dioceses of Caffa (Feodosia), Tana (Azov), Savay, and Kumuk in Kipchak.

After labouring at Khanbaliq for an entire decade, Montecorvino wrote two letters to his missionary confrères in western Asia ; and one of the latter, Blessed Thomas of Tolentino, carried them to Europe in 1307. Friar Thomas went to Cardinal John de Muro, ex-Minister General of the Friars Minor in Rome, and told him of Montecorvino's marvellous work at the Mongol capital. The Cardinal communicated the good news to the other Cardinals, and at their request Friar Thomas in an excellent address recounted what his confrère had accomplished in China and asked that effective measures might be taken to develop the promising mission in the Far East. •

Pope Clement V then conferred upon Montecorvino the title of Archbishop of Khanbaliq and Patriarch of the Entire Orient, and ordered the Minister General of the Friars Minor and his council to select seven learned and virtuous friars who should receive episcopal consecration and go to China as Montecorvino's consecrators and suffragans. The friars chosen were Andrew of Perugia, Gerard Albuini, Nicholas of Banzia, Ulric of Seyfridsdorf, Peregrin of Castello, William of Villeneuve, and Andreucci of Assisi. They were consecrated by three Cardinals designated by the Pope and received ample faculties. Thus any single one of them could consecrate Montecorvino ; and Montecorvino himself after his consecration could consecrate new bishops as need arose.

All of them except William of Villeneuve then set out for China, accompanied by numerous Franciscan friars. • Of the latter we know the names of only two, Friar John Grimaldi and Friar Emmanuel of Monticulo, who laboured zealously at Zaitun in south-eastern China. Since the Dominican friars who had set out for Khanbaliq on receiving Montecorvino's first letter had not

been able to reach their destination by the overland route across Asia, the Franciscan bishops and friars chose the longer route by way of India where, however, many of the friars and three of the bishops died. The others arrived in China about 1309, 'after much labour and fatigue and hunger and divers hardships and hazards on land as well as on sea, and having been robbed on the way of all our goods, even our tunics and habits,' as Bishop Andrew of Perugia described it.

After disembarking in China, probably at Zaitun, the entire missionary band proceeded to Khanbaliq, and there the three surviving bishops conferred episcopal consecration on Friar John of Montecorvino. How the heart of the great missionary, an exile in a strange land for the past fifteen years, must have throbbed with happiness when they arrived at the capital ! The cordiality with which he welcomed these good brethren can be better imagined than described. With grateful humility he accepted the dignity bestowed upon him by the Vicar of Christ. He was now able to give adequate expression to his ardent love for the Church's liturgy ; now the mission at the capital could receive the care it deserved, and new missions could be founded at other centres in this vast and promising field. He kept some of the new missionaries and at least two of the bishops at the capital and sent the others to other points of vantage in the empire. He appointed Gerard Albuini as Bishop of Zaitun, the great harbour city on the south-eastern coast, and assigned some of the friars to the same city. Some he probably instructed to establish missions at Yangchow and Hangchow, half-way between Khanbaliq and Zaitun ; and others he probably sent to Tenduk and beyond to the eastern part of Chagatai, which is now the Chinese province of Sinkiang. To the bishops and friars who stayed at the capital he committed the two churches he had already built ; and, for a while at least, the Archbishop himself devoted all his attention to the schismatic Armenians at Khanbaliq. The latter of their own accord built a church and surrendered it to the Pope's representative, thus signifying their submission to the Holy See. There were now three Catholic churches in the capital.

Meanwhile the Great Khan Timur had been succeeded by Haichan or Khai Khan, whose Chinese name was Wu-tsung or U-tsun. According to Ricci's chronology, the Archbishop succeeded in baptizing this Great Khan and his mother in 1311 ;

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and shortly after Haichan died, requesting that he might be buried in the Franciscan habit.¹

At the end of 1310 and the beginning of 1311, Pope Clement V, learning that three of the China-bound bishops had died in India, appointed three more coadjutor bishops for the archdiocese of Khanbaliq—Thomas, Jerome and Peter. Of these the first seems to have perished on the way to China ; the second, a Catalanian, probably did not go beyond Kipchak ; and only the third, Bishop Peter of Florence, reached Khanbaliq in 1313, or before 1317. •

The new mission at Zaitun, the present Tseanchow in the province of Fukien, was soon in a flourishing condition. Kublai Khan had sent some Alans, schismatic Christians from western Asia, to this important city for the purpose of establishing his authority in southern China ; and here as in Khanbaliq the Alans probably became the nucleus of the first Catholic community. A rich Armenian lady built a beautiful and spacious cathedral for Bishop Gerard Albuini and provided for his material needs and those of his missionaries. When he died in 1313, Bishop Peregrin of Castello came from the capital and took his place. •

On December 30, 1317, the second Bishop of Zaitun wrote a letter to his brethren in the Vicarate of East Tataria or Persia asking for new recruits, since he had only three missionaries to help him, Friars John Grimaldi, Emmanuel of Monticulo, and Ventura of Sarezana (the first Chinese Franciscan). 'Would that we had a hundred such men here !', Bishop Peregrin wrote of his missionaries. The Bishop and the friars preached freely ; and though they spoke through interpreters, large crowds of pagans came to listen to them.

Shortly after this letter was dispatched, Bishop Andrew of Perugia, who was still at Khanbaliq, decided to join his confrères at Zaitun, and journeyed to the south-east in the company of eight horsemen supplied by the Great Khan. While staying at the capital, he and his fellow-missionaries had received what he calls the *alafa*, a yearly allowance equal to a hundred gold florins or forty dollars and sufficient to supply eight persons with food and clothing. The Great Khan continued the grant of the *alafa* at Zaitun also.

¹ *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, XLIV (1925), 54.

Besides the cathedral the missionaries at Zaitun had a grove a quarter of a mile from the city ; and there, with the allowance granted to him, Bishop Andrew of Perugia built a beautiful church and a large friary with cells for twenty friars besides four rooms for prelates. For about four years he assisted Bishop Peregrin of Castello ; and when the latter died in 1322, he was appointed third Bishop of Zaitun by a special decree of Archbishop Montecorvino.

In January, 1326, he wrote a letter to the Father Guardian of the friary at Perugia, saying that he and his missionaries preached to all without interference and gained many converts from paganism, but that none of the Jews and Saracens would embrace Christianity. Regarding himself, he added that he was still quite strong and active, though he was far advanced in years and suffered from the ordinary infirmities of old age. Not long after writing this letter, however, he died and was succeeded by the one remaining coadjutor bishop at Khanbaliq, Bishop Peter of Florence, who thus became the fourth Bishop of Zaitun.

While he was still bishop, probably in the latter part of 1324, Blessed Odoric of Pordenone, world missionary and traveller, and his Irish companion, Friar James, arrived at Zaitun with the relics of four Franciscan friars, Blessed Thomas of Tolentino, Friar James of Padua, Friar Peter of Siena, and the Georgian Lay-Brother, Demetrius of Tiflis, who had been martyred at Thana, near Bombay, on April 9, 1321 whilst on their way to China. Continuing his journey, Blessed Odoric stopped at Hangchow as the guest of 'a mighty and rich man' who had been converted to the Faith by 'four of our friars'. This magnificent city, the Venice of China, must, therefore, have been the scene of the friars' missionary labours at least for a while. Yangchow must have been another of their mission centres, for Blessed Odoric tells us that he found a Franciscan friary there. At length he arrived at Khanbaliq, and for three full years (1325-1328) assisted the Archbishop and his companions.

That the successors of Kublai and Timur continued to be favourable toward Montecorvino and his co-workers is evident from the fact that Blessed Odoric 'was often at the banquets, for we Minor Friars have a place of abode appointed for us in the emperor's court, and are enjoined to go and bestow our blessing upon him.' The ceremony is thus described by Blessed Odoric :

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'Upon a certain time when he (Yesun Timur) was coming towards Kanbalu, the fame of his approach being published, a bishop of ours (Archbishop Montecorvino or Bishop Peter of Florence who became Bishop of Zaitun about this time), with certain of our Minor Friars and myself, went two days' journey to meet him; and being come close to him, we put a Cross upon wood, I myself having a thurible in my hand, and began to sing with a loud voice: *Veni, Creator Spiritus*. And as we were singing, he caused us to be called, commanding us to come to him, notwithstanding that no man dare approach within a stone's cast of his chariot unless he be called, but such only as keep his chariot. And when we came near to him, he veiled his hat or bonnet, being of an inestimable price, doing reverence to the Cross. And immediately I put incense into the thurible, and our bishop taking the thurible perfumed him, and gave him his benediction.'

Blessed Odoric also informs us that certain of the Great Khan's 'barons, being at the same time in his army,' had been converted by Franciscan friars. Since the number of labourers in this large and fruitful vineyard was far too small, he started in 1328 on an overland journey to Europe to enlist new recruits.

In the same year, probably after Blessed Odoric's departure, Archbishop Montecorvino was called to his reward. He was eighty-one years old and had spent thirty-five years in China, about twenty of them as Archbishop. A Dominican friar, John of Cora, subsequently Archbishop of Sultanieh, who was visiting Khanbaliq at the time, seems to have administered the Last Sacraments to him. The extraordinary honours with which he was buried gave proof of the love and esteem he had won during his long residence in the capital. Friar John of Cora tells us that crowds of Christians and pagans were present at the solemn obsequies, and that the pagans rent their garments to show the intensity of their grief. Both Christians and pagans used to visit the Archbishop's tomb, and venerate as relics pieces of the sacred vestments he had worn.

Contemporary as well as later writers agree that Archbishop Montecorvino was not only a great missionary but also a saintly Franciscan. In his letter of 1317, Bishop Peregrin of Castello declared that the Archbishop was leading 'a good and hard austere life.' Friar John of Cora calls him 'a man of a very good life and

pleasing to God and to the world.' Some Catholic Alan princes belonging to the court of the Great Khan, writing to the Supreme Pontiff eight years after Montecorvino's death, refer to him as 'a capable and holy man.' And Friar John of Marignolli, who laboured in China from 1342 to 1346, reported that the Tartars and the Alans were still honouring Montecorvino as a saint.

Even at the present day the founder of Catholic missions in China is held in great veneration by the missionaries and their neophytes. His picture occupies a place of honour in the residences of the Vicar Apostolic of Peiping and of the Apostolic Delegate to China. The former Apostolic Delegate to China, Celso Costantini, proposed the first Archbishop of Peiping as a model to the bishops and missionaries in China to-day. The first Plenary Council of China, held at Shanghai in 1924, petitioned the Holy See to enrol Archbishop Montecorvino among the Blessed, because of 'his heroic missionary virtues and very active zeal in preaching the Catholic faith.' The next year Bishop Stanislaus Jarlin of Peiping began to gather information regarding the veneration of Archbishop Montecorvino, and in his letters to the Holy See repeatedly urged his beatification. In 1928, on the occasion of the six hundredth anniversary of Montecorvino's death, the Minister General of the Friars Minor wrote a circular letter on the great missionary to the whole Order; and his letter was accompanied by one written by Pope Pius XI himself, which, he says, is a monument to Archbishop John of Montecorvino *aere perennius*.

Westmont, Illinois, U. S. A.



SOME SANTAL CUSTOMS

By J. GRECH-CUMBO

OF all the aboriginal tribes of India the Santals are the most numerous. Their home is the district known as Santal Parganas, though they are also to be found elsewhere. They are a healthy race. They live on the produce of the land, and are unrivalled in the use of the bow and arrow. Though they live a very simple life they are by no means wild : on the contrary, they are sociable and hospitable. Unlike other tribes they are noted for their cleanliness. The women make it a point of honour to keep their homes spick and span, and seem to vie with one another as if there were a prize for the tidiest home. Their villages are, therefore, free from offensive odours.

They are very conservative. This conservatism is seen especially in those who live far from bazaars and towns. Thus, though they have no written documents, the same customs are observed wherever they are to be found. They are fond of roaming about from place to place carrying with them their goods and chattels, and ever keeping to the traditions they have received from their ancestors.

Among the Santals a new-born baby is called New Friend (*Nawa Pera*). It is a great event, especially if it is a boy, generally called *baria* (i.e., 'one who carries things on the shoulders') to distinguish him from a girl or *dipil* (i. e., 'one who carries things on the head'). A boy is more welcome than a girl because he will remain in the

family even when he is married, whereas a girl will be taken away by her husband. It is the ambition of every Santal woman to have a daughter-in-law whom she can order about the house. Woe to the unfortunate girl who does not obey her mother-in-law, for she will be made to observe the law of 'No work, no food.' If the daughter-in-law falls ill and cannot work, she is sent back to her mother till she gets better. Her husband has no say in the matter.

At the birth of a child the village and the family are both considered unclean. No sacrifice or other religious ceremony is allowed, and no one can eat or drink with that family until the *fanam chatiar*—the cleansing ceremony—takes place, five days after the birth of a boy and three after the birth of a girl. At this ceremony, which is attended by all the authorities of the village and the friends of the family, the child is given a name and admitted into the tribe. According to immemorial custom, the first son is named after the paternal grandfather, and the first girl after the grandmother. The second takes the name of the maternal grand-parents. This name, which is known as the inner name (*bitri*), is never pronounced in the family. The child is, therefore, given another name (really a nickname) which is known as the outer name (*cetan*), to prevent the *bongas* (devils) from knowing its real name, for such knowledge would tempt them to harm it.

The Santals of to-day are staunch devil-worshippers. But they do not seem to have always been so, for they all believe in one God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, whom they call *Baba* (Father). The difficulty of the missionary, therefore, is not to convince the Santal that God exists but that the devil is not to be worshipped. For this is how he argues: 'Since God is good He cannot do me any harm. Why should I bother about Him? But the

devil *can* do me harm ; I must therefore win him over.' This thought of the devil constantly haunts the Santal. If he is sick, the devil is not pleased with him ; hence he sacrifices goats to appease him. If the crops are bad, the devil is angry and must be pacified with his favourite goats. The Santal also knows of the next world—with its joys and sufferings. In boyhood each man is branded with a *sikha* or mark on his left forearm. These marks are believed to be the sign of the tribe, but they have a different meaning. The first is *jion* (life), the second represents *moron* (death), and so on, alternately life and death. Hence an odd number is lucky. A Santal who dies without any mark or with an even number of them will be eaten up by enormous worms. The girls are not branded but tattooed in the form of flames. When a man who has had two or more wives dies, he will join his first wife in the next world.

Marriage is next in importance to birth. The Santals do not marry young. Parents do sometimes make a match while a child is still young, but the real marriage only takes place after puberty. Neither is there any question of an old man marrying a minor. Polygamy is considered to be a crime amongst them. Widows are not forbidden to remarry.

Among the Santals there are various kinds of marriage, which may be divided into regular and irregular. The regular marriages are performed with many ceremonies and at great expense. The irregular, which are also legal, take place *sine caeremoniis* and *in forma pauperum*. It is the bridegroom's parents that arrange a regular marriage. He has little or nothing to say in the matter. If the parents of both parties are pleased and agree on a bride-price, the boy and the girl generally acquiesce. But sometimes, though rarely, it happens that either the boy or the girl is not pleased with the choice ; then

the marriage does not take place. Courtship is almost unknown.

But the preparations for marriage are interminable. These are made by the go-between or match-maker, who is rewarded for all his trouble with a rupee. He also acts as master of ceremonies in the marriage feast which takes place in the bride's village. A father who wants to find a bride for his son must, therefore, first find a go-between, who will go to another village (for they seldom marry in the same village) in search of a suitable girl. His mission is very delicate. He speaks metaphorically. He introduces himself as the bearer of good tidings or as one in search of a precious stone. If his proposal is accepted by the girl's parents, a day is fixed for the preliminary visit of inspection. On the appointed day, the bridegroom's father, his grandfather if he is still alive, and other relatives, set out at dawn to inspect the bride. This expedition is of great importance and its success or failure depends on the omens they encounter on the way. A jackal crossing their path, or someone carrying wood, or a shower of rain, are bad omens ; but a cow at the entrance of the bride's village, or a woman carrying a water-pot on her head, are good omens. The girl, accompanied by two young women, advances to meet the party without talking or seeming to take any notice of them. If the visitors are well impressed the visit is returned by the bride's parents. If both parties are satisfied the betrothal is concluded and a first instalment of the bride-price is paid. The full sum, which depends on the wealth and accomplishments of the happy couple, may be twelve or twenty or even thirty rupees. For a widow or divorced woman, however, only half these rates are paid because, as the Santals put it, they are only borrowed goods and have to be returned to their first husbands in the next world. The bridegroom

has also to give a *sari* to his bride, as well as to her mother and grandmother.

Then the marriage takes place with great pomp and noise. The feast sometimes lasts three days or more, to the great joy of the whole village. For a Santal never misses such an occasion. He may be ill, employed, or far away, but nothing will stop him from coming to a wedding. The essential item in the marriage ritual, without which it is invalid, is the *Sindur*—the smearing of vermilion on the bride's forehead and on the parting of her hair. The *Sindur* is a very ancient custom. It may have originally been only a sign of union, like the ring, except that it was always considered as necessary *ad validitatem*.

The second kind of marriage is known as *Ghar Jāwāe*. A sonless father requires a helper in his fields and looks about, through a go-between, for a son-in-law. The young man has not to pay anything for his bride, for he comes to live with his father-in-law, and will succeed to his property.

The third kind of marriage is *Gardi Jāwāe*. Here, too, no bride-price is paid, but the bridegroom offers his services only for five years, after which he is given a pair of bullocks, some rice and agricultural implements, and starts a home of his own. *Gardi jāwāe* takes place when the father-in-law has a very young son or a girl so ugly or deformed that there is no prospect of her being asked in marriage in the ordinary way.

The fourth kind is *Itut*, or marriage by force. A young man falls in love with a girl. Seeing that she does not return his love, he seizes an opportunity, in the bazaar or at the well or in some isolated place, to mark her on the forehead with *sindur* (vermilion). He will be heavily fined for it, but she has become his legal wife. If she refuses to live with him she must obtain a divorce from

the elders of the village, and thereafter belong to the category of widows and divorced women.

The fifth form is *Nir Bolok* (*nir*, to run ; *bolok*, to enter), which may be described as the reverse of the fourth. A girl who cannot get the man she wants in the ordinary way takes a pot of *hândiâ* (rice beer), enters his house, and insists on staying there. Etiquette forbids a woman being expelled by force ; but the young man's mother, who naturally wants to choose her daughter-in-law, may use any means short of personal violence to get her out of the house. She may, for example, throw red pepper into the fire so as to smoke the adventurous maiden out ; but if she stands this ordeal she has won her husband and the family is bound to accept her.

The sixth form of marriage is rare. When a girl, for instance, has already married a relation, in order to avoid scandal some other man is persuaded to call himself her husband, for which kind service he gets two bullocks, a cow and a quantity of paddy from the parents of the unfortunate girl. The headman then calls all the villagers together, publicly declares the couple to be man and wife, and exhorts the girl to be faithful to the husband that has been graciously provided for her.

The tribe is divided into twelve septs, of which one has been lost. Each sept is known by a name which roughly corresponds to a surname. A boy and a girl of the same sept cannot marry, for they are of the same family. If they do, they are punished and cast out of the village. A widow is not allowed to marry her husband's elder brother, though she may marry his younger brother. Divorce is allowed by the Santals for certain reasons. Five men can decide to dissolve a marriage, but a handsome fee has to be paid by the party asking for divorce.

Santal village life is very simple. It is made up of work, festivals, and endless panchayats or *galmardo*. At

the beginning of the rainy season the ploughing, sowing and transplantation of rice takes place. Then comes the harvest followed by merry-making and basking in the sun for the rest of the year. The Santal is very fond of hunting. He will walk for days, weeks and months to satisfy his craving for pig or other big game. Feasts, too, play an important part in his life. *Sohrae* generally comes after the harvest and is a kind of thanksgiving for his crop., *Baha* is celebrated before the sowing. Indeed, feasts keep him busy till the rainy season, the season of field work.

Their burial customs vary. Some practise cremation. Others bury their dead. Each one is buried in his own field, for there are no grave-yards. The dead man must take all his belongings with him, even the bed on which he died. Till he is buried lamentation and mourning is heard in the house. But once he is under ground he is no longer thought of. A boy who was in a boarding-school lost his mother. The father came to break the news to him : 'My son, your mother is dead. You must therefore think no more of her. Go now and play.'

Tinpahar, Santal Parganas.



SOME RECENT BOOKS

ST. PAUL'S RELIGION

A Man in Christ. The Vital Elements of St. Paul's Religion. By James S. Stewart. Pp. xv+332. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1935. Price 7s. 6d. (Through the Y. M. C. A., Calcutta: Rs. 5. 10)

This book is based on a course of lectures recently delivered in Edinburgh at the invitation of the Cunningham Trustees. It aims at disentangling St. Paul's personal religion from the interpretations which give a narrow, one-sided and false view of his doctrine. It is more constructive than controversial, being a positive exposition of what the author thinks to be the theology of the Apostle. The author protests against 'Roman Catholic and Protestant interpretations alike'; yet the doctrine he exposes is—with some slight exceptions—the Catholic doctrine.

Protests against the arid scholasticism of traditional Pauline interpretation there have been before; they are set aside by the author. 'The suggestion that we should cut Christianity free from everything Pauline in it, and revert to the simplicity of Galilee,' the 'Back to Jesus' movement, does not please him: Paul, this 'man in Christ', is the mirror in which the true nature of the Gospel has been most accurately revealed. He also discards the opposite view that St. Paul was not a theologian at all because 'a religion without theology, supposing that it could exist, would at once degenerate into sentimentalism.' Paul, therefore, is a religious genius as well as a theologian. His theology is the theology of conversion. Paul has *experienced* what it is to be converted to Christ, and he has *explained* it.

Paul the Pharisee 'had plunged eagerly into the life to which law and tradition seemed beckoning him. But that boundless enthusiasm of the young devotee was doomed to receive a check. He found that the more he pursued his ideal, the further it receded.' He experienced that without God's grace man does not keep God's law. Then came the experience of Damascus. Paul, the persecutor of the Christians, saw the risen Jesus. The result was crushing. He understood that 'the resurrection was God's vindication of Jesus': Jesus was the Messiah. He understood the Cross: not a shameful scandal, but the divinely appointed means for man's salvation. He understood that to him, sinner and persecutor as he was, God came to offer His divine pardon; and his heart went out to God in full surrender. In answer to that surrender, he felt the coming into him of Christ, of Christ's life; he had now strength to overcome all obstacles and live up to the demands of Christian love. Paul the sinner was through his conversion changed into the 'man in Christ.'

This experience of sin and conversion was the basis of Paul's doctrine of conversion as he exposed it in his letters.

If conversion is a transformation into a new life, then it is not a mere forensic justification which leaves the sinner unchanged,—a simple declaration by God that He holds the sinner justified. Conversion is man's full surrender to Christ, and God's real pardon and sanctification of the sinner. More still, it is Christ's life given by God to him who through God's grace surrenders himself to Christ. 'I live, now not I ; but Christ liveth in me,' writes St. Paul ; and his meaning is that every true Christian must confess himself as living in and through Christ.

The author thus rejects Luther's theory of justification ; although he feels deeply about the point, he treats the matter with the utmost regard for the feelings of his opponents. With the same reverence he also refutes the doctrine of God's anger with the sinner being manifested in the mystery of the Cross. Paul never speaks about men 'reconciling God' ; he speaks about God reconciling the sinner : 'God was in Christ, reconciling the world'—'God commends His love towards us'—'He that spared not His Son, but delivered Him for us all, how shall He not give us all things ?' The Cross of Christ does not manifest God's anger ; it manifests what God thinks about sin, and the love He feels for the sinner.

This book of a fair-minded scholar will bring its readers back to the real Paul and free them from the trammels of prejudiced theology.

A. Roelandts.

Kandy.

CATECHETICS

The Children's Catholic Catechism. By Cardinal Peter Gasparri. With a Short Bible History arranged for a three years' course. By Fr. A. Ambruzzi, S. J. Mangalore : St. Aloysius' College, 1935.

Catechetics in the New Testament. By R. G. Bandas. Pp. vi+137. Milwaukee : Bruce, 1935. Price \$ 1.50.

The appalling spread of immoral and irreligious principles through print and picture in our day makes it more necessary than ever that children should, from the very dawn of their conscious life, be taught their religion in a systematic and graduated way. But the difficulty in the teaching of children is to get them to be interested in what they are taught. How can they be interested in the Catechism, when most of it deals with truths which defy the highest created intellect ? Perhaps, as Fr. Ambruzzi suggests in his Preface (p. ix), the practice of linking up the day's Catechism lesson with a scene from Bible History or from the life of a saint would make the driest half-hour pass quickly. The choice pictures with which these books are strewn, and the episodes of Bible History which are a feature of all of them, are a real asset to the teaching of a difficult and important subject.

But in spite of all these helps the child will have to learn and know with accuracy and certainty truths and explanations which he does not understand. This knowledge cannot be postponed to maturer years. It is essential from the beginning of the age of reason. The Catechism must, therefore, be learnt by heart. Even in later life, even to learned theologians, these answers graven on the memory in childhood will be an anchor in the shifting sands of doubt and difficulty : after all the discussions about the interaction of grace and free will they will like to return to simple definitions of the *Children's Catechism*, as, v. g. : 'Actual grace is a supernatural help by which God enlightens our minds and moves our wills to do good and shun evil so as to obtain eternal life.'

Fr. Ambruzzi has arranged the whole of Cardinal Gasparri's *Catechismus Catholicus* in a three years' course according to what is called the Concentric Method—each book containing the whole Catechism but treating certain points in a deeper way as the child grows up. The fourth volume is a complete Children's Catechism with a complete Bible History. In doing this arduous and far from naturally attractive work, the author has followed the noblest traditions of the Jesuit Order and done a real service to the Church in India. By their attractiveness, their cheapness and their pedagogical usefulness, these four books must recommend themselves to teachers of the Catechism in every Catholic school.

But the first and best of all Catechisms is the New Testament. For the Gospels were not meant to be a life of Christ or a treatise of apologetics written to defend Christianity against all attacks, past, present and to come : they were a compendium of catechetical instruction orally delivered by the Apostles in their churches, and containing only those events and speeches which they thought it essential to preserve unchanged and entire. Besides, the catechist of the New Testament is 'The Divine Pedagogue' Himself, as Fr. R. G. Bandas calls him,—foretold in *Deuteronomy* and by Isaias, acknowledged by friends and enemies alike, sent by the Father and publicly appointed teacher of mankind : 'Hear ye Him.'

Fr. Bandas has, therefore, done a work of the highest merit by describing the catechetical method of Our Blessed Lord, and of two of His great followers, St. Paul and St. Augustine. Christ Himself never theorizes on how to teach—He teaches by *doing*. St. Paul, too, drives his teaching home by the recent memory of the Master whom he had seen though 'born out of time.' But the African professor of rhetoric has not only inherited the *practice*, but also invented the *theory*, of catechizing the ignorant when he says : 'All that I myself understand, I wish to make understood by my hearers.'

That, next to the grace of God, is the secret of all teaching, and most of all of the teaching of the Catechism. It is because Our Lord *understood* that He was able to make His hearers understand

¹ *De Catechizandis Rudibus*, 11, 3.

the great secrets of His Father's House ; it is because, in an infinitely lower degree, the saints understood, by *living*, these truths which surpass comprehension, that even though they might not be deep theologians they could, like the Curé of Ars, teach those truths to the smallest children so as to interest and impress them for life.

The first quality required in a catechist, then, is an intense love of God, in order to understand Him, and an intense love of those whom he teaches, in order to make them also understand Him. St. Augustine, who must have experienced the monotony and discouragement which all those who have to teach children or dull grown-ups feel, says : 'If he (the pupil) is slow-witted . . . we should bear with him in a compassionate spirit . . . and rather say much on his behalf to God than say much to him about God.'² It is prayer for the pupil, then, that makes these divine truths *penetrate*. The Master who spoke as no man did speak and as one having authority ; the last of the Apostles, 'not worthy to be called an apostle,' who made hard-headed peasants and fishermen enthusiastic about the sublime doctrine of the Mystical Body ; the Bishop who after writing *De Trinitate* could come down to the level of the tiniest African child and make him shout with joy 'Three in One, One in Three' ; Robert Bellarmine ; Peter Canisius ; — these were great teachers because they first understood and only then tried to make others understand, not by their own efforts, but by the help of Him who alone giveth the increase.

We have said enough to show that Fr. Bandas's book is *necessary* to every teacher of the Catechism, for it delivers up to him the key which unlocks that rare and difficult art.

T. N. Siqueira.

THERESA OF KONNERSREUTH

Theresa of Konnersreuth. A New Chronicle. (Vol. III). By F. Von Lama-Schimberg. Pp. xii + 267. Milwaukee : Bruce, 1935. Price \$ 1. 50.

This third instalment of the Konnersreuth chronicle carries the history of Theresa Neumann through the last three years of spiritual favours. For the benefit of those who may be ignorant of this extraordinary girl, it may be good to recall a few important details of her life.

Theresa Neumann was born in March 1898 in the village of Konnersreuth, and had the ordinary education of a village school. From the age of fourteen she conceived a particular devotion to St. Theresa of the Child Jesus, because her father had casually bought a couple of pictures of that saint. Soon she began to have the idea of entering some religious congregation in order to go to a mission country, but as she was the eldest of a family of ten

² *Ibid*, xiii, 18.

children she considered it her duty to stay at home and help her mother. In the meantime she worked hard and developed such a powerful frame that she could carry a bag of grain of 150 lbs. up a flight of five steps. In 1918, when she was about twenty years old, a fire broke out in the village ; she went out to help, and for two hours carried heavy pails of water. Then she collapsed. She had injured her spinal column. She was now confined to bed. To make matters worse, she lost her sight altogether and her hearing greatly ; her left foot in particular lost flesh to the bone ; she was afflicted with bed sores, and could not take any solid food ; even liquid food had to be reduced to a few spoonfuls and eventually to a few drops a day. But what was remarkable in all this affliction was her resignation and joy.

In 1923, however, favours began to come : the recovery of her sight, then of her hearing, and, some two years later, the sudden cure of her sores and paralysis ; and each of these favours coincided with a feast of the Little Flower.

From the middle of 1926 she has been perfectly well. Dr. Witry declares her to be at present 'a fully normal personality, integrated, well-balanced ; her judgments are clear, intellectual, firm, produced by a healthy human mind ; there is no trace of hysteria.' Yet since 1926 she has taken absolutely no other food than Holy Communion, and her weight has been constant at 110 lbs.

Her visions of the Passion began during the Lent of 1926 and have continued ever since. When they begin she lies powerless on her couch, her whole frame reflects what she sees in her spirit, her hands and feet appear wounded as it were by nails, and bleed ; her head feels the pricks of invisible thorns, her heart is wounded with an invisible spear, her eyes weep tears of blood, she can see nothing.

People came to see the heart-rending wonder. At first they came in crowds, but now a permit from the Bishop of the diocese is required ; it is not denied to qualified persons, but it is not granted for mere curiosity. The total number of visitors up to date is reckoned at 400,000.

The first volume of this book was somewhat polemical ; the second and third are more objective and limited to the facts which everybody can observe, instead of attempting to give us a picture of what the stigmatist sees, as Clement Brentano did for Catherine Emmerick.

One cannot help realizing, while reading this book, that it is a great honour to suffer and thereby 'fill up those things that are wanting of the sufferings of Christ.'

E. Gombert.

Trichinopoly.

FRIEDRICH VON HÜGEL

La pensée religieuse de Friedrich von Hügel (1852-1926). By Maurice Nédoncelle. Pp. 224. Paris : Vrin, 1935. Price 25 fr.

Friedrich von Hügel is one of those writers who are best approached through books *about* them. M. Nédoncelle has written an excellent introduction to the Baron's writings under a suitably vague title, for it has always been difficult to label him. He was a layman keenly interested in religious thought, a theologian trained in no school, a philosopher disdainful of system. To add to the difficulty, his ideas were expressed in a 'German' style which left no statement unqualified, and no qualification unmodified, with the result that the simple were confused, and the clever wearied. He coined new words, and used old ones in new senses.

But he was not just a layman who dabbled in theology and skated on thin modernistic ice. He sympathized with modernists leaders as long as there was hope of their reconciliation with the Church, but he severed connections with them when no further help could be of any use. His deep piety and supernatural outlook counterbalanced the unduly speculative element in his character, which in those critical times threatened to draw him away from the path of sanity. The quip that theologians are not given to excessive devotion could not be levelled at him. The section of the book entitled 'L'homme et le Chrétien' is a fine sketch of a truly enlightened Christian.

The greater part of M. Nédoncelle's study is connected with von Hügel's religious philosophy, if it can be called such, for his philosophy of religion was psychology and theology in one. It is a mixture of *a priori* analysis, empirical considerations, emotional appeals and historical investigations. Deep intuitions, the outcome of an intense spiritual life, are found alongside of uncritical generalizations, the result of extensive reading rather than deep thought.

The passage of time has, naturally enough, robbed the Baron's work of much of its interest; some of his problems, burning questions at the time he wrote, have been solved, and the focus of interest has shifted. Still, many of the ideas he cherished will make stimulating reading. His defence of God's transcendence, God's 'abidingness', the necessity of the supernatural, the 'givenness' of true religion, the meaning and importance of institutions for the practical and theoretical life of the individual Christian, the adequacy of Catholic Christianity as an answer to man's many-levelled aspirations and activities, the mystical element in religion—these are great themes that never grow old but are fertile in fresh relations and new applications. Von Hügel has had a great share in their diffusion. Those, therefore, who cannot get through his works will be grateful for M. Nédoncelle's striking portrait of one who sought the presence of God, facing the darkness with unshaken trust.

R. Dobinson.

Calcutta.

ANCIENT INDIA

A Student's History of India. Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India. By R. D. Banerji. Pp. xvi+343. Blackie & Son (India) Ltd., 1934.

To write any good textbook of history is undoubtedly a difficult task ; but to write a good textbook of ancient Indian history is a colossal enterprise, in view of the extraordinary progress of historical research during the last twenty years. It requires a man conversant with many complex problems, and able to fill up many gaps, to sift the evidence of archaeology, numismatics and philology, to distinguish between contradictory theories, to co-ordinate the facts, and to give a brief and yet complete and connected account of the whole period in a pedagogical way.

If anyone was ever fit for such a task, it was Mr. R. D. Banerji. An excellent Sanskrit scholar, he has worked in the Archaeological Department for a number of years and discovered the remains of the Indus Civilization at Mohenjo-Daro, announcing at once with wonderful insight the importance of the discovery. During the last period of his life he was a professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the Benares Hindu University and wrote a number of scholarly books and articles. He had, besides, that essential quality of an historian, an unprejudiced mind.

The present book deals with a number of questions vital for the history of ancient India, but which have been slightly touched or mystified by other authors. A few examples will prove my statement.

The Indo-Aryans came to India in very small numbers and they did not make any attempt in preserving the purity of their stock. From the very beginning they admitted tribes of foreign or mixed origin into their communities, and the statements of the present-day Brahmanical writers about the racial purity of the Indo-Aryans and the rigidity of their marriage regulations are inaccurate. (p. 24)

This was the policy of the Aryan settlers elsewhere, and there is no reason to suppose that one section of the primitive Aryan stock was stricter than the others. Moreover, when they entered India they were probably already mixed with Semitic and other peoples in the plains of the Euphrates and on their way to India. The only real difference between the Aryans and the Dasyus, according to the *Rigveda*, was religion ; and to obviate this objection the Rigvedic Brahmans themselves, who were not so scrupulous as their modern descendants, bridged the gap by throwing the priesthood open to the original Indians.

The various sections of the priestly caste appear to have been of different origin. Some of them were white-skinned while others were dark. Even in the time of the grammarian Patanjali the tradition about the white-skinned and yellow-haired priests lingered in India. The priests or Brahmans were of two classes, of which the first or the earliest belonged to the pure Indo-Aryan stock, while the second, or the adopted priests, appear to have belonged to some other ethnic stock. (p. 25)

Once this was done, the unification of both religions was a matter of course.

The old gods and goddesses of the Dravidian people underwent slight changes, but their worshippers accepted these. In Rajputana and Gujerat, the old goddesses were worshipped alike by the aboriginal Minas, Mairs, Bhils and the Aryanized Gujars. (p. 36)

Thus it happened that the *sisna* (phallus), which was so much abominated by the Rigvedic seers, was finally introduced into their religion and its cult identified with that of Siva, a purely Dravidian god, who was himself identified with the Vedic Rudra. A similar change overtook Vishnu, who from being the tribal god of the Garudas, an aboriginal tribe of Patala in lower Sind, was likewise identified with the Vedic Surya, received into the Vedic pantheon, and honoured with a few late hymns. All this mixture of *devas* and *asuras* and gods was later daringly symbolized in the avataric scene of 'Churning the Ocean.'

Professor Banerji is equally impartial in dealing with the spread of Aryan culture through Hindustan. He openly states that the Dravidians 'were certainly far more civilized than the Indo-Aryan invaders' (p. 19), and maintains that the cities of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, recently discovered in Sind and southern Punjab, 'were built by Dravidians or proto-Dravidians' (p. 10). Indeed, the so-called Aryan culture in India, if we except the Sanskrit language, is more Dravidian than Aryan. Beside being in a rudimentary state of civilization in comparison with the Dravidians, the Aryans were relatively few, and though they conquered the Punjab and a portion of the United Provinces they never entered the Dakshinapatha, south of the Narbada river and the Vindhya range, which was inhabited by what the *Rigveda* describes as a black-headed and noseless people. Perhaps the only Aryan clans, already mixed with Semitic blood, who ever settled in the South were the Turvasas and the Yadus, who are said to have been brought across the ocean by Indra (Rg. I. 108, 8) and landed in Saurashtra (Kathiawar). They never crossed the boundaries of Magadha. The Ganges is only mentioned six times in the *Rigveda*.

Thus, with the exception of part of the North, India was not conquered by the Aryan armies. The conquest was spiritual, it was a conquest of ideas. The Aryans spread some of their ideas among the Dravidians, as the famous rishi Agastya did in Southern India. But many more Dravidian and perhaps aboriginal ideas were spread among the Aryans of the North. At the time of the Upanishads a great deal of Dravidian wisdom was being spread through the medium of the Aryan language. When the Puranas were written, in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D., very little of the original Aryan culture had remained. The new culture was not Aryan. It was Indian.

The same process took place wherever the Aryans penetrated. The Sumerians and Kassites amalgamated the ancient Babylonian wisdom with their own. The Hittites learned much from their predecessors, the Amorites of Palestine. The Achaeans adopted the ancient culture of Mycenae. The Italici, both *terramaricoli* and Villanovans, mixed with the ancient Mediterranean stock that dwelt in the peninsula. The Roman Empire *aryanized* the Celts,

the Iberians, the Gauls and other peoples by giving them an Aryan language and adopting *their* religion and culture in return.

We said that Professor Banerji was eminently qualified to write a book like this. We may now add that he will not be surpassed for a very long time.

H. Heras.

Bombay.

INDIAN ECONOMICS

Rural Reconstruction in India. An Outline of a Scheme. By Sir M. Visvesvaraya. Pp. VII+26. Bangalore Press, 1935. Price 6 as.

Unemployment in India. Its Causes and Cure. By Sir M. Visvesvaraya. Pp. 66. Bangalore Press, 1935. Price 8 as.

Currency and Commerce. A Survey of Fundamental Principles and Their Application to Indian Problems. By K. K. Sharma. Pp. VIII+324. Bangalore Press, 1935. Price Rs. 3.

The first brochure outlines a scheme of rural reconstruction, on the Japanese model, which may be tried with advantage in India, for small holdings, pressure of population, indebtedness and illiteracy, are impediments to progress in India as they have been in Japan.

The remedy prescribed is the formation of Associations of Agriculturists in each village, the establishment of unions of four to six villages, the provision of educational facilities, the holding of periodical meetings, the collection of statistics on agricultural incomes, the dissemination of agricultural knowledge by means of Continuation Schools, Lectures and Exhibitions, the popularization of improved methods of cultivation, and the demonstration of useful agricultural implements. To provide villagers with the necessary guidance the author suggests a six months' training of volunteers.

But however good any scheme may be, the greatest obstacle to any kind of progress in the Indian village is the innate conservatism of the peasant class, their hostility to change, their lack of ambition, and above all their fatalistic contentment with their lot. This obstacle must, therefore, be first removed by education.

Unemployment in India is the reprint of an address delivered some years ago by Sir M. Visvesvaraya to the Members of the University Union at Bangalore. It is an attempt to analyse the causes of unemployment among the middle classes in this country, and to suggest practical remedies for this growing evil.

The author pleads for the revival of those cottage and rural industries which once made Indian textile goods so highly prized in Europe. But he seems to lay undue emphasis on industrializa-

tion as *the* remedy for unemployment on the ground that agriculture is the least remunerative and the most precarious of occupations. The fact that unemployment is acuter in highly industrialized countries like Great Britain and the United States ought to be sufficient to show that industrialization offers but a very partial and imperfect remedy. Nor is it possible to think of an industrial policy which could bring about a sudden transformation of India from an agricultural into an industrial country. What is needed is a policy designed to promote a well-balanced economic development. Industrialism, as an ideal for India, is a false beacon light.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya is alarmed at the recent growth of population and seems to advocate artificial birth control, forgetting that this will lead to race-suicide. But his book is, on the whole, an able attempt to deal in a popular way with a subject of great actual interest.

Currency and Commerce is an introduction to the study of the elementary principles of currency, credit, banking and finance, with special reference to India and post-War changes in monetary, banking and trade policies. The post-War period has seen great changes in the views held by economists on currency and trade. An application of these principles to India is, therefore, of great interest.

The author makes out a strong case for the restoration and stabilization of the international gold standard as the only means of securing stability of exchange for the currencies of various countries, and thus preventing depreciation and heavy tariffs. But he advocates a managed instead of an automatic gold standard. He also pleads for more co-operation between Central Banks than there has been so far, for this is essential for the active working of an international gold standard.

He has an interesting chapter on the Ottawa Agreement and the Indo-British Pact, where he points out the phenomenal increase in the export of Indian linseed and the consequent displacement of the Argentine product as one of the chief advantages India has derived from them. The close connection that has thus been established between the producer and the buyer of primary commodities is bound to react favourably on both.

The book is a fairly exhaustive and impartial treatment of the whole subject of Currency and Trade, and deserves to be not only a textbook for Pass and Honours students, for whom it is primarily intended, but to have a wider cultural appeal.

L. M. Aloysius

Madras.

THE BURDEN OF PLENTY

The Burden of Plenty. Edited by G. Hutton. Pp. 157. London: Allen & Unwin, 1935. Price 4s. 6d.

This symposium contains eleven out of the twelve talks arranged last autumn by the British Broadcasting Corporation on the subject of Poverty in Plenty. At the end of each—except his own—the editor has added some very useful comments indicating the main questions connected with it.

The chief merit of the book is that in it several experts have discussed the economic problem which, for magnitude and practical importance, is hardly matched by any other at the present day. The reader is able to gain a fairly comprehensive idea of this complex question from various angles to study and compare the views of specialists about it.

And what do the specialists say about Poverty in Plenty? They are all agreed that the present economic system is ill; that while the world is brought within sight of possible and relative plenty by the modern scientific era of technical progress, it is experiencing poverty, unemployment, and low standards of living on an unprecedented scale. The malady is accounted for by one or other of the following causes: declining population, under-consumption, shortage of consumer's credit, the evils of *laissez-faire*, the breakdown of a stable national and international monetary system, inflationism and economic nationalism.

Three different remedies are proposed. The first is a return to the old self-adjusting individualist system of the pre-War period. Its advocates—Mr. R. H. Brand, Prof. Robbins and, to some extent, Mr. Henderson—argue that the present economic disorder, though initially brought about by mistakes of *laissez-faire*, is aggravated and indefinitely prolonged by artificial controls by the State or vested interests of producers, such as tariffs, subsidies, restriction schemes, quotas, pools, cartels and marketing boards, and that for the restoration of order these controls should forthwith be abandoned and the 'most economical system of free enterprise in free competitive markets' be enabled to function again.

The second is a planned economy which is, in the editor's correct phrase, a socialist system in which 'the State finally controls *all* enterprise and regulates, or perhaps even abolishes, private profits.' The State will lay down a Plan which all workers, managers, technicians, bankers, farmers, shippers, should obey under pain of being punished for sabotage. The Plan will decide what consumers must consume and how much. But two fundamental objections to Planning are at best minimized, if not entirely overlooked, by its exponents.—Mr. Hugh Dalton, Mrs. Barbara Wootton and, to some extent, Mr. Hobson and Mr. Orage: 1. What is to become of personal liberty? and 2. Where is the government which can plan all the industry and trade of a nation, a government which, as R. H. Brand notes, must be composed of gods and not men?

The third proposal, made by Mr. J. M. Keynes and Sir Arthur Salter, steers a middle course between rugged individualism and libertyless socialism, and suggests that, while the more important kinds of production are to be planned, the less important ones may be left to undirected economic effort and activity. In its concrete form this compromise appears to be rather a rough and artificial one—a more or less mechanical juxtaposition of socialism and individualism, without any definite and organic relationship. But it is possible that its authors meant it to be based on the sound principle of a harmonious and organic blend of the two great elements of liberty and authority in their application to economic life ; if so, we wish that principle had been stated quite explicitly, for the world's economic salvation would seem to depend on its successful application which, though difficult, ought not to be impossible, given good will and co-operation on the part of individuals and nations.

The Burden of Plenty is not, nor was meant to be, a complete solution of the problem of poverty in plenty ; but it is an extremely useful and thought-provoking study of what is perhaps the most vital question of the day.

M. Arokyaswamy.

Trichinopoly.

GUJERATI LITERATURE

The Present State of Gujarati Literature. By D. B. Krishnalal M. Jhaveri : Thakkar Vassonji Madhavji Lectures. Pp. 114+XVI. University of Bombay, 1934.—Through N. M. Tripathi & Co., Princess Street, Bombay.

Gujarati literature may safely be dated from the beginning of the XIXth century. Since then there have been prose writings on various subjects and in different styles, whereas the old poets wrote only in verse and only on one topic—religion. But even in modern Gujarati there are very few books on science. The man who studies science generally knows too much English to care for the vernacular.

Another weak point of Gujarati literature is drama. The cause is the cinema. But the loss is not great ; for Gujarati plays were mostly translations from Marathi and Bengali, and if indigenous, were coarse in *Dalpatram*, vague in *Nanalal Kavi*, and savouring of iconoclasm in the hands of Kanaiyalal Munshi.

We may be permitted to mention such a prolific writer as Kanaiyalal Munshi, with less bright stars, in connection with a widespread complaint that though Gujarati is a full-blown language, with adaptability and powers of expression that can encourage a large range of writers, it is either Sanskritized or Anglicized, and in either case unintelligible to the ordinary reader. Mr. Tripathi, Mr. Govardhanram, and the author of *Kavan Ghelo* are cases in point. This complaint may show too much pessimism, but it contains more than a grain of truth, though Mr. Gandhi, with his

easy simple style endowed with 'Anglo-Saxon directness' even in Gujarati, and Mr. Gijubhai and his associates in the Dakshina Murti Vidyarthi Bhavan of Bhavnagar, with their splendid juvenile literature, show a path of light for benighted writers to follow. Theirs is a style that will stay. Men will read what they enjoyed when children, and our present boys enjoy Gijubhai and Tarabai.

Besides the house of learning just mentioned there are others, like the Sharda Mandir, the Bal Mandir and the Vernacular Society in Ahmedabad, and the New Era School, the Fellowship School and the Forbes Gujarati Sabha in Bombay.

Forbes is a name to conjure with in Gujarat, though he was not a Gujarati, no more than Tod was a Rajput, though they conjure with his name in Rajastan. Both loved India, at least their 'little India', with its noble history written on birch-bark or bronze or stone and occasionally on very yellow paper. They loved old manuscripts, gathered and published them, and translated them, thus blazing a trail which is now being followed by Kavi Dalpatram, and Harilala H. Dhruva, D. B. Ranchorbhai and so many who worked skilfully under the Bhavnagar State or H. H. the Gaekwar or the Prince of Wales Museum of Bombay or those of Junagar, Rajkot and Vala.

A word must be said in praise of old Acharya Hemchandra and his brother-monks of the Jain Bhandars. If to speak Spanish is to speak a language of friars, to speak Gujarati is to speak a language of monks. The Jain Sadhus made the ancient literature of Gujarati. Its modern successor is independent of Bhandars and Mandirs, and even of itinerant Sadhus. But writers like Gijubhai, Gandhi, Tavabai Modak, and Nanjiani have come to stay. May their tribe increase !

F. Figuera.

Nadiad.

PARASITES

Parasites et Parasitisme By Pierre Grassé. Pp. 224. Paris : Armand Colin, 1935. Price 10 fr. 50.

A parasite is, by definition, a living organism, either animal or plant, that lives on or in some other living organism from which it derives its nourishment for the whole or a part of its existence. Parasites feed at the expense of a neighbour, either establishing themselves voluntarily in his organs, or quitting him after each meal, like the leech or the flea.

True parasites are very commonly found in nature, but not as a class, for all the classes of the animal kingdom include some parasites among their inferior ranks. And they are of all kinds : there are facultative parasites, which may be parasitic or free-living at will ; and obligatory parasites, which must live on or in some other organism during their whole lifetime or a part of it, and

which perish if prevented from doing so ; there are also intermittent parasites, which visit their hosts at intervals. Their number is immense, their diversity defies imagination, yet the author of this book seems to know them all by name and whatever has been written or said about them.

Parasites are often very highly modified in structure to meet the demands of their particular environment. Internal parasites exhibit striking combinations of degeneration and specialization. They possess all sorts of hooks, barbs, suckers and boring appliances but they have practically no sense organs nor special organs of locomotion ; they show a very simple nervous system ; and sometimes, as is the case with tapeworms and spiny-headed worms, they have no digestive tube. Examples of specialization in external parasites are the laterally compressed bodies of fleas which permit them to glide easily between the hairs of their hosts ; the backward-projecting spines of fleas, which facilitate motion through dense hair by preventing any back-sliding ; the horizontally compressed bodies of lice and the clasping talons of their claws ; the barbed probosces of ticks ; and the tactile hairs of mites. In these parasites there is a marked degeneration in the loss of eyes and other sense organs, the absence of wings, and, in some cases, the reduction of legs. It is interesting to note that the parasitic habit has resulted in the development of structural similarity. This is especially prominent in the clasping structures of the biting and sucking lice, which belong systematically to two different orders, the Mallophaga and the Hemiptera. But, however great the modifications of structure in the adults, the anatomical alterations in the larvae and the gametes are very small, and the spermatozoa and eggs of the parasites are in no way distinguishable from those of the free species.

The portals of entry and means of transmission of parasites are most varied : many parasites may be spread by direct or indirect contact with infected parts : others get into the body of the host by boring directly through the skin as larvae, or by entering the mouth as cysts or eggs ; others again rely on biting arthropods for their passage from host to host.

The great fertility of parasites is one of their numerous peculiarities, though this may also be true to a certain degree of some of the free-living animals whose young are likewise exposed to enormous destruction. More remarkable, however, is the complexity of their life-history. Not only are free-living stages interposed and intermediate hosts made to serve as transmitting agents, but often a sexual multiplication—sometimes for several generations—takes place during the course of their extraordinary experiences.

In many cases the parasites are confined to certain hosts, and may therefore be designated as *specific* to such hosts. In many other cases, however, certain species of parasites are common to several kinds of hosts. Some parasites are so strictly confined to one species of host that even if they are artificially introduced

into animals very closely related to their normal host they do not thrive.

The effects of parasites on their hosts are almost as numerous and as varied as the parasites themselves. A parasite damages its host in one or more of three ways : (1) by robbing it of food which has not yet been assimilated and utilized, (2) by mechanically injuring its tissues or organs, (3) by the formation of excretions or toxins which act as poisons. The author lays special stress on a form of parasitism which may be called 'intra-specific' and is represented by those cases in which the male lives on the female or the offspring live on the parents.

The greater part of those animals which have established themselves on each other, and live together on a good understanding and without injury, are wrongly classed by naturalists as parasites. They are really only *messmates*. The messmate does not live at the expense of his host ; all that he desires is a home, a resting-place, or a place at his friend's table : thus a copepode crustacean installs himself in the pantry of an ascidian, and filches from him some dainty morsel as he passes by ; or the remora, through idleness, attaches himself to a neighbour who swims well and fishes by his side without fatiguing his own fins. The services of many of these are rewarded either in protection or in kind, and *mutuality* is often exercised at the same time as hospitality. The assistance rendered by animals to each other is as varied as that which is found among men. Some receive merely an abode, others nourishment, others again food and shelter ; they have a perfect system of board and lodging combined with philozoic institutions arranged in the most perfect manner.

This book is a mine in which the medical man as well as the veterinary surgeon, the agriculturist as well as the farmer, the teacher as well as the student, will find much useful information.

J. F. Caius.

Bombay.

FREEMASONRY

Freemasonry. A Candid Examination. By A Past Master. Pp. 128. London, Washbourne & Bogan, 1934. Price 3s. 6d.

L'organisation secrète de la Franc-Maçonnerie. By Jean Marquès-Rivière. Pp. 269. Paris : Baudinière, 1934. Price 12 fr.

The first of these books is a conventional treatment of the subject of Freemasonry, as it exists in English-speaking countries. One should have thought that by now any explanation of the Church's condemnation of the movement was superfluous. Even from the point of view of common sense, it is evident that the attraction of Anglo-Saxon Masonry at its best lies in the gratification it affords of the childish instincts for dressing-up and make believe, and at its worst in the opportunities which it gives for worldly advancement. The obvious objection to Masonry is its

insistence on the oath of secrecy, and on this point the words of Sir James Crichton-Browne (quoted on page 106) must be allowed by all to be definitive : 'If Masonry has a secret, the knowledge of which would benefit all mankind, then for Masonry to keep such knowledge to itself is immoral. If, on the other hand, the 'secret' is *not* for the benefit of humanity, in professing it to be so, Masonry again is guilty of an immoral act.' A more explicitly religious ground for the Church's ban on Freemasonry is of course the Deism underlying the spirit of the movement from its very inception, and its antagonism to revealed religion. It is only fair to add that the suppression of the Grand Architect of the Universe by the Grand Orient of France in its Constitutions in 1877 was protested against by the Grand Lodge of England, and there has since been no connection between the two bodies. 'A Past Master' brings out all these facts, and incidentally disposes of a number of silly legends such as the one about the conferment of freedom on Masonic groups by papal charters in the seventeenth century. He also gives some interesting instances of the growing alarm experienced by certain Protestant sects at the power of Freemasonry and of their efforts to combat it.

The second book is of much more vital importance. The author writes as a patriot rather than as a Catholic, and discusses in great detail the political ramifications of Freemasonry. He points out that of all the dictatorships in the world to-day there is none more hidden or insidious than international Freemasonry. And it is precisely where the form of government is democratic that it exerts the greatest influence. In France, for instance, which is Republican as well as democratic, the movement is more active than anywhere else. The outside world catches glimpses occasionally of its sinister power. The Stavisky scandal was responsible for a good many ugly exposures, but the popular memory is short, and no sooner did the echoes of that incident die out, than the world was once more lulled into a false sense of security. The warning uttered by M. Rivière in this book deserves attention, as he speaks with intimate personal knowledge of the movement, having belonged, as it were, to its inner circle for a considerable period.

As is only natural in a human organization, Masonry displays innumerable inconsistencies. In striking contrast, thus, with its vaunted ideal of brotherhood, is the oath of hatred and eternal enmity, towards the Knights of Malta, which the Knights Kadosch (a very prominent masonic group, including in its ranks the notorious Dr. Voronoff) are required to swear. To take a more serious case, freedom of conscience and the abolition of bigotry are other ideals which it proclaims, and yet nothing could be more fanatically intolerant than its attitude towards the Catholic Church.

But the most amazing feature in Freemasonry is the fact that it has captured the Governments of so many countries although the actual number of Masons is a minute fraction of

the total population. Thus there are not 50,000 Masons in France, and yet they claim over half the members of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate. There is also evidence that they are acquiring a strangle-hold over the League of Nations and the International Labour Office. The Mexican situation affords an instructive example of Masonic machinations. As M. Rivière puts it, what the Supreme Council of Mexico accomplishes has been hatched in Paris, Washington or Lausanne.

Certain nations have been alert enough to strike back at Freemasonry. Mussolini, we know, has almost eradicated it from Italy, although it is rather disturbing of late to observe signs of a rapprochement between him and the Lodges. A recent article in *La Libre Belgique* gives abundant evidence of strong Masonic sympathy and support for Mussolini against Abyssinia. The same article divulges the interesting information that the Muslims of Turkey, Hedjaz, Yemen, and Iraq, where Freemasonry is becoming strongly entrenched are backing Mussolini openly, but it is probable that this enthusiasm is at bottom Islamic rather than masonic.

That militant hatred of the Catholic Church is in the forefront of the Masonic programme has by now become a commonplace, and the leaders of the movement have ceased to make any secret of it. But its actual manoeuvres continue to be hidden. It works by stealth and all the more effectively for that reason. It makes use of seemingly innocent organisations as feeders in its propaganda, and allies itself with revolutionary Socialism (though many Masons are inveterately *bourgeois*) for the sole purpose of obtaining political power, the better thereby to combat its arch-enemy, the Church.

M. Marquès-Rivière is to be congratulated on this courageous and well-documented survey of the subject. His appeal is addressed primarily to his fellow-countrymen, but every true lover of his own country will be grateful to him for putting them on their guard against the very real peril of a Dictatorship which works in the dark, and which already stalks triumphant over a considerable portion of the globe.

J. H. F. D'Abreo.

Karachi.

LITERATURE

TALES TOLD IN INDIA. Retold by BERTA METZGER. Pp. VIII+105. Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1935. Price Re. 1.

The simplicity of these stories disarms any spirit of criticism that one may bring to their reading. Miss Metzger calls them 'a handful of chipped gems from the vast treasureland of Indian story'; but her choice and her way of chiselling these gems for her English readers adds greatly to their gemlike lustre.

The stories themselves are taken from almost every part of Indian literature: from the *Panchatantra* and the *Hitopadesa*, from the *Jatakas*, the *Somadeva*, the Folk Tales of Kashmir, and from the *Ramayana* and *Sakuntala*. The reader

is thus presented with the best and simplest of Indian story and fable and enabled to judge for himself why this kind of literature has always had such a fascination for the young and the uneducated in this country, not only for its own interest but perhaps chiefly for its moral value.

And yet the lesson is never pointed out. We are told that Vishnusharma transformed the king's three sons 'who were blockheads' into men 'as alert as three cats ready to spring at a mouse', by telling them five chains of stories 'sprinkled with many a wise saying from the literature and sacred writings of India'; or that king Mallika bowed before king Brahmadata because he 'drove out wrath with mildness.' But the reader draws the lesson for himself, and feels an added pleasure in the thought that he has discovered it.

Another attractive feature of this little story-book is Miss Mina Buchanan's simple but accurate illustrations. In a few rough strokes she shows an insight into Indian life which only years of intimate contact and sympathy can give.

T. N. Siqueira.

THE CATHOLIC LITERARY REVIVAL. BY CALVERT ALEXANDER, S. J. Pp. XVI+399. Milwaukee: Bruce, 1935. Price \$2.50.

There are three distinct phases in the development of the Catholic Literary Revival from 1845 to the present day. Achilles' words on his return to the rescue of the defeated and despairing Greeks furnish a suitable motto for the first phase: 'You shall know the difference now that I am back again.' The middle phase covers the renaissance of the nineties represented either by Catholics like Francis Thompson and Henry Harland or by prospective converts like Oscar Wilde, Aubrey Beardsley, Lionel Johnson and Ernest Dowson. The contemporary phase may best be described in the words of Jacques Maritain. It discloses 'a mere corpse of the Christian world . . . The pitiable state of the modern world creates a specially ardent desire for the re-invention of a true civilization . . . We are approaching a time when any hope set below the heart of Christ is doomed to disappointment.'

The dominant spirit of these different phases has been embodied in three well-known pictures. The first by John Sargent depicts Coventry Patmore as 'one of the major prophets of the Old Testament—a voice crying in the Victorian wilderness.' The second by the same artist portrays the 'slim patrician figure of Alice Meynell, suggestive of exquisite poise, intelligence and spirituality.' Mr. Gunn's Royal Academy picture of Hilaire Belloc, G. K. Chesterton and Maurice Baring stresses the essential features of the last phase. 'It is aggressive, militant, engaged in battle.' These three stalwarts among England's foremost writers are grouped round a table, 'intent on some plan like three generals in a council of war.'

Lovers of literature all over the English-speaking world owe an immense debt of gratitude to the gifted author of this truly epoch-making work. Truth is sometimes stranger than fiction. Here is a true voyage of discovery on a hitherto uncharted sea.

L. Bryan.

FOUR INDEPENDENTS. BY DANIEL SARGENT. Pp. 243. London: Sheed & Ward, 1935. Price 7s. 6d.

In writing the life-stories of Charles Péguy, Paul Claudel, Gerard Manley Hopkins, and Oréste A. Brownson, Mr. Daniel Sargent has opened hitherto unexplored avenues of thought and beauty. All the four men here so sympathetically described were rebels and heroes: rebels against the accepted standards of the life they lived, heroes in overcoming the difficulties which threatened to swamp their personalities. Inconsistencies of character they all had, but they were the inconsistencies of men struggling to be free from the narrowness of their social and intellectual surroundings.

Charles Péguy annoyed many people because they were not patient enough to understand him. The quaintness of his life as a Catholic has scandalized many; yet he was one of those rough jewels whose very roughness conceals their inner brilliance. Paul Claudel showed even greater courage in breaking away from

the fashionable unbelief in which he was brought up and entering the Catholic Church which he had been taught to revile. There is a Promethean greatness in *The Satin Slipper*: 'It reveals the saving of various souls which the Pharisee would think could not be saved. It gives some inkling of how the multiplicity of God's plans takes such fatherly care of even his erring creatures, thwarting their willfulness, and giving them the stones they ask for, for bread, leading them by their very wills back to God.' Father Gerard Manley Hopkins, S. J., with all his oddities, is a man and poet one cannot help loving. He, too, was a rebel, but in the realms of literature, writing a poetry almost too austere for the accepted forms of poetical expression. Of Orestes A. Brownson, the journalist and philosopher who became a Catholic and fought the enemies, real and imaginary, of the Catholic Church, it may be said that he remained a fighter to the end; but friend and foe alike did homage to the nobility of his character, 'for the greatness of the Catholic Church was to Brownson not the greatness of men, but Christ's greatness.'

There is something of the rebel, too, in the manner in which Mr. Sargent has drawn these four rebels. He does not spare their mannerisms and vagaries, for he is sure their genuine heroism will overcome the pettiness of ungenerous bickering. His humour and a certain light-heartedness of style, combined with a plain-spoken and ready sincerity, make him a wonderful champion of those whom prejudice and misunderstanding have determined to ignore.

H. B. Bampton.

FERDINAND BRUNETIERE. By J. NANTEUIL. Pp. 424. Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1934. Price 12 fr.

'Vous étiez né pour la lutte comme d'autres pour fuir,' André Suarés has said of Brunetière. Of this indomitable fighter Jacques Nanteuil paints a fairly convincing portrait. The salient features—his analytical power, his fighting spirit, his mordant wit, his almost incredible capacity for work—are strongly marked. But the details have not been filled in. M. Nanteuil's style displays some of the best features of French literary criticism: a grasp of general principles and a generally sure judgment in applying them; a clear and incisive style, with a pretty turn for epigram. But he skims over the surface of Brunetière's character, giving only an occasional glimpse of its depths and hidden currents. On the central enigma of Brunetière's Catholic life he has no light to throw: this convert and champion of Catholicism, 'green Cardinal', who did not hesitate to read an occasional lesson to the members of the French Hierarchy, was never a practising Catholic in the full sense. . .

Of the three chief causes he championed two have by now achieved complete or partial success. And no one would question Brunetière's large share in ensuring their triumph. The materialistic determinism which dominated French philosophy fifty years ago has given way to a spiritualism which, as expounded by M. Bergson, errs by the opposite excess. Secondly, the force of Papal utterances and the growth of public opinion have at last roused French Catholics to the gravity of the social problem, and are enabling them to evolve an industrial system more in harmony with the Gospel. But the naturalism in fiction, on which Brunetière waged a lifelong war, has returned seven times stronger. And though the cause of decency in literature has found able defenders, the Prousts, the Gides and the Lawrences of these days have yet to encounter a Ferdinand Brunetière.

J. D'Souza.

ESSAYS BY MODERN WRITERS. Edited by R. W. JEPSON. Pp. XII+212. London: Longmans, 1935. Price 2s.

Of writing 'Modern Essays' there seems to be no end; and the next commonest thing to writing them is to collect them for the affliction of students.

But Mr. Jepson is an exception. He has brought together one of the pleasantest little collections of modern essays, in which Max Beerbohm and Robert Lynd, 'Alpha of the Plough' and Virginia Woolf, Belloc and Blunden, Inge and C. E. Montague, and even Lytton Strachey and Viscount Grey, are represented at their best. This best is not, indeed, to be found when they are delivering

infallible decisions on literary and political 'cases', but when they are sitting by the fire, throwing up a slipper and catching it on the toe—*en pantoufles*.

To those who wish to know how different the essay of to-day is from Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding* or even from Johnson's 'loose sally of the mind,' no better book could be given than this collection of Mr. Jepson's. It will show them how elusive a literary form it is, how personal and informal, how strict its unity, and yet, somehow, what a spell it throws on the reader from start to finish. After describing it in a discerning *Introduction*, Mr. Jepson ends with a characteristic which may seem insignificant but is really the distinctive mark of the modern essay and the secret of its success: 'And it must not be dull.' All the rest will follow, and much will be pardoned to an essayist, if he has this power of interesting his reader and making him forget himself for half an hour.

* T. N. Siqueira.

OUT OF THE WHIRLWIND. By WILLIAM T. WALSH. Pp. 479. *New York: McBride & Co.* Price \$2. 50.

A not altogether wholesome tendency in current fiction is to project certain actual sensational murder trials on to the novelist's canvas. It is doubtful whether the gain to literature outweighs the obvious harm done to human justice by the establishment of such a court of appeal which almost inevitably reverses the verdict of real life. Mr. Walsh's publishers, then, have done him a doubtful service by announcing, in their blurb, that *Out of the Whirlwind* is based on a Connecticut trial of some years ago.

Apart from this, however, the book is a fine example of the realism of which so many Catholic novelists seem to fight shy. Though the main characters are Catholics the author gives a candid picture of the less pleasant traits of unworthy Catholics as well as of contemporary life in its more squalid aspects. Thus the narrative opens with a glimpse of the atmosphere in which the industrial labourer passes his life, the haunting sense of insecurity produced by the spectre of unemployment, the curious optimism of the younger generation, disturbed only by tragedy at its very door, the dauntless faith and courage of the womenfolk. *

Stephen West, the very human hero, would appear to represent the emigrant from Poland and Lithuania who fits so ill into American surroundings and is yet driven by a kind of fatalism into an uncomplaining acceptance of his lot. Brought up by a devout Catholic mother, he soon becomes indifferent to the practice of his faith retaining only a belief in God and a strange loyalty to the props of his childhood. Nina Mateskas is also a baptized Catholic, but one who has drifted much farther away from her moorings. The difference between the two is well illustrated by the annoyance which Nina's contemptuous talk about priests gives to Stephen. The love of Stephen and Nina is of a rather tempestuous kind, and matters are not eased by the presence of Casimir Pavlonis, a coarse brawny individual who also loves Nina. Nina murders Casimir in cold blood. Stephen is accused of it and condemned to death, but afterwards receives a reprieve. The trial scene is notable for the part played in it by Lawyer Scanlon who combines an ostentatious championship of Catholic causes with membership of a masonic body. It is this man's misdirected skill which results in Stephen being sentenced to death although it is his political influence which later secures a commutation of death into imprisonment for life.

Stephen's life behind the prison bars takes up the greater portion of the book. His change of spirit from sullen bitterness into a more philosophic resignation and his return to the faith of his childhood are ably described. The two principal agents in bringing about this change are Luisa Koben, a beautiful character, and Father Burke, a priest.

Mr. Walsh's mastery of technique, particularly his characterization, in this novel is most remarkable, and bids fair to earn him a place in the front rank. But at least one admirer of his may be forgiven a sigh of regret if his success in this field causes him to desert his first love, historical biography.

J. H. F. D'Abreo.

TWO TRANSLATIONS

THE VISION OF PIERS PLOWMAN. By WILLIAM LANGLAND. *Newly Rendered into Modern English by Henry W. Wells.* Pp. XXIX+304. London: Sheed & Ward, 1935. Price 8s. 6d.

THE ODYSSEY OF HOMER. *Newly Translated into English Prose.* By T. E. SHAW. Bombay: Oxford Univ. Press. Price 10s. 6d.

Can a classic be translated? Can another language, or a modern form of the same language, carry the same shades or *nuances* of thought and feeling and deliver up the personality which is enshrined in them? This question has baffled the critics from Longinus down to Matthew Arnold and Newman. If thought and speech are inseparable, if style is 'a thinking out into language,' if to each thought or feeling there is, out of an infinity of synonyms, only one exact word, to translate a classic is to lay unholy hands on a veil of silken gossamer: you touch it and it falls.

But though a perfect translation is all but impossible, classics *have* been rendered with enough success for the 'general reader' by the rare scholars who have put on the spirit of two languages and two civilizations—by a Fitzgerald, a Butcher and Lang, a Dryden... (they are fewer than the Forty Immortals). Mr. Wells's rendering of *Piers Plowman*, though not a masterpiece in its way, is certainly a great service done to those who cannot unlock the secrets of Middle English; for this great *Vision* has been for six centuries inaccessible to that very middle class for whom it was written.

One of the difficulties in modernizing an Old or Middle English poem is its quaint *staccato* and its alliteration. But Mr. Wells has overcome this difficulty with considerable success, as the following passage describing Piers Plowman's family will show:

Piers' wife was called dame Work-while-I-am Able;
His daughter was Do-this-or-thy-Dame-shall-beat-thee;
His son was Suffer-thy-Sovereigns-to-have-their-Wishes,
Dare-not-Judge-them-for-if-thou-Dost-thou-shalt-Dearly-Abide-it.¹

Here, in spite of a certain unnaturalness which is inseparable from such an attempt, the very likeness of Middle English poetry seems to have been caught and reproduced. It is modern enough to be understood without the help of Mayhew and Skeat, and antiquated enough to remind one of the days of Chaucer and Langland.

The twenty-eighth English translation of the *Odyssey* cannot claim to fill the same gap in the modern reader's book-shelf. But it has the distinction of being the work of that strange and romantic person whose death has deprived the world of so much harmless excitement, Lawrence of Arabia. Besides being at home in Greek and in English, T. E. Shaw had spent many years in Homer's country, joined in digging up a city of the Odysseus period, handled the weapons, armour, utensils of those times, explored their houses, planned their cities. No wonder, then, that in reading his translation of Homer one feels nearer to Homer than ever before.

The reader of the *Odyssey* instinctively turns to those great passages where simplicity and wealth of detail and deep emotion meet, for it is there that Homer is unequalled. Mr. Shaw's rendering of these is amply satisfying. This is how he translates Odysseus' words to Nausicaa, so full of his own longing for Penelope:

'... and to you may the Gods requite all your heart's desire; husband, house, and especially ingenious accord within that house: for there is nothing so good and lovely as when man and wife in their house dwell together in unity of mind and disposition. A great vexation it is to their enemies, and a feast of gladness to their friends: surest of all do they, within themselves, feel all the good it means.'

¹ Passus VI, 82—85.

That could not have been better. Nor could the description of Penelope listening to her husband without knowing it was he :

'And as she listened, her tears rained down till her being utterly dissolved, as the snow laid upon the lofty peaks by the west wind melts before the breath of the south-easter and streams down to fill the water-brooks. So did her fair cheeks stream with grief for the husband who was sitting beside her in the flesh.'

These are the favourites of every student of the *Odyssey*, and to have translated them with Homer's own simplicity and with something of Homer's *magnanimity* is not the least of the achievements of Lawrence of Arabia.

T. N. Siqueira.

HISTORY

TEXTBOOK OF MODERN INDIAN HISTORY. *From 1526 to the Present Day.* By S. C. SARKAR and K. K. DUTTA. Vol. I, pp. X+508; Vol. II, Part I, pp. 340; Part II, pp. 418. *Patna: Bihar Publishing House, 1935-36.* Price Vol. I, Rs. 6; Vol. II, Part I, Rs. 4/8; Part II, Rs. 3.

This is a history of India from Baber to the White Paper. The authors have set a high ideal before themselves. In each period, the literary, artistic and social movements have received the attention which is their due, and hardly any material fact has been slurred over or omitted. The bibliography, the tables and index, and the maps at the end, make it a complete textbook.

We would however complain that in their aim at comprehensiveness the authors have not always succeeded in isolating the major currents of Indian history and giving them adequate emphasis. For example, you cannot satisfactorily discuss the Permanent Settlement in a couple of pages. What has killed Indian history in our schools is exactly this dead mass of disconnected facts. The time has certainly come to pick out the large tendencies and the facts that illuminate them and present them to students, leaving to specialists the task of memorizing the minutiae. In a textbook, besides, the headings of topics could usefully have been printed on the top of the right hand pages and more care exercised over the spelling, and even over the binding.

But these complaints do not detract from the merits of a book which may very usefully be prescribed for college students.

T. Srinivasan.

THE INDIAN TRAVELS OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA. By J. CHARPENTIER. Pp. 66. *Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1934.* Price 2, 50 kr.

It is sad to think that the first work of Jarl Charpentier to be reviewed in these pages was also probably his last, for the learned Professor died on July 5, 1935.

India, especially Catholic India, owes much to his industry and learning, for it was he who, a few years ago, brought to light, identified and edited, with a most valuable Introduction, Father Fenicio's *Libro da Seita dos Indios Orientales*, 'that storehouse of Hindu mythology' from which so many later writers, including the much-panegyricized Baldaeus, pilfered most of their information about India.

In the present booklet we see vast learning combined with serene and very critical discernment. Professor Charpentier arrives at the conclusion that to describe Apollonius's Indian travels Philostratus did make use of a real diary composed by Damis, and that though the first part of this diary (like his other sources) is reliable—for it describes what the travellers had actually seen—the second part is 'a jumble of fanciful details which are not founded upon any real facts.'

G. Dandoy.

VATICAN DIPLOMACY IN THE WORLD WAR. By HUMPHREY JOHNSON. Pp. 46. *Oxford: Blackwell, 1934.* Price 1s. 6d.

This very interesting little booklet effectively disposes of the oft repeated accusation of the Pope's partisanship in the Great War, and should be read by all those who are so vociferous in denouncing what they call the Pope's silence in the present Italo-Abyssinian conflict.

Mr. Johnson deals with the whole period of the War. Benedict XV in his first encyclical on Nov. 1, 1914, called upon the nations to restore peace, but, as the author points out, soon realized that 'Princes and Rulers generally begin to pay heed to such lofty sentiments only when they fear that victory may elude them.' The Pope did the next best thing and endeavoured to alleviate the sufferings of prisoners of war. In August, 1917, the Pope issued his Peace note. But the belligerents wanted to make peace by themselves. The verdict of history has been 'that a negotiated peace would have effected a more permanent European settlement than exists at the present day.' The present war and Germany's clamour for colonies are proofs of this.

The book has an illuminating Foreword by Count de Salis.

J. Fernandes.

PAPAL PROVISIONS. *Aspects of Church History, Constitutional, Legal, and Administrative, in the Middle Ages.* By GEOFFREY BARRACLOUGH. Pp. XVI+187. *Oxford: Blackwell, 1935.* Price 10s. 6d.

The Statute of Provisors, enacted during the reigns of Edward III and Richard II, was calculated to put a stop in England to Papal 'provisions', i. e. the intervention of the Papacy in the disposal of church benefices. Though the question of 'provisions' may appear a mere side issue in Church history it had a far reaching influence in bringing about the Reformation. For religion in the Middle Ages was a part of politics, and interference in Church affairs was generally prompted by political motives. For centuries it has been the custom for biassed historians to put all the blame for the decline of the Church on the Papacy and none on the State. But since 1881, when Leo XIII made the Vatican Archives available to students, seekers after the truth have revised this opinion.

After pointing out that the system of 'provisions' had been started to a certain extent by lay patrons, especially in Germany, and suggesting that perhaps the taking over of the system by the Papacy was an act of self-defence against lay domination in Church matters, the author goes on to consider it as a legal system. He discusses the actual practice and shows that it was not as arbitrary as is often supposed. The procedure for obtaining a rescript is detailed, and we see that in most cases benefices were not simply given for the asking. Conditions of fitness—mature age, holiness of life, learning—were required. The initiative in the use of provisions came from petitioners and not from the Popes. It often happened that Roman clerics were better trained than local men. That there was a possibility of abuse no one will deny; that there was abuse cannot simply be asserted. The question requires much more study before it can be definitely settled.

The supreme merit of the book is its strict impartiality. The author in his Foreword declares that he is neither a Catholic nor a Protestant and that he has written without any bias, being convinced that the truth is interesting and valuable in and for itself. Much research has gone to the writing of this interesting book, which the author modestly calls an essay.

J. Fernandes.

ST. RAYMOND OF PENAFORT. By THOMAS M. SCHWERTNER, O. P. Pp. XXIII+158. *Milwaukee: Bruce, 1935.* Price \$ 1.50.

Raymond is to Canon Law what Justinian is to Roman Law. The codification of the *Decretals* of Gregory IX, which he had completed in 1234, directed the discipline of the Church for nearly seven centuries, until it was finally superseded

by the *Code of Canon Law* promulgated by Benedict XV in 1918. A scion of a noble family of Catalonia, Raymond lived in an age which produced giants : St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Albert the Great, St. Bonaventure ; and was himself not less of a giant. He was a scholar and a jurist ; he was the adviser of kings, the confessor of the Pope and the mentor of prelates ; yet he preferred the life of a humble Dominican to high ecclesiastical dignities. He was one at whom men might jeer in the streets, but whom all the mighty ones of Europe respected. But though he wrote much, and lived almost a hundred years, he has left no record of his private life.

His biographer, however, himself a Dominican, has striven hard to bring him into the limelight. From the scanty material available he has attempted to give a connected narrative of the saint's life and work. The result cannot be considered a masterpiece in hagiography, for it often reflects the piety of the writer rather than the life of his subject. But Fr. Schwertner has given an accurate estimate of the various kinds of work which the saint undertook, and cited contemporary evidence in support of some of his important statements. On the whole, therefore, it is a book to be read by those who are in search of the right type of greatness.

William Coelho.

PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD. By C. OMAN Great Lives Series, No. 52. Pp. 145. London : Duckworth, 1935. Price 2s.

One cannot help feeling that the Young Pretender makes queer company in a series of great lives ; and a perusal of the fine book before us does not help to dissipate that feeling.

The invasion of England was doomed to failure from the beginning. The character of Charles and his lack of generalship only hastened the end. The later career of the prince destroys any claim to greatness that he might have otherwise had. While he had a fair share of the Stuart vices, Charles had none of the steadfast, if wrong-headed, loyalty of a Charles I or a James II. Tragic rather than great is the final impression made by the book, which contains some vivid writing and numerous pen-pictures.

T Srinivasan.

VARIA

THE IRISH FREE STATE. *Its Government and Politics.* BY NICHOLAS MANSERGH. Pp. 344. London : Allen & Unwin, 1934 Price 12s. 6d.

Mr. Mansergh refrains, in typical scholarly fashion, from exploiting the sensational aspects of a controversial subject and examines with patient impartiality the Treaty Settlement of 1922, the question of the oath of allegiance, and the problems of Dominion Status. The value of his book consists not only in its thorough and objective account of the Constitution of the Irish Free State, but also in the useful comparisons with other States which are generously scattered on almost every page. The peculiar nature of the Irish Constitution, its rapid evolution in spite of the rigidity intended by its framers, the declaration of rights—a feature absent from the New Federal Constitution embodied in the Government of India Act—the working of the Lower House, the position of its Senate, to which the Executive is not responsible, the growing power of that Executive, the efficiency of the government in spite of pessimistic notes in the Press, the Committee system, and a score of other topics, are discussed in this masterly work.

Curiously enough, there is no explicit reference to the suffrage granted to women. Mr. Mansergh seems to attach peculiar importance to the institution of 'Extern Ministers'—a feature already out of date. Occasionally a flash of humour relieves the seriousness, as when he quotes Palmerston's remark that 'the

independent member is the member on whom nobody can depend. Thus while the work is scientific, and businesslike throughout, it does not contain one dull page.

J. Sternkiste.

TRAITE DE GEODESIE. BY CAPT. P. TARDI. 2 vols. Pp. XXI+422 and 307. Paris Gauthier-Villars, 1934. Price 150 frs.

This modern textbook on higher Geodesy brings up to date the classical treatises of Col. Puissant, first published in 1805, and of Francoeur, published exactly a century ago. In the mind of the publishers, Tardi's Geodesy is meant to replace Francoeur's standard work, which even in its revised editions was getting out of date.

Higher geodesy, which deals with the form, magnitude and area of the earth, is to be distinguished from topography and surveying, which are concerned with the description and representation on maps of the features of the earth's surface. It sets forth the evolution of *mathematical geodesy*, which proceeds by triangulation or accurate measurement of arcs on the surface of the earth; it includes *celestial astronomy*, or the determination of position on the earth, and *dynamical geodesy*, which studies the methods for determining the acceleration due to gravity and its variations. Co-ordinating the results obtained in these three branches, *theoretical geodesy* draws scientific conclusions and considers various hypotheses concerning the shape, internal constitution and rigidity of the earth.

Captain Tardi's book fills an important gap in French scientific literature and deserves as great and continued a success as its classical predecessors.

A. Schelms.

JUDICIAL PORTRAITS BY 'OM-TOM-OIE'. Pp 164 Allahabad The Mission Press, 1935

This is a collection of biographical notes on sixteen judges of the Allahabad High Court who were on the bench when the book was sent to the press. The notes refer to every aspect of a judge's life except his judicial work. The author has deliberately omitted this to make his book less technical and more popular. I think it is a mistake; the book has certainly been made less useful by the omission.

A racy style, and the profuse though indiscriminate use of illustrations, comparisons, and quotations, make the book not only interesting, but also amusing. The judges, of course, deserve praise, but one wonders whether the author has not given them a little too much of it. The book is the first of its kind published in India, and on this account the author deserves to be congratulated.

William Coelho



